

The Nomadic Object

Intersections

INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES IN EARLY MODERN CULTURE

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The Nomadic Object

*The Challenge of World
for Early Modern Religious Art*

Edited by

Christine Göttler
Mia M. Mochizuki



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Connected Worlds—The World, the Worldly, and the Otherworldly: An Introduction

Mia M. Mochizuki

[...] *the museum was an affirmation, the museum without walls is an interrogation.*

ANDRÉ MALRAUX¹



Museums, Universal and Imagined

One of the primary sites for the conceptualisation of an early modern world-view was the creation of collections that showcased global natural and artistic production. Only a book—Giorgio de Sepi's (Georgius de Sepibus) description of the *Romani collegii Societatis Jesu musaeum celeberrimum* (Amsterdam, Johannes Janssonius van Waesberge: 1678)—remains to nurture a most intriguing actual, if no longer extant, 'universal' museum, a collection amassed by the Jesuit polymath Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680) in the Roman College of the Society of Jesus [Fig. 1].² De Sepi's catalogue of the collection was published two years before Kircher's death and can be understood as part of what was always a highly personal endeavour. The museum grew out of a private collection kept in Kircher's rooms in the College, supplemented by Alfonso Donnini's bequest, to become a public institution in 1651. It then languished in successive modes of decline until 1680, briefly resuscitated and augmented by Filippo Bonanni in 1698, before being dispersed as a casualty of the Suppression of the Society

1 '[...] le musée était une affirmation, le Musée Imaginaire est une interrogation'. Malraux A., *Le Musée Imaginaire* (Paris: 1965; reprint, Paris: 2015) 176; Malraux A., *Museum without Walls*, trans. S. Gilbert – F. Price (Paris: 1965; reprint, New York, NY: 1967) 162.

2 Sepi Giorgio de, *The Celebrated Museum of the Roman College of the Society of Jesus*, ed. P. Davidson, trans. A. Callinicos – D. Höhr, *Early Modern Catholicism and the Visual Arts Series 13* (Amsterdam, Johannes Janssonius van Waesberge: 1678; reprint, Philadelphia, PA: 2015).



FIGURE 1 Anon. (engraver), Title page to Giorgio de Sepi, *Romani collegii Societatis Jesu musaeum celeberrimum* (Amsterdam: Johannes Janssonius van Waesberge, 1678). Engraving, 19 × 34 cm. Ithaca, NY, Cornell University, Carl A. Kroch Library, Rare and Manuscript Collections (Rare Books DS708 .K58). IMAGE © CARL A. KROCH LIBRARY, CORNELL UNIVERSITY, ITHACA, NY.

in 1773, only to have some of the state's ward of scattered objects gathered and re-arranged as a traditional nineteenth-century museum of ancient art.³

In its time, what distinguished Kircher's collection from earlier private gatherings of art was that a representative sampling from other cultures was now available to an interested, if admittedly well-connected, public. If visits did not always result in the anticipated response, such as the British diarist John Evelyn's preview of the collection on 8 November 1644, after which he dismissed Kircher and his collection as tedious and trivial respectively, at least Evelyn, for all his barely contained hostility, was able to see the collection to evaluate for himself.⁴

At the collection's height, De Sepi's frontispiece distich encouraged the reader-viewer to imagine Kircher's assemblage of specimens as 'The house of Kircher, theatre of nature and art, whose equal is scarcely to be seen anywhere' ('Kircheriana Domus naturae artisque theatrum / Par cui vix alibi cernere posse datur'), due at least in part to the memorable juxtaposition of objects from different cultures illustrated above the poetic description, Egyptian obelisk opposite *Madonna and Child* painting. Later in the book, De Sepi narrates how sculptures of western divinities were displayed as smoothly segueing into Chinese, Japanese, Egyptian, and ancient Roman idols, organised by medium and the shared genus of stone instead of national origin:

You will find here [in this gallery] busts worked from marble and alabaster of Our Lord The Saviour and His Blessed Virgin Mother [...] I proceed to the profane ones, and an effigy presents itself as the most famous Idol of the *Chinese*, commonly called *Confucius* [...] See *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*. The second idol is Japanese (*Amida*), to which Deity they pay so much worship that they think they will be blessed even by his invoked and repeated name alone [...] The third statue of a multi-breasted *Isis*, covered with hieroglyphics [...] The fourth Idol is the Goddess Minerva. The fifth *Jupiter Ammonius*.⁵

3 Davidson P., "Afterword", in Sepi, *The Celebrated Museum of the Roman College of the Society of Jesus* 169–170; Daxelmüller C., "Ein Gang durch Zeit und Raum: Das Museum Kircherianum", in Beinlich H. et al. (eds.), *Magie des Wissens: Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680). Universalgelehrter, Sammler, Visionär*, exh. cat., Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg (Dettelbach: 2002) 49–66; Lo Sardo E. (ed.), *Athanasius Kircher: Il Museo del mondo*, exh. cat., Palazzo de Venezia (Rome: 2001); Ruggiero E. de, *Catalogo del Museo Kircheriano* (Rome: 1878).

4 Davidson, "Afterword" 169.

5 'Reperies hic ex marmore et alabastro elaborata busta Salvatoris D[omini] N[ostri] et B[eatae] V[irginis] Matris [...] Ad profana progredior et primo Pagodes famosissimum *Sinensium* idolum, vulgo *Confutius* dictus [...] Vide *Oedip[us] Aegypt[iacus]*. Secundum idolum est

Contemporary scholarship has noted the factual infelicities of Kircher's ideas, but what remains undisputed is his fascination with other cultures, particularly their religious beliefs and rituals, as his collection of the world's gods suggests. Several centuries later, the appeal of similar kinds of objects grouped around a common theme had morphed into an ideal of world art as a showcase for mankind's achievements. Collections that brought whole cultures into contact through their artefacts would lead André Malraux, France's post-World War II Minister of Information (1945–1946) under President Charles de Gaulle and later first Minister of Cultural Affairs (1959–1969), to remark that the museum was not simply a storehouse for the production of human expression, but that it was 'one of the places that show man at his noblest'.⁶

Malraux had reacted to the devastation of war by creating another kind of imagined 'universal museum' via a book: an ambitious attempt to survey the arts of mankind that would culminate in three large illustrated volumes, *Le Musée imaginaire de la sculpture mondiale* (1952–1954).⁷ His work for this project relied upon the newly available abundance of high-quality photographs that he could array on the floor of his office [Fig. 2]. The collection was never physically incorporated. It remained an imaginary museum of global reach, where inexpensive reproductive technology could open the metaphorical 'doors' of the museum to even greater audiences, and in the process create new avenues for the cross-cultural study of artistic production by positioning objects in fresh geographic and conceptual relationships.

To Malraux's mind, the effect was that 'the plastic arts produced [invented] their own printing press', and it was that revolutionary in its impact.⁸ New

Japonensium (*Amida*) cui numini tantum Latriae tribuunt, ut existiment vel invocata solo, repetitoque eius nomine se beatos fore [...] Tertium simulacrum *Isidis* multimammiae hieroglyphicis notis refertum [...] Quartum idolum est dea *Minerva*. Quintum *Jupiter Ammonius*'. [emphasis original]. Kircher Athanasius, *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (Rome, Vitalis Mascardi: 1652) vol. 1, part 3, chapter 1, 164–171; Sepi, *The Celebrated Museum of the Roman College of the Society of Jesus* 7–8, 123–124.

6 '[...] le musée est un des lieux qui donnent la plus haute idée de l'homme'. Malraux, *Le Musée Imaginaire* 13; Malraux, *Museum without Walls* 10.

7 Grasskamp W., *The Book on the Floor and the Imaginary Museum* (Los Angeles, CA: 2016) 37–39; Krauss R., "Postmodernism's Museums without Walls", in Greenberg R. – Ferguson B.W. – Nairne S. (eds.), *Thinking about Exhibitions* (London: 1996) 341–348; Levine G.P.A., "Malraux's Buddha Heads", in Brown R.M. – Hutton D.S. (eds.), *A Companion to Asian Art and Architecture* (West Sussex, UK: 2011) 631; Malraux A., *Le Musée imaginaire de la sculpture mondiale*, 3 vols. (Paris: 1952–1954); Savedoff B.E., *Transforming Images: What Photography Does to the Picture* (Ithaca, NY: 2000) 153–157.

8 '[...] les arts plastiques ont inventé leur imprimerie'. Malraux, *Le Musée Imaginaire* 16; Malraux, *Museum without Walls* 12. Cf. '[...] reproduction was on the threshold of distributing to the



FIGURE 2 *Maurice Jarnoux, Photograph of André Malraux at Work on Le Musée Imaginaire (1954). Seattle, WA, Getty Images.*

IMAGE © GETTY IMAGES/PARIS MATCH ARCHIVE.

objects were introduced to the public that likewise signalled the changed status of one culture's production in regard to that of another. But even more importantly, the installation of objects in dialogue stimulated 'new conversations'. The reproductions that composed a borderless 'museum without walls', or in the French original as a proper noun and singular concept ('le Musée Imaginaire'), cut to the core function of the encyclopaedic museum: a collection that rejects the status quo, like the long run of the Italian School as the

world, for the first time, the forms that artists of every nation have resurrected, admired, foreseen, or ignored'; '[...] la reproduction va pour la première fois dispenser au monde les formes que les artistes de chaque nation ont ressuscitées, admirées, pressenties ou ignorées'. Malraux, *Le Musée Imaginaire* 87–94, 100, 106, 118–135; Malraux, *Museum without Walls* 76–82, 88, 94, 106–123.

determinative aesthetic, and thereby forces the viewer to rethink accepted norms of visual significance. The potential of a global collection, even if virtual, for establishing a basis for the re-evaluation of past standards is what led Malraux to write: 'the museum was an affirmation, the museum without walls is an interrogation'.⁹

Art and the display of art, especially the history of the exposure of foreign cultures (and there is a foreign culture for every viewer), was never intended to lull with false comforts. The best installations of art that became the real legacy of the *Kunstkammer*—the *Kunstkammer's* challenge as it were—were intended to confront change and unsettle by asking the less easily answered questions. As the first implications of the globe began to take root in early modern consciousness, the universal museum, both real and imagined, was charged with a special burden: to offer an arrangement of objects that dared an expanded viewership to doubt, to interrogate, to investigate his or her conception of the world.

A Global Republic of Objects?

The immediate, rather worldly catalyst, for this book lay in the founding of a 'universal museum' in the sands of Saadiyat Island in the United Arab Emirates, due to the vision of Sultan bin Tahnoon Al Nahyan of Abu Dhabi. Although at the time of this printing, the Louvre Abu Dhabi was not yet open, plans for it have been shared with the public since 2013 via a series of exhibitions at the Emirates Palace, Manarat Al Saadiyat, and the Paris Louvre, as well as in Laurence des Cars' edited volume, *Louvre Abu Dhabi: Birth of a Museum*.¹⁰ The rationale for the Louvre Abu Dhabi was not merely to create a 'Louvre in the desert', but rather to use this rare opportunity to create a 'universal museum' that would present global artistic production, from the prehistoric era through the eighteenth century, without the previous baggage of ethnological and colonial overtones. Nor was this institution to follow in the footsteps of earlier encyclopaedic collections that introduced audiences to distant cultures, while inadvertently reifying the impression of isolated, discrete groups. The goal was to show the interconnectedness of worlds through the universal languages of art and thus model the intercultural dialogue so profoundly needed today.

The critical difference from previous iterations of encyclopaedic museums, like Paris's Louvre, New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, and London's British Museum, would reside in the combination of objects selected and how

9 Malraux, *Le Musée Imaginaire* 88–89, 176; Malraux, *Museum without Walls* 78–79, 162.

10 Cars L. des (ed.), *Louvre Abu Dhabi: Birth of a Museum* (Paris: 2013) 27–31.

they would be displayed. The installation of objects in the Louvre Abu Dhabi was consciously planned around core thematic groups, instead of a chronological survey of national highlights. The goal was for viewers to re-enact their own circumnavigation of rooms devoted to shared social structures, with object collectives constructed to form a matrix of mankind's endeavours across time and place.

For example, a gallery dedicated to 'Universal Religions' was intended to draw on fragments from major religious traditions to address universal questions of the human body's relationship to the sacred. So the Kircher-like organisation of objects by type in the Louvre Abu Dhabi collection, such as a prime example of a fifth-century sandstone Gupta *Buddha Head* placed side by side with a medieval Syrian *Holy Qur'an* and a sixteenth-century German polychrome limewood *Christ Showing His Wounds*, was given a modern twist as representatives of several religious traditions in a heterodox society.¹¹ It was no longer enough to have emissaries of other worlds present. They must be brought into contact, and these object conversations, in turn, stimulated an international conference generously hosted by the New York University Abu Dhabi Institute in January 2016 that gave rise to this volume. True to the aspirations of the universal museum, several attendees noted that the occasion to meet in Abu Dhabi, outside the usual well-trodden European and American sites, afforded participants a fresh perspective on their work that inspired them to take intellectual risks.

The Louvre Abu Dhabi's ideal of a permanent global community of objects in dialogue is best understood within a spate of temporary museum exhibitions that have appeared over the last decade. Early examples include *Encounters* (Victoria and Albert Museum, 2004) and *Encompassing the Globe* (Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, and Museu de Arte Antiga, 2007). Banner years, like 2013 and 2015, offered audiences no fewer than three 'global' exhibitions in sites around the world—in 2013: in Boston, Lisbon, and New York; and in 2015: in Amsterdam, Boston, and Santa Fe—often traversing traditional medial categories along with cultural and geographical boundaries.¹²

11 Northern India, Mathurā region, *Buddha Head* (fifth century, Gupta period). Red sandstone, 51 cm (h). Abu Dhabi, Louvre Abu Dhabi; Damascus (?), Syria, *Holy Qur'an* (Suras 78–114) (second half of the thirteenth century). Paper (30 pp.), 47 × 33 cm. Abu Dhabi, Louvre Abu Dhabi; Austria or Bavaria, Germany, *Christ Showing His Wounds* (c. 1515–1520). Polychrome limewood, 183 × 57 × 30 cm. Abu Dhabi, Louvre Abu Dhabi. Cars, *Louvre Abu Dhabi* 60–67, 80–81, 88–89.

12 Carr D. (ed.), *Made in the Americas*, exh. cat., Museum of Fine Arts (Boston, MA: 2015); Chong A. (ed.), *Christianity in Asia: Sacred Art and Visual Splendour*, exh. cat., Asian Civilisations Museum (Singapore: 2016); Corrigan K. – Campen J. van (eds.), *Asia in Amsterdam*, exh. cat., Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam: 2015); Curvelo A., *O Exótico nunca está*

These exhibitions, and their catalogues, must be credited with taking the lead in acquainting viewers around the world with their early modern global pasts, introducing less frequently displayed objects to the surprise and delight of contemporary audiences in a manner that could simulate the wonder of initial historical encounter.

For every new object introduced to a viewer's mental database, however, new questions arose. In each of these exhibitions, the 'global' looked remarkably different depending on where a person was standing, physically and conceptually, when discussing it. Even limited to current global anthologies, although monographs betray some of the same tendencies, volumes by Italian Renaissance-based scholars have tended to look to the Ottoman Empire from the Venetian Republic and the Americas from Florence.¹³ Analyses written by researchers trained in the art of Northern Europe have preferred to study the Dutch East India and West India Companies or Hanseatic trading ties for their contact objects if based in Amsterdam, or the Casa de Contratación (House of Trade) and the Consulado de Cargadores a Indias (Consulate of Indies Merchants) if oriented along the Seville-Antwerp-Lisbon axis, the Northern/Southern Netherlandish divide still visible in global positions.¹⁴ And then

em casa? A China na faiança e no azulejo portugueses (séculos XVII–XVIII)/The Exotic is Never at Home? The Presence of China in the Portuguese Faience and Azulejo (17th–18th Centuries), exh. cat., Museu Nacional do Azulejo (Lisbon: 2013); Gruzinski S. – Russo A. (eds.), *Planète métisse*, exh. cat., Musée du quai Branly (Paris: 2008); Jackson A. – Jaffer A. (eds.), *Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe, 1500–1800*, exh. cat., Victoria and Albert Museum (London: 2004); Levenson J.A. – Ramada Curto D. (eds.), *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, exh. cat., Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution (Washington, DC: 2007); Padilla C. – Anderson B.C. (eds.), *A Red Like No Other: How Cochineal Colored the World*, exh. cat., Museum of International Folk Art (Santa Fe, NM: 2015); Peck A. (ed.), *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, NY: 2013); Weston V.L. (ed.), *Portugal, Jesuits, and Japan: Spiritual Beliefs and Earthly Goods*, exh. cat., McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College (Boston, MA: 2013).

13 For one constructive way forward, see Savoy D. (ed.), *The Globalization of Renaissance Art: A Critical Review* (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2018).

14 Notable attempts to remedy this problem include: Antunes C., *Globalization in the Early Modern Period: The Economic Relationship between Amsterdam and Lisbon, 1640–1705* (Amsterdam: 2004); Dupré S. et al. (eds.), *Embattled Territory: The Circulation of Knowledge in the Spanish Netherlands* (Ghent: 2015); Göttler C. – Ramakers B. – Woodall J. (eds.), *Trading Values in Early Modern Antwerp*, Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art 64 (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2014); Kaplan B. – Carlson M. – Cruz L. (eds.), *Boundaries and Their Meanings in the History of the Netherlands* (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2009); Kaufmann T.D. – North M. (eds.), *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia* (Amsterdam: 2014); Thomas W. – Stols E. (eds.), *Een wereld op papier: Zuid-Nederlandse boeken*,

there is the view from sixteenth-century territories, like the city-states of modern Italy, the princely states of contemporary Germany, and the duchies of the Austrian Habsburgs, whose lack of a single state authority ensured only ringside seats at the dawn of the global age that precluded direct conquest or colonisation. Nonetheless, these rulers refused to be side-lined in the heady days of discovery and were determined to invest heavily in the geographic, economic, and social claims of New World exploration. Perhaps appropriate to the separate governance of the Iberian Union from 1580 to 1640, sites dependent on Portuguese trade routes have attracted different kinds of studies than those based on Spanish networks, which included the Manila Galleon trade.¹⁵ Issues at the fore now include: What exactly constitutes the 'global' before contemporary globalisation? Do the differences of speed, transport, technology, and politics make the term anachronistic for the early modern world? Or is the 'global' simply an excuse to revisit lingering controversies in art history, like the high art vs. material culture/decorative arts schism or the degree of interdisciplinarity that a single field can sustain? Indeed, what, if any, contribution does a 'global art history' bring to the discipline at large?

With the increasing presence of 'world' art from many cultures in western museums, there can be a less voiced fear of what this will mean for the study of European art, as if the growth of one will practically necessitate the obsolescence of the other. On the contrary, the hope is to open up more avenues of inquiry in early modern European art by encouraging analysis within its original global context, instead of artificially (and retrospectively) isolating it from the rest of the world. Consequently, the call is not just to replace one geographical perspective with another, such as a Bavarian view with a Peruvian one, or to import a post-colonial perspective to regions that did not experience this

prenten en kaarten in het Spaanse en Portugese wereldrijk (16de–18de eeuw) (Leuven: 2009); Thomas W. – Verdonk R. (eds.), *Encuentros en Flandes: Relaciones e intercambios hispano-flamencos a inicios de la Edad Moderna* (Leuven: 2000); Weststeijn T. – Jorink E. – Scholten F. (eds.), *Netherlandish Art in Its Global Context*, Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art 66 (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2016).

- 15 Important inroads to surmounting these limitations have been made by historians of the Atlantic Jewish diaspora: Bernardini P. – Fiering N. (eds.), *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450–1800*, European Expansion and Global Interaction 2 (New York – Oxford, 2001); Boyajian J.C., *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580–1640* (Baltimore – London, 1993); Studnicki-Gizbert D., *A Nation Upon the Ocean Sea. Portugal's Atlantic Diaspora and the Crisis of the Spanish Empire, 1492–1640* (New York – Oxford: 2007); Trivellato F., *The Familiarity of Strangers. The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven – London, 2009); Trivellato F. – Halevi L. – Antunes C. (eds.), *Religion and Trade. Cross-Cultural Exchanges in World History, 1000–1900* (New York – Oxford: 2014).

particular history. Rather, the intention is to endorse the conjunction of, for instance, Portuguese, Brazilian, and Indian viewpoints (as well as the manifold varieties of perspective within these societies) and acknowledge their validity and even normativity. This last quality, the normativity of these objects, is critical in a history that has become distorted by later interpretations of exoticism to its great detriment. Sometimes the most radical way of viewing objects can be by appreciating the normative potential of an aesthetics of difference, to return to the work of an early theoretician of the exotic, Victor Segalen, who defined a 'Universal Exoticism, or, better yet, essential Exoticism' as the fairly quotidian 'ability to conceive otherwise'.¹⁶ In the case of porcelain, what is stunning is the sheer quantity of ceramics that packed the holds of middlemen's ships to bursting. How is the history of porcelain understood differently by its factual prevalence over its exceptionalism?

These are some of the questions that anthologies have attempted to address with a focus on 'transcultural' objects that exhibit a degree of contact, a preferable nomenclature to the easily misunderstood 'global' that can be conflated with a 'world' art, which excerpts artistic representatives of several cultures as discrete comparative sets. The brief to explore further has assumed the informal work-in-progress form of printed roundtable meta-discussions, which is to be expected in a field where so many disciplinary and cultural specialisations are required.¹⁷ The number of collaborative endeavours, like the anthologies that provide the most direct context for this volume, has exploded not just in art history and history, but also in economics, anthropology, and sociology. Methodological preferences have ranged from a focus on Marxist approaches to capitalist investments, post-colonial initiatives to anthropological agency, the societal functions of objects of knowledge to the consumption of materiality.¹⁸

16 Segalen V., *Essay on Exoticism: An Aesthetics of Diversity*, ed. and trans. Y.R. Schlick (Montpellier: 1978; reprint, Durham, NC: 2002) 16, 70.

17 Anderson J. (ed.), *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence, Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress in the History of Art* (Carlton: 2009); Casid J.H. – D'Souza A. (eds.), *Art History in the Wake of the Global Turn*, Clark Studies in the Visual Arts (Williamstown, MA: 2014); Elkins J. (ed.), *Is Art History Global?* (London: 2007); Elkins J. – Valiavicharska Z. – Kim A. (eds.), *Art and Globalization* (University Park, PA: 2010); Flood F.B. et al., "Roundtable: The Global before Globalization", *October* 133 (Summer 2010) 3–19; Savoy, *The Globalization of Renaissance Art*.

18 Berg M. et al. (eds.), *Goods from the East, 1600–1800: Trading Eurasia* (Houndmills, UK: 2015); Bleichmar D. – Mancall P. (eds.), *Collecting across Cultures: Material Exchanges in the Early Modern Artistic World* (Philadelphia, PA: 2011); Bleichmar D. – Martin M. (eds.), *Objects in Motion in the Early Modern World*, *Art History* 38, 4 (West Sussex, UK: 2016);

Most recently, interest has focused on isolating aspects of the transmission process in spatial zones, with attention to Régis Debray's '4 Ms' of mediation studies (message, medium, milieu, and mediation) that Birgit Mersmann has applied to global image traffic.¹⁹ The attempt to come to terms with the many ramifications of mobility for establishing geographic, cultural, and taxonomic meaning has enabled authors to overcome the reductionist and racially-inflected limitations that can accompany discussions of hybridity (*mestizo*, *métissage*), where emphasis on constitutive parts has, at times, led to the mistaking of the beginning for the interpretative end, instead of focusing on the effective agency of objects that attempt to understand form in the aftermath of motion. Jonathan Hay has called for further investigation of the analytic tools that could advance an 'interstitial art history', in dialogue with a canonical, formal art history (whether style- or visibility-based), that privileges an anthropological view of how form participates in larger perceptual economies, where

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- Burghartz S. – Burkart L. – Göttler C. (eds.), *Sites of Mediation: Connected Histories of Places, Processes, and Objects in Europe and Beyond, 1450–1650*, Intersections 47 (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2016); Cole M. – Zorach R. (eds.), *Idols in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World* (Aldershot, UK: 2009); Gerritsen A. – Riello G. (eds.), *The Global Lives of Things: The Material Culture of Connections in the Early Modern World* (London: 2016); Jordan Gschwend A. – Lowe K.J.P. (eds.), *The Global City: On the Streets of Renaissance Lisbon* (London: 2015); Jong J. de et al. (eds.), *Picturing the Exotic 1550–1950: Peasants and Outlandish Peoples in Netherlandish Art*, Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art 53 (Zwolle: 2002); Kaufmann T.D., *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago, IL: 2004); Kaufmann – North, *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia*; Leibsohn D. – Peterson J.F. (eds.), *Seeing Across Cultures in the Early Modern Period* (Farnham, Surrey: 2012); North M. (ed.), *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400–1900: Rethinking Markets, Workshops and Collections* (Aldershot, UK: 2010); North M. (ed.), *Kultureller Austausch: Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung* (Cologne: 2009); Sheriff M.D. (ed.), *Cultural Contact and the Making of European Art since the Age of Exploration* (Chapel Hill, NC: 2010); Weststeijn – Jorink – Scholten, *Netherlandish Art in Its Global Context*.
- 19 Burghartz S. – Burkart L. – Göttler C., „Introduction: Sites of Mediation in Early Modern Europe and Beyond. A Working Perspective”, in Burghartz – Burkart – Göttler, *Sites of Mediation* 1–20, at 4; Debray R., *Introduction à la médiologie* (Paris: 2000) 148; Mersmann B., “(Fern-)Verkehr der Bilder: Mediologie als methodischer Brückenschlag zwischen Bild- und Übersetzungswissenschaft”, in Mersmann B. – Weber T. (eds.), *Mediologie als Methode* (Berlin: 2008) 149–167; Mochizuki M.M., “A Global Eye: The Perception of Place in a Pair of Tokugawa World Map Screens”, *The Japan Review* 29 (2016) 69–119; Mochizuki M.M., “The Reliquary Reformed”, in Heal B. – Koerner J. (eds.), *Art and Religious Reform in Early Modern Europe*, Special Issue on the 500th Anniversary of the Lutheran Reformation, *Art History* 40, 2 (April 2017) 431–449.

the social framing of affect can provide insight into an operational history of art-works.²⁰

The balancing of the introduction of individual objects to a wider audience with the important theoretical and morphological implications for the discipline that such new entries to the corpus of art history propose has been an exciting development.²¹ Taking a universal view often means revisiting fundamental axioms of art history, like the value of a copy, where versions traced backwards can begin to seem like an echo chamber. Chinese blue-and-white porcelain, itself a response to the use of cobalt blue by Abbasid-era Basran (Iraqi) potters (possibly in dialogue with Tang dynasty stoneware) and the sourcing of cobalt from Iran for Chinese kilns, was imitated at intervals, sometimes through a series of refracted re-enactments, by the Portuguese, Japanese, and Dutch.²² Jingdezhen *kraak*-inspired Delftware could then be reproduced in a still-life painting, an example of trans-medial crossing, where motifs frequently responded to the forces of diffusion by moving across media, from ceramics to painting or print to sculpture.²³ Older notions of the status of a copy as derivative may well be too rigid, where a mimetic spectrum of imitation is a paradigm better suited to the realities of the technologies of transmission in the early modern world. Transoceanic or littoral categories, driven by the maritime trade routes that featured intermediaries criss-crossing several cultures,

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- 20 Hay J., "Style, Visuality, Attitude", in "The Attitudes of Artworks: A Pop-Up Graduate Student Symposium", Institute of Fine Arts, New York, NY, 7 April 2017.
 - 21 Berg M. (ed.), *Writing the History of the Global: Challenges for the 21st Century* (Oxford: 2013); Gerritsen A. – Riello G. (eds.), *Writing Material Culture History* (London: 2015); Kaufmann T.D. – Dossin C. – Joyeux-Prunel B. (eds.), *Circulations in the Global History of Art* (Farnham, Surrey: 2015).
 - 22 Campen J. van – Eliëns T. (eds.), *Chinese and Japanese Porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age* (Zwolle: 2014); Carswell J., *Blue and White: Chinese Porcelain around the World* (Chicago, IL: 2000); Finlay R., *The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History* (Berkeley, CA: 2010); Krahrl R. et al. (eds.), *Shipwrecked: Tang Treasures and Monsoon Winds*, exh. cat., Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution (Washington, DC: 2010); Pierson S., *From Object to Concept: Global Consumption and the Transformation of Porcelain* (Hong Kong: 2013); Rawson J., "Uses of Chinese Ceramics: 10th–14th Centuries", *Journal of Song–Yuan Studies* 23 (1993) 71–94; Soucek P., "Ceramic Production as Exemplar of Yuan–Ilkhanid Relations", in Hay J. (ed.), *Intercultural China*, Special Issue, *Res* 35 (Spring 1999) 125–141; Wood N. – Tite M., "Blue and White—the Early Years: Tang China and Abbasid Iraq Compared", *Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia* 24 (2009) 21–45.
 - 23 Hochstrasser J.B., *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven, CT: 2007); Odell D., "Porcelain, Print Culture and Mercantile Aesthetics", in Cavanaugh A. – Yonan M.E. (eds.), *The Cultural Aesthetics of Eighteenth-Century Porcelain* (Farnham, Surrey: 2010) 141–158.

may be more useful at times than organisation by land-based classifications of continent and centre. Together, these virtual gatherings of objects serve to remind readers of one of the few tenets of global art history upon which academics can agree: the importance of taking a wide-angle view to the poetics of place, one that addresses issues of orientation, circulation, authenticity, and dislocation, like what has already been done with the *longue durée* of time. Adjustments to art history's traditional analytic tools are where a 'global art history' can make its most useful contributions to the field.

But while the desire for a global purview is a generally positive one, all are aware that important improvements are still very much needed. North American scholarship does not include the publications of South American, Asian, European, and African research as often as it should, and global art studies have remained largely non-international in their ability to include contributions from art historical communities outside of Europe and the United States. This is important to recognise, because we run the risk of unintentionally contributing to a form of academic imperialism that has the arrogance to tell other cultures about their own histories without incorporating voices that have the potential for dissent and the defiance of expectations. Language skills are critical and this requirement is well served by the multiple areas of expertise that can cumulatively be represented in anthologies.

The lack of specific linguistic abilities, however, is no excuse for not engaging in contact with art historical communities around the world. Above all, this kind of dialogue is essential, even more so than a facility in multiple languages. This does not only pertain to non-western experts on non-western art, as has been mainly the case to date, but also to the activity of non-western experts in European art. Otherwise, the unfortunate impression can be left that a specific ethnicity is required for authority on a field of art in extreme cases, or at the very least that there are no non-western experts on European art and the power of critiquing other cultures resides solely in the West. The presence of non-western historians of European art is the result of a long-standing interest in western art and art history in non-western countries. This oversight can best be explained as of the type that tends to ferment when those knowledgeable of these programmes have not been included in the conversations of what constitutes a global art history from their perspectives and for their societies' needs.

In western art history departments, something that is not often confronted is the changing audience for early modern art. It is a different art history today, mostly for the better, but the shadow of exclusion still looms occasionally in the classroom. Changing student demographics will continue to compel art historians to move beyond assumptions of vestigial genealogies that could be counted on earlier to ensure a common cultural foundation, if the discipline

expects to retain its dynamism, its relevancy for contemporary culture, and its appeal to future generations. Rather than bemoan this development, it can also be seen as a chance for the academy to finally detach itself from a reliance on some of the societal crutches that have unwittingly weakened it.

One last concern about the very worldly goals which have implicitly governed the construction of an early modern global Republic of Objects is worthy of note. The confrontation of universal human cultural production, which incidentally never attained the representative world-wide participation to which it aspired, was no mean task either then or now. If this enterprise is to be successful, it will ensure that the very term 'global art history' will itself become redundant. The lessons of global art history are too fundamental to be limited to cross-cultural contact objects alone. In other words, a truly global art history will be fully operational in the sphere of interpretation when the analysis of *every* object assumes an architecture of systemic connectivity and relative agency on the cellular level, whether conceptualised as 'connected histories', 'entanglements', or network theory, be it Latourian or Barabásian.²⁴

The Genesis of Exploration

That the objects selected from the universal museums of Kircher, Malraux, and the Louvre Abu Dhabi were icons of religious art was no accident. With the exception of Malraux's Buddha heads, these were not exclusively religious collections, but the reference to belief systems was not incidental: the drive, implementation, and goals of the otherworldly politics of Judeo-Christian thought were integral to the early modern global exploration pursued by western countries. Building on studies of the economic and political motivations for contact objects, the intellectual impetus for this volume stems from the

24 Barabási A.-L., *Linked: How Everything is Connected to Everything Else and What It Means for Business, Science, and Everyday Life* (New York, NY: 2014); Barabási A.-L., *Linked: The New Science of Networks* (New York, NY: 2002); Barabási A.-L., *Network Science* (Cambridge, UK: 2016); Fletcher J., "Integrative History: Parallels and Interconnections in the Early Modern Period, 1500–1800", *Journal of Turkish Studies* 9 (1985) 37–57; Gruzinski S., *Les Quatre parties du monde: Histoire d'une mondialisation* (Paris: 2004); Latour B., *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: 2008); Subrahmanyam S., "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia", *Modern Asian Studies* 31 (1997) 735–762; Subrahmanyam S., *Explorations in Connected History: From the Tagus to the Ganges* (Oxford: 2004); Subrahmanyam S., *Explorations in Connected History: Mughals and Franks* (Oxford: 2005); Thomas N., *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA: 1991).

need to better understand the contribution of religion to the bibliography of a global art history.

Religion provided the conceptual compass for understanding the vision of the world displayed in universal collections. Kircher's collection was housed in the Roman College of the Society of Jesus, and the putti in the frontispiece view of the museum explicitly marked the collection's physical and theoretical religious underpinnings with the sign and seal of the Society of Jesus, registering that every study of the globe, the cosmos, the rarities, and curiosities of the natural and man-made world should be understood within the context of the book of *Genesis* [Fig. 1]. De Sepi formulated Kircher's goal as: 'From these, Visitor, you will learn that, just as all things are derived from God into everything (as it were from the Author of Nature), so you will see in this way all things are brought back to him', with God presented as the 'generous giver of knowledge' and the 'highest maker of images'.²⁵ Kircher's universal museum was an empirical gathering of exempla of Creation in its biblical sense, an inanimate version of Noah's Ark. Many centuries later Malraux would also envision the unfolding of 'seemingly antagonistic schools' as not only one of artistic delight, but also most importantly as an 'awareness of art's impassioned quest, of a re-creation of the universe, confronting the Creation'.²⁶ Such a perspective was already evident in medieval copies of the *Bible moralisée*, which had gone so far as to submit that to become too immersed in the study of world without acknowledging its divine origins was to court the heresy of those 'who refuse to credit the Creator for his original creation' and do not recognise that God alone, not astronomers or philosophers, created cosmic order.²⁷

The social and theological architecture of the word *mundus* pervaded the early modern world-view, a position better invoked by Jacques Derrida's idea of the 'mondial' and Serge Gruzinski's notion of a history of 'mondialisation' than

25 'Ex his disces peregrine, quod uti a DEO omnia in omnia derivantur, tanquam a naturae auctore, sic omnia e contra ad eum referri pulchra comparatione expressum intuearis.' and 'Postquam author scientiarum largitorem Deum multitudinem simulacrorum summum opificem expressit [...]' [emphasis original]. Sepi, *The Celebrated Museum of the Roman College of the Society of Jesus* 2, 118.

26 'Au "plaisir de l'oeil" la succession, l'apparente contradiction des écoles ont ajouté la conscience d'une quête passionnée, d'une recreation de l'univers en face de la Création'. Malraux, *Le Musée Imaginaire* 13; Malraux, *Museum without Walls* 10.

27 Tachau K.H., "God's Compass and *Vana Curiositas*: Scientific Study in the Old French *Bible Moralisée*", *Art Bulletin* 80, 1 (March 1998) 27. I am grateful to Robert Maxwell for bringing this article to my attention.

the English word 'globalisation'.²⁸ To be fair, however, the modern-day fascination with self-contained completion associated with globalisation today was in fact quite the opposite of the implications born by the first production of contact objects, like globes, that were premised on border-crossing connectivity.²⁹ When the Nuremberg cartographer Martin Behaim created the first 'globe' in the year of Columbus' discovery of what he thought were the West Indies (actually modern-day America) in 1492, he translated the object-based connections of person and world into real-world equivalencies along a single continuum.³⁰ The first globe was not simply a result of the conceptualisation of transferring a two-dimensional print on to a three-dimensional orb, but, as Marie Neil Wolff has argued, the breakdown of clear demarcations of the inside and outside.³¹

Early modern globalisation was distinguished by the creation of a logistics of connection, what Finbarr Barry Flood has called the 'routes, not roots' travelled by objects, in response to religious circumstance.³² The Reformation had depleted the population of Roman Catholic Europe, and motivated European rulers to fill the loss of the faithful to various branches of Protestantism with other peoples through conversion. The Catholic Church sent missions around the world to address this perceived need under the auspices of orders like the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and the Jesuits, as well as pan-Catholic offices like the *Sacra Congregatione de Propaganda Fide* (*Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of Faith*) and the more informal networks of various sodalities and specific devotions. The global circumnavigation of religious objects could even be theorised as an extension of the tradition of pilgrimage or religious journey and an adamant expansion of the use of worldly materials to

28 Derrida J., "What Does It Mean to Be a French Philosopher Today?", *Paper Machine*, trans. R. Bowlby (Palo Alto, CA: 2005) 112–120, at 118; Gruzinski S., *L'Aigle et le dragon: D mesure europ enne et mondialisation au XVI  si cle* (Paris: 2012); Gruzinski S., *The Eagle and the Dragon: Globalization and the European Dreams of Conquest in China and America in the Sixteenth Century*, trans. J. Birrell (New York, NY: 2014); and Gruzinski, *Les Quatre parties du monde*.

29 Li V., "Elliptical Interruptions: Or, Why Derrida Prefers Mondialisation to Globalization", *CR: The New Centennial Review* 7, 2 (Fall 2007) 141–154, at 141–142.

30 Cf. the importance of geographical confusion in the narrative of early modern globalization, Nagel A., *Some Discoveries of 1492: Eastern Antiquities and Renaissance Europe*, the Seventeenth Gerson Lecture (Groningen: 2013) 22–34.

31 Wolff M.N., "Zones of Indifference", in Savoy, *The Globalization of Renaissance Art* 292–293. Cf. Mochizuki, "A Global Eye" 93–99.

32 Flood F.B., *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter* (Princeton, NJ: 2009) 1–5.

refer to the divine when such issues were still highly contentious. Religious systems, by which I refer to both ontological systems of value and the logistical administration of long-distance overseas networks, presented a model and means for apprehending the world that was elastic enough to include macrocosm and microcosm, to encompass the grasping of the universal and the sustaining of local differentiation.

Further still, sacred origin narratives could provide an axis of orientation for progress in uncertain times, underscoring the nuance of relative direction over a specific place preserved in the Latin verb root 'oriri', to arise, that has been observed by Alexander Nagel.³³ In European exploration, the cultural and political geography of the world were understood through the prism of Christianity. As post-Tridentine theologians sought to embed their notion of the *mundus* in the world, they had a long geographic magisterium at their disposal. In an era when Prester John's Ethiopia was understood to border the Garden of Eden and America was the home of the descendants of Noah and the lost tribes of Israel, the idea of a *geographia sacra* that had been based in charting the Holy Land assumed a pointed, real-time significance when maps conjoined past and optative future.³⁴ Early modern globalisation dangled the promise of a new golden age, one saturated with the hope of recapturing a mythic age by discovering a prelapsarian people and utopian place untouched by the Fall of Man.

For Kircher, the 'contact relics' of *Genesis*, the materialisation of Creation that could be held in the cup of a hand, were primordial stones. With a special section of his galleries dedicated to the panorama of 'The Fruits of the World Underground' ('Mundi Subterranei fructus'), including a selection of 'white and black Agates and blended in various permutations' ('Agathae albae, et nigrae, et variis ductibus intermixtae'), Kircher mined a long tradition of God as the architect of the universe depicted at least since the thirteenth century.³⁵ In a frontispiece from a *Bible moralisée* in Vienna (Codex Vindobonensis 2254), God the architect-creator stands mid-work with a compass and planet, whose interior transparency evokes the excitement of the physical hands-on making of the earth while acting as a visual metonym for the cross-section of rocks that make up its core [Fig. 3].³⁶ In this visualisation, the earthly stone appears as an

33 Nagel, *Some Discoveries of 1492* 14–16.

34 Mochizuki, "A Global Eye" 80–93.

35 Sepi, *The Celebrated Museum of the Roman College of the Society of Jesus* 41–42, 150–152.

36 Guest G.B., *Bible Moralisée: Codex Vindobonensis 2254, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek* (London: 1995); Hellemans B., *La Bible Moralisée: Une Oeuvre à part entière. Création, sémiotique et temporalité au XIII^e siècle* (Turnhout: 2010) 123–125.



FIGURE 3 Anon. (Old French), God the Architect of the Universe, in *Bible moralisée* (ca. 1208–1215), fol. iv. Illumination on parchment, 34.4. × 26 cm. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Codex Vindobonensis 2554).
IMAGE © ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK, VIENNA.

object that literally holds the world within it, a rock that performs simultaneously in the *lusus naturae* as a tangible memento for the planet it constitutes. The image expressed a Christian interpretation of ‘creation, the universe, and its parts’ by depicting a craftsman God who impressed forms on pre-existent amorphous matter, the material universe wrestled from chaos in the moment of the earth coming into being between sun and moon, in keeping with St. Augustine’s interpretative combination of *Genesis* 1:1 and *Wisdom* 11:21.³⁷ Kircher’s agate stones offered a part for a whole, where metonymic value underscored the nostalgic function of the tangible relics of exploration that is most familiar today in the secular souvenir.

Kircher was not alone in seeing agate as a ‘history of the planet earth coagulated into an image’.³⁸ According to Gottfried Boehm, the contemporary design of the German artist Sigmar Polke for seven windows on the western side of the nave of the Grossmünster in Zurich drew upon this formal similarity of a planetary orb to a slice of stone [Figs. 3 and 4].³⁹ Using 1,300 cross-sections of artificially coloured agate, Polke appropriated the natural deposits of the ‘coalescence of time’ to recreate the revelation of biblical history along the chronological axis of the Church’s west–east axis from the earliest days of the earth to the Old Testament figures of five glass windows in the eastern section of the nave. In fact, the use of stone to fill window apertures is a modern revival of a medieval method for evoking the heavenly city from the *Revelation of St. John*.⁴⁰ Polke’s combination of the disparate Romanesque elements of fenestration (sliced stone, lead coming, and agate), however, was entirely a new invention, and the strict use of only agate and lead coming for the entire windows remains unparalleled in contemporary church architecture.⁴¹ As ‘ready-mades of Creation’, Polke’s *Agate Windows* were testimonials to *Genesis* that relied upon

37 Tachau, “God’s Compass and *Vana Curiositas*” 7, 27, 28, 33, n. 3, 98–101.

38 Gerster U., *The Windows of the Grossmünster Zürich: Augusto Giacometti—Sigmar Polke*, trans. I. Flett, Swiss Heritage Guides (Bern: 2012) 29.

39 Boehm G., “Geronnene Zeit/The Coalescence of Time”, in Schelbert C. – Sigler J. – Welzel M. (eds.), *Sigmar Polke: Fenster—Windows. Grossmünster Zürich*, trans. I. Flett et al. (Zurich: 2010) 143, 154; Cahn W., *Die Bibel der Romanik* (Munich: 1982).

40 Warner M., “‘Algebra, Taumel und Ordnung’: Zeichen im Stein. Form ist niemals trivial oder gleichgültig; sie ist die Magie der Welt/‘Algebra, Vertigo, and Order’: Signs in the Stone. Form is Never Trivial or Indifferent. It is the Magic of the World”, in Schelbert – Sigler – Welzel, *Sigmar Polke: Fenster—Windows* 160–175.

41 Gerster, *The Windows of the Grossmünster Zürich* 29.



FIGURE 4 Sigmar Polke, *Agate Window (Northern Portal)* (2009). *Agate, lead, and colour*, 136 × 274 cm. Zurich, Grossmünster.

IMAGE © THE ESTATE OF SIGMAR POLKE, COLOGNE/GROSSMÜNSTER ZÜRICH; PHOTO: LORENZ EHRISMANN.

the motivation, history, and synecdoche of the geological substrata of ‘world’ to make a convincing case for the otherworldly.⁴²

To an early modern mindset, the earth had become the raw stuff of religion, each rock establishing the basis of man’s connection to world *in nucleo*. A memorable image in Kircher’s *Mundus subterraneus* looks very much like the curious detail of the Vienna *Bible moralisée*’s frontispiece, representing the molten magma beneath the surface crust of the earth as a primordial blend of the constantly changing fiery body of the sun and the eternal waters of the moon [Figs. 3 and 5].⁴³ A central fire feeds subsidiary bursts of flames around the globe through fissures, not unlike the patterns left behind by frozen gases in rock, that emerge on the surface of the earth as volcanoes. Subterranean fires like these were believed to be responsible for the generation of a range of

42 Burckhardt J. – Curiger B., “Illuminationen/Illuminations”, in Schelbert – Sigler – Welzel, *Sigmar Polke: Fenster—Windows* 46–75, at 50, 67.

43 Godwin J., *Athanasius Kircher’s Theatre of the World: His Life, Work, and the Search for Knowledge* (Rochester, VT: 2009) 127–141.

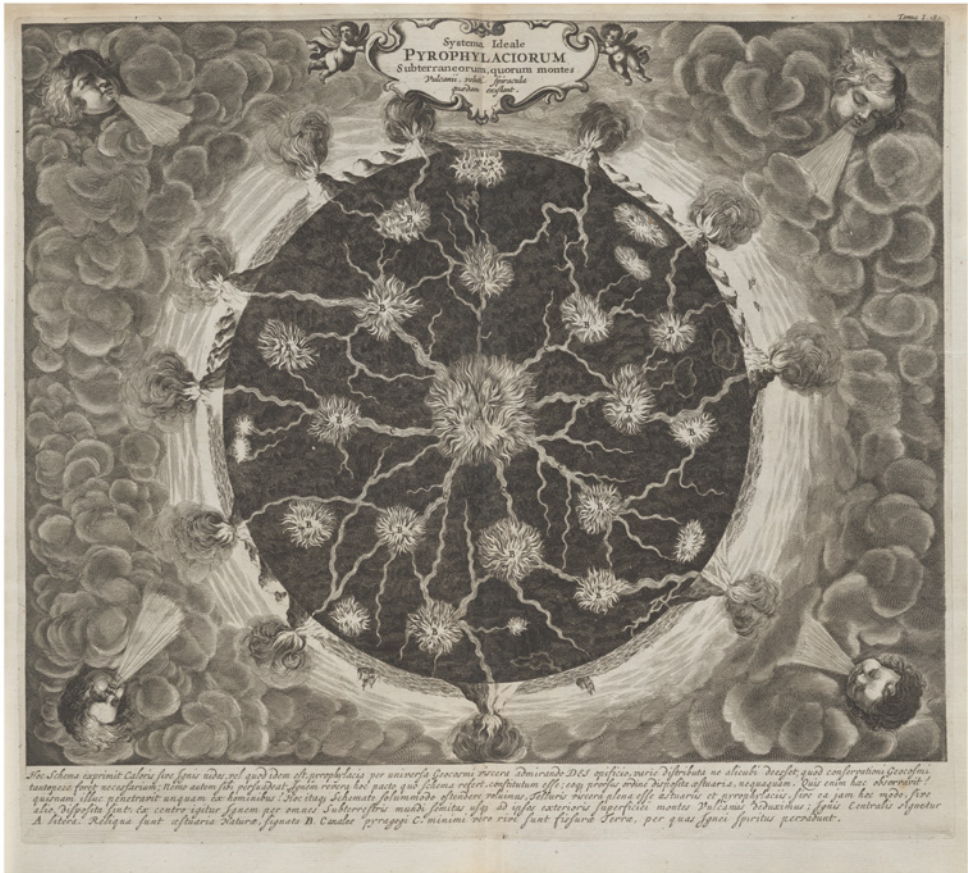


FIGURE 5 Athanasius Kircher, S.J., “Systema Ideale Pyrophylaciorum Subterraneorum,” in *Mundus subterraneus* (Amsterdam: Johannes Janssonius van Waesberge and the Widow of Elizaews Weyerstraten, 1665), vol. 1, after page 180. Engraving, 42 × 37 cm. Ithaca, NY, Cornell University, Carl A. Kroch Library, Rare and Manuscript Collections (History of Science Q155 .K58 M9 1665).

IMAGE © CARL A. KROCH LIBRARY, CORNELL UNIVERSITY, ITHACA, NY.

natural occurrences: clouds, rain, frost, dew, snow, hail, winds, thunder, lightning, tastes of waters, medicinal springs, tides, earthquakes, fossils, and metals. Implicit here was not only the miraculous structure that could join fire and water, but also the notion of stasis and change balanced in harmony, like the spirits of the human body. The creation of man and earth were bound by their complementary matter and spirit, stability and metamorphosis.

As the interaction of God and world became the working structure for human contact across distant regions, stones acted as the remnants of an

earlier wistful age and the palpable promise of what might come next, a critical role of religious art in unstable times capitalised upon by the circulation of early modern sacred art. This was the ideal espoused in the collection amassed by Roger Caillois (1913–1978), the French literary critic and sociologist, who would immortalise the markings visible on cross-sections of stones with a series of essays: *Pierres* (Stones, 1966), *L'Écriture des pierres* (The Writing of Stones, 1970), and 'Agates paradoxales' ('Paradoxical Agate', 1977).⁴⁴ Over the course of millennia, silicon oxide filled the hollow spaces of agate, a rare variety of quartz produced by the tempered magma of volcanoes, that generated unique patterns in each piece of agate.⁴⁵ A round sample of paradoxical agate could be cleaved to reveal veins of cooled oxide, so what Caillois named 'The Little Ghost' could disclose the immanence hidden in the depth of earthly material, or the patterns made in an ovoid example of Spanish Septaria could become for him 'The Crown of Christ' [Figs. 6 and 7]. For Caillois, his stone collection provided the last resource, the link between reality and imagination, where ancient clouds were frozen and the original structure of the world preserved. Looking at these stones as a group in the Galerie de minéralogie et de géologie of the Muséum national d'histoire naturelle in Paris is like gazing at the history of the world, or more specifically the earth before the belated arrival of humans, when the human presence became dominant. If the mysticism of matter could be established, the 'stuff' of nature was not the Platonic antithesis to the soul it was sometimes purported to be, and the implication was that mankind could somehow find his and her way once more.

When exploration is interpreted in conjunction with the Reformation, it becomes clear that the incorporation of the larger world into perspective and paradigm proved to be the testing grounds for an extreme form of humanism, the test for humankind to make its mark, what predated and post-dated the presence of man on earth, or the Anthropocene. There has always been a strong anthropomorphising tendency to the study of global art history that goes back to the innovation of the globe as a representation of the world achieved by man's broaching of previous physical and philosophical boundaries. Terms like 'lives' and 'afterlives', or the biographies of things, regularly punctuate the discourse, extending while still ultimately relying upon the organic model of art history from birth to maturity to decline that has permeated writings

44 Caillois R., *La Lecture des pierres* (Paris: 1966, 1970, 1977; reprint, Paris: 2015) 239–254, 282–308, 331–340, 369–406; Caillois R., *The Writing of Stones*, trans. B. Bray (Geneva: 1970; reprint, Charlottesville, VA: 1985); Gioni M. – Bell N. (eds.), *The Keeper*, exh. cat. The New Museum (New York, NY: 2016) 108–121.

45 Boehm, "Geronnene Zeit/The Coalescence of Time" 145, 155.



FIGURE 6 “The Little Ghost” (undated), Paradoxical agate, $19 \times 16 \times 1$ cm. Paris, Muséum national d’histoire naturelle, Galerie de minéralogie et de géologie.

IMAGE © MUSÉUM NATIONAL D’HISTOIRE NATURELLE, PARIS.

in the field since its inception.⁴⁶ Scholars have tended to discuss objects as vibrant, effecting change, and even anticipating future chapters in the life of

46 Cf. Appadurai A. (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, UK: 1986); Gerritsen – Riello, *The Global Lives of Things*. For an argument in favor of ‘itinerant objects’ over an organic model, see Hahn H.P. – Weiss H. (eds.), *Mobility, Meaning and Transformations of Things: Shifting Contexts of Material Culture through Time and Space* (Oxford: 2013) 1–14.



FIGURE 7 “Crown of Christ” (undated). *Septaria* from Spain, $9 \times 7.5 \times 3$ cm. Paris, Muséum national d’histoire naturelle, Galerie de minéralogie et de géologie.

IMAGE © MUSÉUM NATIONAL D’HISTOIRE NATURELLE, PARIS.

an image, some times literally, other times as a metaphor. But the association is not solely rhetorical. It speaks to how fundamentally the agency of objects in motion changed the consciousness of world and thus human experience. If the Renaissance had celebrated the achievements of humankind in all its glory, the Reformation held up the anxiety-provoking spectacle of destabilised institutions caught in the unravelling of the social compact of civilised society. All too visible human failings led, quite logically, to a desire to know what came *before* and therefore what might be expected *after* the age of man. The ‘reformatting’ of early modern art within a global framework, in the sense advocated by David Joselit, was at base predicated on the archetypal relationship of the world to the otherworldly, and this is why religious metaphysics was indispensable to early modern exploration.⁴⁷

47 Joselit D., *After Art* (Princeton, NJ: 2012).

The Nomadic Object

The ‘nomadic objects’ in this volume have been divided into five parts that accentuate how distance mobilised religious art. They treat the role of idols in the early modern notion of world, the prints that circulated along oceanic trade routes, the metaphysical change in objects as a result of travel, the extended range of the relic economy, and the devotional art defined by connected overseas webs of production. There is neither an attempt to claim comprehensiveness, nor exemplification. The objects were chosen to shed light on critical themes in sacred art’s response to the world that are likewise points of contact for a global art history discourse. They explore how an expanded arena of activity impacted the visual imagination as a result of broadened circulation patterns. Distance, both local and almost unimaginably far, raised problems that stimulated material transformation then and a structure of interlaced taxonomies today that may help revise the national categories whose matrices have left many objects unaccounted for and under-studied. In this way, the volume seeks to move beyond what Claire Farago has warned can be the entrapments of binaries, monolithic categories, linear trajectories, and the hierarchies of genre that have restricted art historical thought unnecessarily.⁴⁸ Further, it should be noted that the organising principle was not in this case one of world art, but instead has gravitated to those religious objects—chiefly, but not entirely Christian—that provide insight into the changing European relationship with the concept of world.

The collection of essays, a virtual *Kunstkammer* of religious objects in the Kircher, Malraux, and Louvre Abu Dhabi tradition, begins with a critical orientation point for the rest of the volume. Christine Göttler’s contribution provides an important historical corrective to the growing discussion of world, mondialisation, worlding, and world-making by looking at the exchange of ‘extraordinary things’ between two of the great sixteenth-century conceptualisers of world, the noted cartographer Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598) and the priest and biblical scholar Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598), at a moment when idolatry, antiquarianism, and connoisseurship fashioned the threshold for admission to the world stage.⁴⁹ ‘Part 1. The World’s “Idols”’ retraces the

48 Farago C., “The ‘Global Turn’ in Art History: Why, When, and How Does It Matter?”, in Savoy, *The Globalization of Renaissance Art* 304–306.

49 Greene R., *Five Words: Critical Semantics in the Age of Shakespeare and Cervantes* (Chicago, IL: 2013); Kavey A. (ed.), *World-building and the Early Modern Imagination* (New York, NY: 2010); Ramachandran A., *The Worldmakers: Global Imagining in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago, IL: 2015).

complicated negotiations of religious iconographies across space and place, exposing the privileged position and limitations of imitation in form, subject matter, and even simulated devotional ritual. Tracing the movement across the interior spaces of *Kunstkammern* from Seville to Antwerp to imagined pictorial representations, Göttler charts the entrance of 'Indian idols' to painstakingly reconstruct how the amorphous x- and y-grid of foreign aesthetic and religious values were mapped on to distinctions of fetish, idol, and *exotica*. Denise-Marie Teece provides original evidence from textile conservation analysis that leads to a re-attribution for the origin of a fragment of a chasuble with Arabic lettering from Mamluk Egypt to fourteenth-century Italy. Tristan Weddigen contrasts how the campaign for the beatification of St. Rose of Lima brought a distinctive iconography to Tridentine Rome, while the white Carrara marble of Melchiorre Cafà's sculpture of her generated not a single copy in Peru, transforming her into a 'stranded foreign body' in her own country. Perhaps counter-intuitively, the earliest intimations of outward interest to know the world stemmed from an inwardly directed desire to know the self, particularly with the goal of cultivating an improved spiritual personhood.

'Part 2. Parables of Contact' then considers the narratives of translation that religious books, the primary vehicle for the working through, codification, and diffusion of ideas, circulated on the world stage. Returning to earlier discussion of universal commonalities among diverse cultures, Walter Melion cites the case of the Jesuit Jan David's *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp, 1601), where David argues for an image-based conception of Thomist natural law ('*imagines Legis naturae*'), to consider the question of visual commensurability from the perspective of clarifying inborn images that had become occluded over time.⁵⁰ Jeanette Favrot Peterson finds quotations and citations in the Florentine Codex (1575–1577) in Mexico that imply that Christian and non-Christian belief were not viewed as mutually exclusive and could comfortably coexist. Yoriko Kobayashi-Sato complicates modes of mediation with the transmission to Japan of Jan Luyken's *Het Menselijk Bedrijf* (Amsterdam, 1694) to show how little implicit, 'stowaway' Christian culture was understood in a predominantly non-Christian country, modelling the use of *misinterpretation* as a productive investigative tool. Ralph Dekoninck then explores how Wilhelm Gumpfenberg's *Atlas Marianus* (Trent, 1655), which proposed an inventory of the miraculous images of the Virgin throughout the world, explicitly distinguished between

50 Lavin I. (ed.), *World Art: Themes of Unity in Diversity*, 3 vols. (University Park, PA: 1989); Wittkower R., *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols* (London: 1987); Wittkower R., *Selected Lectures: The Impact of Non-European Civilizations on the Art of the West* (Cambridge: 1989).

two kinds of 'translation': replicas to the original based on (1) resemblance to the original and (2) the transfer of a fragment of the sacred image itself. The materiality of a foreign substance that had inhibited the replication of Cafà's marble *St. Rose* in Peru, and the concurrent visual philosophy it promulgated, was what ensured the success of the copies of an image carved from a tree in the North American expansion of devotees to Our Lady of Foy.

'Part 3. Material Alchemies' explores the expanded role of materials that world-wide contact furthered. It is no accident that Evonne Levy's multiple-images so closely resemble the opening image of Gumpfenberg's text, where the Madonna and Child holding the *orbis mundi* was replicated, reflected upward, and projected downward in an early modern simulacrum of omnipresence. But Levy's objects are oil-on-canvas paintings, not prints, where the metamorphosis of materiality inscribed mobility into their very production, as well as into their pictorial presentation, what Levy has called their 'visual habitus' [Fig. 7.1]. Christiane Hille explores the after-life of Christian reliquaries in post-Reformation England, when gems were re-purposed for English portrait miniatures and Mughal turban ornaments (*jigha*), to find that the shared homologies of the symbolic adornment of the body transcended religious, cultural, and linguistic identities to create new zones of affinity based on the consumption of jewel-encrusted artefacts. Occupying a 'third space' is how Margit Kern has described the products of Christian iconography in re-contextualised materials, such as the Christian feather-images made for European collections, when the addition of a stuffed hummingbird to an image of St. Jerome realigned a devotional discourse within the representational system of the *Wunderkammer*.⁵¹ But it is in bezoar and Goa stones, which were categorised as both *naturalia* and *artificialia* in *Kunstammer* inventories, where mimesis most came under pressure. Beate Fricke shows how the worldly presence and divine absences in the stones' ornate containers reconfigured the Renaissance ideal of *virtus* by investing their sacred cargo with the curative power of miraculous relics.

'Part 4. Relic Values' deconstructs the material economies of the expanded relic and reliquary exchange. Urte Krass reminds readers that early modern global relic and reliquary traffic was a two-way street between Asia and Europe, where the early, experimental phase of reliquary fabrication in the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* suggests that materials, like mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell, and shape shared a vernacular of containment and expansion that used distance points to stress the conjunction of alterity and otherworldliness. Rose Marie San Juan considers the volatile cross-cultural trade in relics of St. Ursula's 11,000 virgins initiated by Jesuits in the 'New World', and finds the

51 Bhabha H., *The Location of Culture* (London: 2004).

materiality of bone that allowed the relic to be reconceived as an anonymous collective opened the way for a substitution economy that promoted the acceptance of a reliquary as finally unknowable and empty. Akira Akiyama contrasts the display of imperial regalia of the Holy Roman Empire and that of Japanese emperors to examine how distance affected portable sacred objects, when visibility was not always a prerequisite and replicas absorbed the power of originals to enhance the relic-like function of regalia after its translation. Relics were some of the most valuable of the 'souvenirs' Jesuits brought back from far away lands, and as such, Ines Županov demonstrates how Jesuits were able to create a spiritual currency exchange based on the value of the commodified body by modulating publicity through apologetic texts and securing the most important examples in a safeguarded reserve depot.

'Part 5. "Netted" Works' comes full circle to investigate how objects came to be defined by the expanded inter-relationships of sets of images brought into dialogue through political, mercantile, and religious networks. Dagmar Eichberger follows the dynastic pathways of Habsburg devotees of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin in Europe and overseas to chart how the Mater Dolorosa became an integral constituent of the Passion iconography of Spain and its Catholic colonies abroad thanks to the mediation of Franciscan friars. Jeffrey Collins and Meredith Martin unpack the visual riddle of cross-cultural *naviculae*, such as a European-shaped ship-incensor decorated with Chinese dragons found during the excavations of the former Siamese (Thai) Royal Palaces in Ayutthaya and Lopburi north of Bangkok, to reflect on the dense interdependency of the local and the global. James Clifton contends that in the hands of the renowned missionary Matteo Ricci, S.J., European traditions of 'armchair travelling' and the Chinese concept of '*woyou*' converged to posit a long-distance voyage as a viable model for devotion as virtual spiritual travel. Lastly, the book closes with Dipti Khera's analysis of *vijnaptipatra*, the paper scrolls sent by prominent merchants to eminent pontiffs of the Jain religious community in western India. One vignette juxtaposes the traversal of land on foot by Jain monks and nuns with the transportation across large bodies of water by the ships of Portuguese merchants, to underscore how distance, problematised by the rhetoric of scale and movement, continued to act as the privileged arena of arbitration for the sacred object's coming to terms with the world.

The essays in this volume form an aggregate sketch of strategies by which religious art responded to the expanded architecture of a world framework, where objects acted as a visual foil to the textual Republic of Letters through the competing conceptualisations of world, the challenge of distance for mimesis, the alchemy of substitution economies, the evaluation of the commodified body, and the establishment of a relational aesthetics. The end result of

the revised arena for the early modern devotional object was the creation of a dynamic spectrum of displacement and re-orientation. It was a moment when iconography provided the glue between shifting styles and selective sampling, when notions of centre and selfhood were renegotiated in relation to the recognition of other populations in the *oikoumene*, or inhabited world, and when ideas were fluidly assimilated and appropriated, adapted and misconstrued, or at least re-purposed. Every object sustained the marks of its travels through different geographical and cultural thresholds. Religious objects, both natural and man-made, were among the first and largest corpus of artefacts to circumnavigate the Renaissance world, and as such they distilled the burden that an expanded geography placed on early modern representation. The itineraries of the sacred nomadic object underscore the profoundly determinative role that the myriad, active refractions of place played in shaping meaning as a locus of pictorial negotiation.

Global art history began as a deeply idealistic venture. There are those who say it now has passed its peak. But if it is to fulfil its initial promise, it must not be content with the easy stop-gap responses of inversion or identity politics. Rather, it should actualise the fundamental lesson of a world-view: the deep interdependence of people, places, and things, when connected worlds produced cross-cultural objects, new conversations, and more links between *mundus* and the mundane. The relationship between the world, the worldly, and the otherworldly was the quintessential typology for regional engagement, and this reason alone argues for the inclusion of considerations of religion in a global art history. As the very notion of world was dramatically being reshaped, the visual imagination bore its attendant share of recalibration, and its reverberations spanned as broadly as they plumbed deeply, leaving no aspect of the human experience untouched. But until the ramifications of this message have been fully incorporated into the discipline, a truly *mondial* age cannot dawn.⁵²

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52 Kobayashi-Sato Y. – Mochizuki M.M., 対話する日本と西洋の文化—グローバル時代の夜明け/*Dawn of a Global Age: Visual Dialogue between Edo Japan and the West* (Kyōto: 2017).

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PART 1

The World's 'Idols'



Extraordinary Things: ‘Idols from India’ and the Visual Discernment of Space and Time, circa 1600

Christine Göttler

A List of Things to be Sent from Seville to Antwerp

In a letter dated 26 April 1596 the priest and biblical scholar Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598) informs his ‘dearest friend’ Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598) in Antwerp that he will send through the trustworthy middleman, Flemish merchant Mateo Doom, some things from his ‘theatre of art and nature’ which he considers, however, ‘far inferior’ to Ortelius’s ‘museum of rich and exquisite things’.¹ The letter was written from his house near Seville, which he had bought after he had moved to his country retreat of La Peña de Aracena in 1592. In the letter, Arias Montano also thanks Ortelius for presenting him with a copy of the augmented version of his *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, ‘brought to perfection through your most fertile mind and tireless work’.² The list of items attached to the letter reads:

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- 1 Morales E., “Las cartas de Benito Arias Montano a Abraham Ortels: Edición crítica y traducción a español”, *Humanistica Lovaniensia: Journal of Neo-Latin Studies* 51 (2002) 199–204, at 202: ‘Nunc vero quod, Mattheo Doomo curante, hominis fidelis et diligentis cui has crederem copiam nactus fuerim, ex nostro naturae et artis theatro (musaei tui divitiis et elegantis longe inferiore) quaedam tibi amicissimo quae boni, uti soles, consules, mitto quantum videlicet exigua capere potuit capsula, non quantum et quanta tibi cupimus, modo animo res conveniret’. See also *Abrahami Ortelii epistulae*, ed. J.H. Hessels, vol. 1 (Cambridge: 1887) no. 288.
 - 2 Morales, “Las cartas” 200: ‘Accepi nuper in cista per D[ominum] Ludovicum curata et instructa Theatrum tuum auctissimum milleque elegantis cumulatam tuo isto fertilissimo ingenio et indefesso labore’. See also *Abrahami Ortelii epistulae* 684. For a list of the editions of Ortelius’s *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, see Krogt P. van der, “Appendix I: The Editions of Ortelius’ *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* and *Epitome*”, in Broecke M. van den – Krogt P. van der – Meurer P., *Abraham Ortelius and the First Atlas: Commemorating the Quadricentennial of his Death, 1598–1998* (‘t Goy-Houten: 1998) 379–381.

Rerum in capsula tibi inclusarum Index

Pyxis argentea in qua:

Annulus peregrinae gemmae exemplis quinque inclusis.

Annulus alter aureus cum smaragdo, honestissimae sorori tuae.

Chalcanti veri pars ex occidentali India, mirae efficacitatis ad oris ulcera.

Extra pyxidem in capsula lignea picta sive inducta chartis pictis
Lapidis baghalzar, id est veneno imperantis elegans et modo et usu atque
efficacitate exemplum.

Idolum aureum barbarum opus in principum sepulchro apud indos
reptum.

Idolum alterum eiusdem sexus atque operis argenteum.

Animalis barbare ducta argentea effigies.

Idolum barbarum ex iaspide hematite.

Ilex acutissimus anceps quo Mexicani pro novacula vel cultro utuntur.

Tomentum ex mollissima lana bicuniae, id est animalis in quo baghalzar
lapides reperiuntur.³

List of things enclosed for you in the casket

A silver box in which are

a ring in which five foreign gems are set;

another golden ring with an emerald, for your most honourable sister;

a piece of true chalcantum from the West Indies, remarkably effective
for treating mouth ulcers.

Outside the box in a wooden casket painted or covered with painted
papers:

an example of a bezoar, that is, of the stone that has power over poison,
exquisite in its form, use, and efficaciousness;

a golden idol, a work of 'barbarians', found in a tomb of princes of the
Indians;

another idol of the same sex and craftsmanship in silver;

a silver image of an animal chased in the manner of 'barbarians';

a 'barbarian' idol of jasper-haematite;

a very sharp two-edged [piece of] oak used by the Mexicans as a knife or
razor;

a pillow of the very soft wool of the *vicuña*, an animal in which bezoar
stones are found.

3 Morales, "Las cartas" 204.

What does this list tell us about Arias Montano's (and Ortelius's) interest in objects of art and nature from the New World that were at that time widely available in the prosperous city of Seville, designated by the monarchs as the only official gateway to the Indies? And what do the words that accompanied these things reveal about the ways in which the learned theologian and philologist interpreted indigenous artefacts from Peru and New Spain? The novelties sent from Seville to Antwerp in 1596 share several qualities: their foreign or 'barbarian' origin, a designation refined by the Jesuit missionary and Provincial of Peru José de Acosta (1539–1600) in these very years;⁴ their precious metallic or mineral matter (gold and silver; gemstones such as emerald, haematite, jasper; chalcantum generated in the interplay between nature and art); and their pharmaceutical, medical, or magical potency.⁵ Finally, the exchange of material objects also strengthened and revived the bonds of friendship between the two scholars who, by the mid-1590s, had not seen each other for more than twenty years.

It was in Antwerp in the circle around the renowned printer and publisher Christopher Plantin (1520–1589) that the two men had met. In 1568, Arias Montano had been sent to Antwerp by Philip II to oversee Plantin's production

4 In the *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (*Natural and Moral History of the Indies*) of 1590, José de Acosta distinguishes three classes of 'barbarians' in the Americas: at the top of the hierarchy are the Incas and the Aztecs, at the bottom are the 'Indians who have neither laws nor king nor fixed dwellings, but go in herds like wild animals and savages'. Acosta J. de, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, ed. J.E. Mangan, trans. F. López-Morillas (Durham, NC: 2002) 359. See also Acosta J. de, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, ed. F. del Pino-Díaz (Madrid: 2008) 219–220 (Libro VI, Capítulo 19). See MacCormack S., *On the Wings of Time: Rome, the Incas, Spain, and Peru* (Princeton, NJ – Oxford: 2007) 164–165.

5 Most of these materials are mentioned in the *Natural History* by Pliny the Elder. See Healy J.F., *Pliny the Elder on Science and Technology* (Oxford: 1999) 122–123 (on chalcantum), 222–223 (on haematites), 241–245 (on emeralds). Pliny identifies chalcantum (or 'flower of copper') with 'shoemaker's black' ('atramentum sutorium'). For the history of its medical use in treating abscesses of the gums see Duffin C.J. – Moody R.T.J. – Gardner-Thorpe C., *A History of Geology and Medicine* (London: 2013) 77. For haematites, also called 'bloodstones', used to treat wounds and help to control blood flows, see also Bucklow S., *Red: The Art and Science of a Colour* (London: 2016) 59–62; Baert B. – Kusters L. – Sidgwick E., "An Issue of Blood: The Healing of the Woman with the Haemorrhage (Mark 5.24B–34; Luke 8.42B–48; Matthew 9.19–22) in Early Medieval Visual Culture", in Horstmannshoff M. – King H. – Zittel C. (eds.), *Blood, Sweat and Tears: The Changing Concepts of Physiology from Antiquity into Early Modern Europe*, *Intersections* 25 (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2012) 307–338, at 333.

of the Polyglot Bible.⁶ Ortelius was at the time completing his *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, first printed by Gillis Coppens van Diest at the behest of Plantin in 1570 and then published in ever enlarged editions and translations (Dutch, German, French, Spanish, Italian, and English) over the years.⁷ Arias Montano and Ortelius moved within the same circles of naturalists, physicians, philosophers, cosmographers, and mathematicians, which included the botanists Carolus Clusius and Rembert Dodoens with whom he continued to correspond long after his return to Spain. Curiously, the learned theologian who had studied at the universities of Seville, Alcalá, and Salamanca and the Antwerp-based trader in books, maps, and prints shared not only the same dates of birth and death, but a number of other experiences and traits as well.⁸ Both were, at different times in their lives, under scrutiny by the Inquisition, both suffered from bouts of melancholy, and both found solace and intellectual pleasure in building up their collections of rare and precious things. After retiring to Seville, Arias Montano became actively involved in strengthening the ties that bound the learned communities in the two port cities of the Spanish Empire to each other, casting himself in a central role in facilitating (and therefore also controlling) these exchanges.⁹ By so doing he also refreshed and revitalised the memory of his stay in Antwerp, a period that he came to regard in retrospect as the happiest time of all his life.¹⁰

Put on display in specially designed spaces of study and learning or carried on the body, the artefacts made of (partially) foreign materials are here understood, with reference to W.J.T. Mitchell, as 'special things' in that they entered into highly affective relationships with their European collectors, users, and viewers. Mitchell sees 'special things', such as idols, fetishes, and totems—their primary examples—as distinct from other things in that they seemingly have a life of their own.¹¹ Idols and fetishes, in particular, also refer to groups of

6 Bowen K.I. – Imhof D., *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: 2008) 84–106; Shalev Z., *Sacred Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion, and Scholarship, 1550–1700* (Leiden – London: 2012) 23–71.

7 Bowen – Imhof, *Christopher Plantin* 290. Plantin published five editions of the *Theatrum* and four editions of the *Additamenta* between 1579 and 1587.

8 Both Ortelius and Arias Montano were born in 1527. Ortelius died on 28 June 1598 in Antwerp; Arias Montano's date of death is usually given as 6 July 1598.

9 Lazure G., "Building Bridges between Antwerp and Seville: Friends and Followers of Benito Arias Montano, 1579–1598", *The Gulden Passer* 89, 1 (2011) 31–43.

10 Letter sent by Arias Montano to Carolus Clusius in 1596. Lazure, "Building Bridges" 36.

11 W.J.T. Mitchell understands idols, fetishes, and totems as 'special things'. According to Mitchell, 'special things' can include ordinary commodities, but also 'sacred, magical, uncanny things, symbolic things, associated with ritual and narrative, prophecies and

objects that, at the turn of the seventeenth century, were redefined and reinterpreted in both colonial and confessional contexts. 'Special things' resonate with 'rich and exquisite things', the phrase Arias Montano used to describe Ortelius's collection, and with 'cosas extrahordinarias' (extraordinary things), the historical category applied to objects of the Incas that entered the collections at the Escorial.¹² More recently, Mitchell has discussed 'special things' specifically within the framework of conquest and colonisation, pointing out how the conflicting definitions of such objects as 'objects of the other' depended on the cultural and religious groups who had created or were describing or collecting them.¹³ In the following, the exchange of 'special things' between Arias Montano and Ortelius will be taken as a point of departure to explore the ways in which 'foreign' objects were accommodated into, but also transformed 'local' (European) collections, and also how they were fitted into persisting frameworks of religious and aesthetic norms. My interest in particular is in novelties perceived as 'idols' and afforded new identities in the process of their moves across geographical spaces and image cultures. The frequent designation of these artefacts as 'Indian' independent of their cultural or geographical origins suggests that the term was understood to relate to the mapping of moral rather than geographical landscapes.¹⁴ The encounter of Europe with other worlds and the spread of the Reformation across Europe and beyond changed and challenged the established values and virtues of material objects—aesthetic and religious, moral and mercantile.

divination'. Mitchell also understands 'special things' as 'specieslike', that is to say 'comprising families of image and ritual practices' and as 'specular or spectacular—that is, associated with image-making, ornamentation, painting, and sculpture'. Mitchell W.J.T., *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago, IL – London: 2005) 193–194. See also Wharton A.J., "Icon, Idol, Totem and Fetish", in Eastmond A. – James L. (eds.), *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium. Studies Presented to Robin Cormack* (Aldershot: 2003) 3–11.

12 See below, footnote 39.

13 Mitchell W.J.T., *Image Science: Iconology, Visual Culture, and Media Aesthetics* (Chicago, IL: 2015) 65–77 ("Migrating Images: Totemism, Fetishism, Idolatry").

14 The term 'Indian' could refer to a broad range of geographical origins including Africa, the Americas, China, India, Indonesia, Japan, and the Philippines, see Markey L. – Keating J., "'Indian' Objects in Medici and Austrian-Habsburg Inventories: A Case-Study of the Sixteenth-Century Term", *Journal of the History of Collections* 23 (2011) 283–300. For the frequent stereotyping of Indian religious practices as idolatry by Arabic and Persian writers, see Flood F.B., *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval 'Hindu-Muslim' Encounter* (Princeton, NJ – Oxford: 2009) 27.

New World Expertise

In the course of the sixteenth century, Seville and Antwerp became ‘world cities’ in the sense defined by Antonella Romano and Stéphane Van Damme, to mean ‘privileged sites for the global articulation of knowledge’.¹⁵ Linked through the dynamics of the Spanish Atlantic trade, both cities boasted cosmopolitan merchant communities, considerable numbers of skilled artisans and craftsmen, including silversmiths and jewellers, and a wealth of goods and information arriving from all over the world. With the establishment of the Casa de la Contratación (House of Trade) in 1503 and the Consulado de Cargadores a Indias (Consulate of Indies Merchants) in 1543, Seville became Spain’s principal entry point for all goods from the vice-royalties of New Spain and Peru and, via Mexico, from the Philippines and the East Asian coast.¹⁶ The flow of American silver into Spain peaked in the 1590s, and the number of Flemish merchants settling in Seville increased after 1585, several of them specialising in the trade in textiles, books, art works, and other luxury goods.¹⁷

The objects assembled in Arias Montano’s theatre and Ortelius’s museum respond to the social and material transformations of these two cities. At the end of the sixteenth century the words *theatrum* and *musaeum* were frequently used to describe collections of curious or rare things that served as ‘sites of mediation’ for studying and comparing faraway or past worlds—whether assembled in physical spaces or in books.¹⁸ In a comparable sense the Flemish

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- 15 Romano A. – Damme S. Van, “Science and World Cities: Thinking Urban Knowledge and Science at Large (16th–18th Century)”, *Itinerario* 32, 1 (2009; Special Issue: Roberts L. (ed.), *Science and Global History, 1750–1850: Local Encounters and Global Circulation*) 79–96, at 85.
 - 16 Stein S.J. – Stein B.H., *Silver, Trade, and War: Spain and America in the Making of Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore, MD: 2000) 10–13; Elliott J.H., “The Seville of Velázquez”, in Davies D. – Harris E., *Velázquez in Seville*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Scotland, ed. M. Clarke (Edinburgh: 1996) 15–21; Pike R., “Seville in the Sixteenth Century”, *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 41, 1 (1961) 1–30.
 - 17 For the flow of silver, see Stein – Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War* 40–46. For the Flemish merchant community in Seville, see Crailsheim E., *The Spanish Connection: French and Flemish Merchant Networks in Seville (1570–1650)* (Cologne – Weimar – Vienna: 2016) 104–111.
 - 18 Findlen P., *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA – London: 1994) 48–50. For Athanasius Kircher’s ‘*naturae artisue theatrum*’, see the introduction by Mia M. Mochizuki in this volume. For the concept of ‘sites of mediation’, see Burghartz S. – Burkart L. – Göttler C., “Introduction: Sites of Mediation in Early Modern Europe and Beyond. A Working Perspective”, in Burghartz S. – Burkart L. – Göttler C. (eds.), *Sites of Mediation: Connected Histories of*

physician Samuel Quiccheberg gave his 1565 treatise on how to organise a collection of 'artificial and marvellous things' ('artificiosarum miraculosarumque rerum') the title *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi, complectentis rerum universitatis singulas materias et imagines eximias* (*Inscriptions or Titles of the Most Ample Theatre that Houses Exemplary Objects and Exceptional Images of the Entire World*).¹⁹ Ortelius himself gave the name 'theatrum orbis terrarum' (theatre of the whole world) to the collection of maps that he had assembled at the suggestion of the merchant and map collector Gillis Hoofman; in the preface he advertised it as 'the eye of history' (*historiae oculus*), thereby underlining the role of the discerning and erudite eye in exploring the past and present history of different regions of the world.²⁰

Like his collection of 'rare and ancient' things that went on expanding over time, Ortelius viewed his collection of maps as a 'work in progress', to which he continued to add geographical materials in the so-called *Additamenta* (*Appendices*). Ortelius's collection is mentioned in the biography written by the Antwerp merchant and humanist Frans Sweerts (1567–1629) in commemoration of his death. Sweerts relates that in his house could be found 'images, statues, coins of gold, silver and copper of the Greeks, Romans and others, shells brought from India and from our antipodes, marble of all colours, [and] tortoise shells'. With the 'well-stocked' library it became known as 'a shop of all manners of learning, to which men flocked from everywhere'.²¹ Its most celebrated visitors included Archduke Ernest of Austria and his newly appointed successor, Archduke Albert.²² Similarly, Arias Montano's house on the outskirts of Seville and his retreat at La Peña became meeting places for Seville's learned

Places, Processes, and Objects in Europe and Beyond, 1450–1650, Intersections 47 (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2016) 1–20.

- 19 Meadow M.A. – Robertson B. (ed. and trans.), *The First Treatise on Museums: Samuel Quiccheberg's Inscriptiones, 1565* (Los Angeles, CA: 2013).
- 20 For an excellent reading of Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, see Harris J., "Plantin's Spanish Atlas and the Politics of the Vernacular", in Taylor B. – Coroleu A. (eds.), *Humanism and Christian Letters in Early Modern Iberia (1480–1630)* (Newcastle upon Tyne: 2010) 75–92, at 78. For discernment, see Dupré S. – Göttler C., "Introduction: Hidden Artifices", in Dupré S. – Göttler C. (eds.), *Knowledge and Discernment in the Early Modern Arts* (New York, NY: 2017) 1–16.
- 21 Broecke M. van den, "Introduction to the Life and Works of Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598)", in Broecke – Krogt – Meurer, *Abraham Ortelius and the First Atlas* 29–54, at 31. Sweerts's biography of Ortelius was first published in Latin in 1601.
- 22 The visits are mentioned by Frans Sweerts. The visit of Archduke Ernest of Austria must have taken place between his triumphal entry into Antwerp (14 June 1594) and his death (20 February 1595). Archduke Albert arrived in the Netherlands at the end of January 1596.

elite. He himself complained that his studies were continuously interrupted by a stream of visitors. Montano's collections were divided into a library, an 'estudio artificial' (cabinet of man-made things), containing mathematical and musical instruments, paintings and prints as well as gems, and an 'estudio natural' (cabinet of natural things), which may have been organised around the four elements. In it were to be found

soils, stones, precious stones, metals, minerals and partial minerals of diverse kinds, resin woods, liquors and roots, fruit, animals, bones, and animal parts and other various forms and types of nature, and also all the varieties of marine objects that I have in the part of my cabinet called The Sea.²³

Montano had retired to La Peña in order to complete his *magnum opus*, a history and philosophy of man and nature (including the nature of the New World) drawn from the hidden meanings revealed by the Sacred Scriptures, thus connecting biblical exegesis and the study of nature.²⁴ The *naturalia* he had assembled in his cabinet served as a material source for testing his knowledge through use of the senses, complementing his exegetical and philological work.

Like other naturalists and antiquarians, Ortelius and Arias Montano frequently exchanged objects conveying epistemic and affective meanings. Since

23 Salazar A., "Arias Montano y Pedro de Valencia", *Revista de estudios extremeños* 15 (1959) 475–493, at 491: 'E ansimesmo hago esta dha donacion al dho licenciado P[edr]o de Val[enci]a de todas aquellas cossas que estan e se hallaren en mi estudio natural. Que son tierras piedras metales minerales e medios minerales de diversas suertes maderas de rresinas licores y rayces frutos animales guessos e partes de animales e de otras qualesquiera formas e suertes de naturaleza e ansimesmo de todas las diversidades de cossas marinas e maritimas que yo tengo en la parte de mi estudio nombrada la mar'. I cite the English translation of Gómez López S., "Natural Collections in the Spanish Renaissance", in Beretta M. (ed.), *From Private to Public: Natural Collections and Museums* (Sagamore Beach, MA: 2005) 13–40, at 32. For Arias Montano's collection, see Portuondo M.M., "America and the Hermeneutics of Nature in Renaissance Europe", in Aram B. – Yun-Casalilla B., *Global Goods and the Spanish Empire, 1492–1824: Circulation, Resistance and Diversity* (New York, NY: 2014) 78–99; Hänsel S., *Der spanische Humanist Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598) und die Kunst* (Münster: 1991) 170–201.

24 Gómez López, "Natural Collections in the Spanish Renaissance" 28–33; Portuondo, "America and the Hermeneutics of Nature". See also Berns A.D., *The Bible and Natural Philosophy in Renaissance Italy: Jewish and Christian Physicians in Search of Truth* (Cambridge: 2015) 67–69, 97–100.

letters were frequently delayed or lost, the material objects played a central role in keeping discussions ongoing. The following three letters, all from the 1590s, help to situate the two friends' interest in 'barbarian' and 'Indian' artefacts within a larger framework of collecting desires. On 3 January 1590 Arias Montano thanks Ortelius for the coloured map of Spain and the portrait medal engraved in silver by Philips Galle, which he always carries with him, thereby consoling himself for the absence of his friend.²⁵ In his letter of 30 March 1590 he assures Ortelius once more that the 'map of ancient Spain, elaborated by you, is always before my eyes, together with your most pleasant portrait, which I carry with me wherever I go'. As a gift in return, he promises to set aside 'an exquisite bezoar stone for your pleasure, with a few other gems or stones of extraordinary effectiveness'.²⁶ In the same letter he compliments Ortelius on his 'judgment of mind' and 'erudite eyes' that allow him 'to select the best in every art'.²⁷ On 10 April 1591 Arias Montano writes to Ortelius that the 'monuments of his talent (*ingenium*), industry, and diligence' had finally reached him in Seville: these included maps of Spain, China, Valencia, and Florida, three *Additamenta* of the *Theatrum*, and Philips Galle's engraving of *The Death of the Virgin*, commissioned by Ortelius himself who owned Bruegel's 1564 grisaille

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- 25 Morales, "Las cartas" 177–183, at 178: 'Hispaniae tabellam telae adiunctam coloribusque eleganter distinctam tuo beneficio accepi [...] neque quicquam a me pluris fieri praeter imaginem expressam in argento a Gallaeo nostro faciei tuae, quam ego non modo ante oculos semper habeo cum in cubiculum me recipio, sed quocumque proficiscor circumfero semper, atque ita quodammodo solor absentiam a me tuam, tuam inquam, mi Abrahame, quem intimis visceribus conditum servo, amo et colo, ex quo primum praeditum optimis disciplinis, diligentem, studiosum, amicorum amentem, publicae studiosum utilitatis, ut si quem maxime, et, quod praestantissimum duco, pium, vere pium et animo candidum moribusque probatum agnovi, ac tam longo tempore expertus sum'. Hessels, *Abrahami Ortelii epistulae* no. 173.
- 26 Morales, "Las cartas" 185–189, at 188: 'Ante illam etiam Hispaniae veteris a te elaboratam descriptionem mihi prae oculis semper esse significabam una cum effigie tua gratissima, quam quocumque migro circumferre soleo. Te autem ipsum animo semper intimum habeo. Elegantem lapidem baghalzar tibi delectum servo cum nonnullis aliis gemmis sive lapidibus mirae efficacitatis'. See also Hessels, *Abrahami Ortelii epistulae* no. 177. Cf. Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds* 39–43. For Ortelius's 'visual erudition' see also Meganck T.L., *Erudite Eyes: Friendship, Art and Erudition in the Network of Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598)* (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2017).
- 27 Morales, "Las cartas" 186: 'Pictura ista, quam ad me misisti, ex Lucretio desumpta elegantissimum artificem commendat, tum eum qui invenit, tum vero eum qui incidit in aes, et animi tui iudicium, ut caetera, probat, qui, cum oculos etiam habeas eruditos, eas seligis, quae in singulis optima censentur artibus'. Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds* 39; Meganck, *Erudite Eyes* 1.

painting of the subject;²⁸ he is, however, still waiting to receive the portrait of their mutual friend Plantin who had died in 1589.²⁹ In return Arias Montano sends Ortelius ‘three bezoar stones’, one of them of a rather dark colour encased in gold, which he may wear as an amulet against ailments of the black bile as well as ‘some grains of silver sent to me from America’.³⁰ Bezoar stones were highly sought-after pharmaceuticals in late sixteenth-century Europe and frequently worn in rings or chains as amulets.³¹ The silver, for its part, evoked the image of Peru’s inexhaustible mines of Potosí.

The Values of Idols

These letters may also shed some light on the status and place of idols in these assemblages of things originating in worlds that had until then been separate from each other. Interestingly, Arias Montano mentions American figural artefacts in his earliest printed work, the *Rhetoricorum libri quatuor*, a rhetorical treatise begun in Léon in 1561, but only published by Plantin in 1569, during Montano’s stay in Antwerp. The relevant passage is at the beginning of Book III, dedicated to ‘disposition’ or ‘arrangement’ (the organisation of materials or topics) and introduced by the marginal note that ‘art is not what is made by

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- 28 Morales, “Las cartas” 191–197, at 194: ‘Quas ad me ante annum, ut puto, miseras, Hispaniae, Chinae, Valentiae et Floridae descriptiones eodem tempore accepi cum his nuper destinatis Theatri tui additamentis tribus et tabellis obitus D[ivae] Virginis’. See also Hessels, *Abrahami Ortelii epistulae* no. 195. In a letter dated 30 March 1590, Arias Montano recalls that he had seen Bruegel’s grisaille painting at Ortelius’s house: Morales, “Las cartas” 186–188; Hessels, *Abrahami Ortelii epistulae* no. 177; Orenstein N.M. (ed.), *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints*, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (New Haven, CT – London: 2001) 258–261, no. 117 (M. Sellink).
- 29 Morales, “Las cartas” 194: ‘Utraque salva perlata et ut indicas fuere integra praeter unicam Plantini illius beati effigiem, quam requirere dolens cogor’.
- 30 Morales, “Las cartas” 194–196: ‘In eadem capsula et lapides baghalzar reperies tres: unum colore subfusco auro inclusum tibi pro amuleto gestandum, cuius prestans esse affirmatur efficacia adversus atrae bilis incommoda [...]. Item grana quaedam argentea mihi ex America missa quae in purissimi metalli exempla produci solent sive excoqui. (Ensayes nostri vocant.)’.
- 31 Sameiro Barroso M. do, “Bezoar Stones, Magic, Science and Art”, *Geological Society*, London, Special Publications, 375, published online 26 February 2013 at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1144/SP375.11> (accessed: 15.08.2017); Duffin C.J., “Bezoar Stones and Their Mounts”, *Jewellery History Today* (Winter 2013) 3–4; Scarisbrick D., *Jewellery in Britain, 1066–1837: A Documentary, Social, Literary and Artistic Survey* (Norwich: 1994) 110. See also the contribution by Beate Fricke in this volume.

the "barbarians", but what is cultivated by the "learned", therefore those things whose materials are more astonishing than their shapes cannot be called art'.³² To underscore the old European notion of the superiority of form over matter, Arias Montano cites the artefacts brought by Spanish ships—the first to sail across the waters of the western sea—from the (West) Indies. While the material of which these are made may be considered as 'wondrous', they are nonetheless 'devoid of any art'. Comparing the 'shapeless' figurines with their 'gigantic heads on feeble necks' to a speech jumbled together from a mixture of things without any 'disposition' or plan,³³ Arias Montano implicitly casts the New World as the source of material abundance that by God's foresight will benefit the Spanish Empire and will also be 'shaped' and 'transformed' by that empire's 'art and ingenuity'. As Serge Gruzinski and others have shown, to the Spanish mind, the language of 'Indian' art resembled that of the ornamental grotesques—the animated products of the artist's creative imagination that were the focus of intense discussion in treatises on the subject, not least precisely because of this animation.³⁴

Like other sixteenth-century biblical exegetes, Arias Montano believed Peru derived its name from Ophir, the land mentioned in the Bible from which King Solomon's fleets returned laden with gold, silver, wood, ivory, precious stones, and exotic animals (1 *Chronicles* 29:4; 1 *Kings* 10:11; 10:22; 22:48), and

32 Montanus Benedictus Arias, *Rhetoricorum libri IIII* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1569) 54: 'Artem non esse eam quae a barbaris tractatur, sed quae ab eruditis excolitur, quare ab arte reiciuntur illa, quorum materia potius mirabilis est, quam forma'.

33 Ibidem: 'Namque per occidentis fluctus maris omnia nuper / Divitibus nobis quae portabantur ab Indis, / (Cum primum immensum pelagus, nec cognita priscis / Aequeora ab Hispana primum tentata carina) / Materia forsitan fuerant miranda; sed omni / Arte tamen vacua, et nullam referentia formam, / Ingens saepe caput specie deformi tenebant / Invalidi cervix colli, et tenuissima crura; / Atque avibus plantisque eadem, reliquisque animantium / Effigies formis, populi testata vetustam / Barbariem penitus, cultuque atque arte carentis. / Sic igitur quaecumque volēs orare, paratam / Materiam in formas rediges, et finibus illam / Compescas certis, et singula membra locabis / Artifici ingenio, et numquam rationis egente'. Arias Montano's source must have been Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, Book VII, proemium, where an 'incoherent, repetitive, incomplete' oratory is compared to a statue assembled from various human and animal parts at random. See Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, ed. and trans. D.A. Russell, 5 vols. (Cambridge, MA: 2001) vol. 3, 150–153.

34 Gruzinski S., *The Mestizo Mind: The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization*, trans. D. Dusenberre (New York, NY: 2002) 107–120; Farago C.J. – Parenteau C.K., "The Grotesque Idol: Imaginary, Symbolic and Real", in Cole M.W. – Zorach R. (eds.), *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World* (Farnham, Surrey – Burlington, VT: 2009) 105–131.

was geographically identical with it.³⁵ If the mines of Peru were the source of King Solomon's proverbial wealth, then the riches of the Spanish Empire must have been like those of Solomon foreseen by God. José de Acosta decisively rejected the conflation of the 'golden' lands of Ophir and Peru on the grounds that Solomon's sailors lacked the instruments and tools necessary for ocean navigation (such as the compass), among other reasons. Ortelius had originally embraced Arias Montano's position. But he changed his mind after reading Acosta's views, also published in the *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (1590), dedicated to none other than the Infanta Clara Isabella Eugenia, soon to become sovereign of the Spanish Netherlands.³⁶

Perhaps even more importantly, where Arias Montano, in his rhetorical treatise of 1569, viewed the American artefacts as material manifestations of a 'barbarian' or 'uncivilised' culture, Acosta, in the *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, reframed them as 'idols' through which Satan himself spoke in his desire to mimic God.³⁷ As he argues in Book v, dedicated to issues of religion, the indigenous beliefs of the 'Indians' were, like pagan cults, informed by the Devil and thus had to be destroyed.³⁸ By the turn of the seventeenth century, idols, by which I mean foreign objects of veneration, had entered almost every major princely collection. Some of them were described as once having been possessed by the Devil, whose power was, however, restrained in the new context where they were displayed. Both the collection of Philip II at the Escorial

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- 35 Arias Montano presented his views on the New World in the book entitled *Phaleg, sive de gentium sedibus primis, orbisque terrae situ* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1572). See Paniagua Pérez J., "La visión del hombre americano en Benito Arias Montano y Pedro de Valencia", in Martín Rodríguez A.M. – Santana Henríquez G. (eds.), *El humanismo español, su proyección en América y Canarias en la época del humanismo* (Saragossa: 2006) 149–171; Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds* 61–62; Romm J., "Biblical History and the Americas: The Legend of Solomon's Ophir, 1492–1591", in Bernardini P. – Fiering N. (eds.), *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450 to 1800* (New York, NY – Oxford: 2001) 27–46.
- 36 Romm, "Biblical History and the Americas" 42–43. For Ortelius, see Shalev Z., "Sacred Geography, Antiquarianism, and Visual Erudition: Benito Arias Montano and the Maps of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible", *Imago Mundi* 55 (2003) 56–80.
- 37 Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* 253; Acosta, *Historia natural y moral* 153 (Libro v, Capítulo 1).
- 38 Recent literature on José de Acosta's views of idolatrous forms of worship practised by natives of Peru includes: Johnson C.L., *Cultural Hierarchy in Sixteenth-Century Europe: The Ottomans and Mexicans* (Cambridge: 2011) 244–247; MacCormack S., "Gods, Demons, and Idols in the Andes", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67, 4 (2006) 623–648; Pagden A., *The Fall of Natural Man* (Cambridge: 1982) 149–200; Maus de Rolley T., "Putting the Devil on the Map: Demonology and Cosmography in the Renaissance", in Vermeir K. – Regier J. (eds.), *Boundaries, Extents and Circulations: Space and Spatiality in Early Modern Natural Philosophy*, *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 41 (Berlin: 2016) 179–208.

and the *Kunstkammer* of the Wittelsbach dukes in Munich included figural objects listed in the inventories as 'idols'. The 1598 inventory of the treasury collection at the Escorial includes several 'idols' among the '*cosas extrahordinarias*' (extraordinary things), the Inca objects sent to Philip II by Francisco de Toledo, viceroy in Peru from 1569 to 1581.³⁹ A German who visited the collection during his travels to Spain in 1598 or 1599 mentions an idol of pure gold in the shape of a horned devil, its buttocks representing a frog, of a height of one foot: the 'Indians' venerated it like a god. Through it Satan responded to those who asked him questions, provided oracles, and foretold the future to those who begged him to do so.⁴⁰

Unlike Philip II, Duke Wilhelm V did not possess colonies, but he actively sought to acquire 'Indian' objects including 'idols' through his agents in Portugal and Spain. One of these agents was Anselm Stöckl from Augsburg who, on his return from Spain in 1581, carried with him 'two little idols from India' destined for the Munich *Kunstkammer*.⁴¹ Philip Hainhofer (1568–1641), another agent from Augsburg who despite his Lutheran beliefs was much esteemed by Wilhelm V, mentions a whole group of 'idols' in his accounts of his two visits to the *Kunstkammer* in 1603 and 1611. In 1603, he reports having seen 'different idols and simulacra of earth and other materials through which (God keep us from him) the Devil had spoken and revealed oracles to the heathen'.⁴² In 1610, he observes that the 'idols from Mexico as well as other pagan and Indian gods of diverse shapes and colours' were all displayed on the same table.⁴³ The interest in Indian, Mexican, and 'pagan' gods and 'idols'

39 Johnson, *Cultural Hierarchy*, 249–250. For the inventory, see Sánchez Cantón F.J., *Inventarios reales bienes muebles que pertenecieron a Felipe II*, 2 vols. (Madrid: 1956–1959) vol. 2, 332–352, 77–78, 252; nos. 2172, 3057, 4134, 4759, 4760, 4763, 4765, 4860.

40 Unterkircher F., "Hieremias Gundlach: Nova Hispaniae Regnorum Descriptio (Cod. 6481 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek)", *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 56 (1960) 166–196, at 187: 'Idolum praeterea asservatur sella insidens, a tergo et natibus ranam commonstrans, ex puro puto auro, formam quoque diaboli cornuti referens, altum pede unica. Hoc Indiani usi fuerunt tamquam Deum colentes, ex quo Sathanas interrogantibus responsum dedit, implorantibus de oraculo oracula praestitit, futuraque petentibus ea praedixit'.

41 Pérez de Tudela A. – Jordan Gschwend A., "Luxury Goods for Royal Collectors: Exotica, Princely Gifts and Rare Animals Exchanged between the Iberian Courts and Central Europe in the Renaissance (1560–1612)", *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 3 (2001) 1–127, at 55.

42 Diemer D. et al. (eds.), *Die Münchner Kunstammer*, 3 vols. (Munich: 2008) vol. 3, 368: 'Unterschiedliche idoles und simulachra von Erden und anderer materia, dadurch (Gott behüet unß vor ihm) der teuffel geredt, und den haiden die oracula angezaigt'.

43 Diemer et al., *Die Münchner Kunstammer* vol. 3, 375: 'Auf ainem tisch Idoli di Mexico und andere Haydnischen und Indianischen Göttern von allerley form, und farben'.

found its counterpart in the attempt to 'rescue' relics from Protestant lands: the elaborate containers, made to honour them, restored their value as sacred objects worthy of veneration. At the Bavarian court relics and reliquaries were added to the treasury of St. Michael, whereas 'idols' and 'pagan gods' were displayed in the *Kunstkammer*. The spatial separation emphasised the difference between the wondrous and the miraculous, and between the work of the Devil and that of God. Hainhofer himself traded in 'Indian idols'. In 1615 a (broken) 'idolo indiano' was sent to Duke Augustus the Younger of Brunswick-Lüneburg (1579–1666).⁴⁴ The figure may have been identical with one later described as an 'Indian idol nicely made of turquoise through which the Devil apparently delivered oracles and which cost a lot of money'.⁴⁵

Within such continually shifting contexts and discourses we can only speculate about the images and ideas Arias Montano associated with the 'idols' of gold, silver, and haematite from the Americas he sent to his friend in Antwerp in the mid-1590s. He might have acquired these objects as material manifestations of another 'barbarian' or 'foreign' antiquity, or for their wondrous materials, or for their medical and magical efficacy. Having arrived at their next destination in Ortelius's 'museum' in Antwerp, these objects, and especially the 'idols', were surrounded by yet another web of associations and meanings. A mere ten years after the reconquest of Antwerp by Spanish troops, Ortelius and his contemporaries must have shared a critical awareness of the multiple and ambiguous meanings to be found in material things and, most especially, in idols, depending on their use and their spatial and social contexts.

In the course of the sixteenth century, the term *idolum* was used more and more by reformers, colonisers, and collectors to discredit the physical and mental images of other confessions and other beliefs.⁴⁶ In addition, new

44 Gobiet R. (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Philipp Hainhofer und Herzog August d.J. von Braunschweig-Lüneburg* (Munich: 1984) 145, no. 200: 'Das Idolo Indiano, ist sehr zerbrochen; mangelt auch ein hinterfuß [...]'.
 45 Gobiet, *Der Briefwechsel* 845, no. 1514: '1 hübsch auß Türkisstainlen gemachtes Indianisches Idolum, auß welchem der Teüfel solle die oracula gered, und grosses gelt kosten haben, auß Keyser Rudolphi Kunstcammer herkommend'.

46 For the broad use of the term, see Cole M.W. – Zorach R., "Introduction", in Cole – Zorach, *The Idol in the Age of Art* 1–10 (with extensive bibliography). Of particular importance within the context of this essay: Pfisterer U., "Idole und Ideale der Kunst in der Frühen Neuzeit, oder: Macht und Relativität der Phantasie", in Effinger M. – Logemann C. – Pfisterer U. (eds.), *Götterbilder und Götzendiener in der Frühen Neuzeit: Europas Blick auf fremde Religionen*, exh. cat., Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg (Heidelberg: 2012) 93–105; Pfisterer U., "Idol—Aura—Art: New Horizons of Early Modern Europe and the Beginnings of 'Global Art History'", in Grossmann G.U. – Krutisch P. (eds.), *The Challenge of the Object/Die Herausforderung des Objekts*, 33rd Congress of the International

words emerged within the dynamics of cross-cultural encounters and confrontations. In his foundational study of the fetish, William Pietz showed that the Portuguese word *feitiço* (originally meaning 'manufactured' but which, by the sixteenth century, could also be used for 'magical practice') evolved into the pidgin word *fetisso* in the cross-cultural space of the West African coast; within this 'third' space between two or more cultures *fetisso* and its variants in other European languages acquired yet again new layers of signification referring to objects used in African ritual practice.⁴⁷ Pietz also notes a difference in meaning between the early modern Portuguese 'ídolo' (suggesting a free-standing image representing a 'false god') and 'feitiço' (suggesting an object worn on the body and believed to possess special virtues).⁴⁸ For (Protestant) Dutch merchants the *fetissos* worn by the Africans corresponded to the array of blessed objects or sacramentals such as amulets, talismans, rosaries, medals, *agnus dei*, scapulars, pious images, and charms credited by Catholics with protective powers. In his *Beschrijvinge ende Historische Verhael van het Gout Koninckrijck van Gunea* (*Description and Historical Account of the Gold Kingdom of Guinea*) of 1602, the Dutch trader Pieter de Marees identifies the African *fetissos* with the Catholic images of saints. He describes the Akan peoples on the Guinea coast as hanging 'divers Wispes of straw about their Girdles, which they tie full of Beanes, and other Venice Beades, esteeming them to be their Fetissos, or Saints ["hare Fetissos, of Sainctos"]'.⁴⁹ At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Dutch drew a parallel between the magical objects of West Africa and the blessed objects and sacramentals that by that time had recovered their importance in the Spanish Netherlands, their neighbour, thus

Committee of the History of Art (Nuremberg: 2013) 886–890; MacCormack, "Gods, Demons, and Idols in the Andes", 623–648. See also Mulsow M., "Antiquarianism and Idolatry: The *Historia* of Religions in the Seventeenth Century", in Pomata G. – Siraisi N. (eds.), *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 2005) 181–209, esp. 190–197; Dekoninck R., "Des idoles de bois aux idoles de l'esprit: Les métamorphoses de l'idolâtrie dans l'imaginaire moderne", *Revue théologique de Louvain* 35 (2004) 203–216; Gaudio M., "The Space of Idolatry: Reformation, Incarnation, and the Ethnographic Image", *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 41 (2002) 72–91.

47 Pietz W., "The Problem of the Fetish, I", *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 9 (1985) 5–17; Pietz W., "The Problem of the Fetish, II: The Origin of the Fetish", *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 13 (1987) 23–45, at 34. See also Genge G., "Survival of Images? Fetish and the Concept of the Image between West Africa and Europe", in Genge G. – Stercken A. (eds.), *Art History and Fetishism Abroad: Global Shiftings in Media and Methods* (Bielefeld: 2014) 29–56.

48 Pietz, "The Problem of the Fetish, II" 36.

49 I use the 1625 translation by Samuel Purchas ("A description and historical declaration of the golden Kingdome of Guinea") as cited in Pietz, "The Problem of the Fetish, II" 39.

further complicating the debate about the values of artefacts and man-made things across newly formed confessional divides.⁵⁰

The Space of the *constcamer*

Let us now move to Antwerp, and specifically, to the Antwerp imagery of collections. The *constcamer* paintings, ‘invented’ in the 1610s and almost exclusively connected with the name of Frans Francken the Younger (1581–1642), reflected Antwerp’s culture of collecting, as well as the emergence of new forms of visual and material expertise intrinsically related to the world of virtuoso craftsmanship that had expanded through mobility and trans-cultural trade.⁵¹ Given the continuing renown of Ortelius’s ‘museum of rich and exquisite things’, not least through the inclusion of Sweerts’s biography in the editions of the *Theatrum orbis terrarum* after 1603, it is not surprising that the famous collector himself appears in one of the earliest depicted *constcamers*; he holds a globe and is accompanied by a no less celebrated figure, the philosopher Justus Lipsius [Fig. 1.1].⁵² Both men were already dead by that time, as was the sitter of Rubens’s portrait displayed in the foreground, Father Johannes Neyen, Commissioner-General of the Friars Minor in the Netherlands and one of the intermediaries in the negotiations of the Twelve Years’ Truce. The scientific instruments, coins, and shells on the table, the natural specimens, especially the dried fish visible on the upper part of the wall above the cornice, and the library in the adjacent room create an atmosphere of collaborative learning through observation and the senses characteristic of Antwerp’s

50 On objects with talismanic powers, see also Syson L. – Thornton D., *Objects of Virtue: Art in Renaissance Italy* (London: 2001) 61–63.

51 A list of these paintings can be found in Hout N. Van, “From Tetradrachm to Pufferfish: The *Wunderkammer*—School of Art and Science”, in Baere B. De – Kockelbergh I. – Hout N. Van (eds.), *Image-Thinking: Five Centuries of Images in Antwerp* (Antwerp: 2011) 106–127, at 126, note 31. There is a rich literature on this type of painting, which has recently been discussed in Göttler C. – Meganck T., “Sites of Art, Nature and the Antique in the Spanish Netherlands”, in Dupré S. et al. (eds.), *Embattled Territory: The Circulation of Knowledge in the Spanish Netherlands* (Ghent: 2016) 333–369. The relationship of *constcamer* paintings with Antwerp’s culture of collecting and (material) knowledge is emphasised by Dupré S., “Trading Luxury Glass, Picturing Collections and Consuming Objects of Knowledge in Early Seventeenth-Century Europe”, *Intellectual History Review* 20 (2010) 53–78. See also Marr A., “The Flemish ‘Pictures of Collections’ Genre: An Overview”, *Intellectual History Review* 20 (2010) 5–25.

52 *Frans Francken der Jüngere (1581–1642): Die Gemälde mit kritischem Oeuvrekatalog*, 2 vols. (Freren: 1989) vol. 1, 373, cat. 460.



FIGURE 1.1 *Frans Francken the Younger, A Collector's Cabinet with Abraham Ortelius and Justus Lipsius (1618). Oil on canvas, transferred from panel, 52.5 × 73.5 cm. Presented at Christie's, Old Master Pictures, Amsterdam, 8 November 1999.*

IMAGE © CHRISTIE'S IMAGES/BRIDGEMAN IMAGES.

culture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Marlise Rijks has argued that closer attention needs to be paid to the religious and ethical discussions on material possessions, that played a pivotal role in the cultural memory of iconoclasm and warfare in Antwerp.⁵³ I would like to take Rijks's argument further to include especially foreign or 'exotic' artefacts, which, at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were becoming increasingly associated with idolatrous or pagan practices, but were nonetheless valued for the artistry and artifice of their making. How were 'idols' and idolatrous practices contextualised in both the physical space of a collection and the virtual and medial space of a painting, print, or book? To what degree did confessional contexts affect the ways in which powerful artefacts were described, presented, and displayed?

53 Rijks M., "Defenders of the Image: Painted Collectors' Cabinets and the Display of Display in Counter-Reformation Antwerp", in Chapman H.P. – Scholten F. – Woodall J. (eds.), *Arts of Display*, Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art 65 (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2015) 54–83; Rijks M., *Catalysts of Knowledge: Artists' and Artisans' Collection in Early Modern Antwerp*, Ph.D. dissertation (Ghent University: 2016).

My point of reference is a *Cabinet of a Collector* signed and dated by Frans Francken the Younger in 1617 [Fig. 1.2].⁵⁴ The larger of the two landscape paintings on the wall of the cabinet shows a man in front of a simple hut, dressed in a garment slung over his left shoulder; a large walking stick lies next to him on the ground. Across the water, an infant on the opposite bank is turning a giant globe [Fig. 1.10].⁵⁵ The kneeling man, who is turned away from the beholder and absorbed in reading, embodies and exemplifies the kind of (visual) attention required from anyone looking at this and similar works. The large framed drawing after Raphael's *Holy Family* (now in the Prado Museum in Madrid) and the album opened at a page with drawings after Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling, put the prime examples of Netherlandish landscape painting on the same level as the highest achievements of Italian Renaissance art. The dried fish and the dried sea horse find their correspondences in two paintings depicting so-called lower animals including a fish, a frog, and a mouse, as well as several beetles, butterflies, and insects. There are shark's teeth and a range of shells most probably from warm Indo-Pacific waters, some of them placed on a lacquer box.⁵⁶ One of the gold coins in the circular box is inscribed with the names of the Archduke Albert and the Archduchess Isabella, a homage to the rulers of the Spanish Netherlands who brought about the renewal of the arts.

54 Göttler C., "‘Indian Daggers with Idols’ in the Early Modern *constcamer*: Collecting, Picturing and Imagining ‘Exotic’ Weaponry in the Netherlands and Beyond", in Weststeijn T. – Jorink E. – Scholten F. (eds.), *Netherlandish Art in Its Global Context*, Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art 66 (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2016) 80–111. See also White C., *The Later Flemish Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (London: 2007) 116–118, cat. 32; Härting, *Frans Francken der Jüngere* vol. 1, 16; vol. 2, 369–370, cat. 448; Rijks, *Catalysts of Knowledge* 91–96.

55 The catalogue of the Royal Collection identifies the reading man as St. Augustine on the seashore pondering the mystery of the Trinity: Draguet M. (ed.), *De Bruegel à Rubens: The British Royal Collection*, exh. cat., Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Bruxelles (Brussels: 2008) 134–137, cat. 25. However, in representations of this scene, the Christ Child is usually shown holding a shell rather than a globe. The stick next to the kneeling man may suggest that the figure was intended to represent St. Christopher, who upon the advice of a hermit, helped people across the raging waters. An interesting comparative example is Jan Mandijn's *St. Christophorus* in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (inv. no. 690). The saint is depicted twice: in the foreground carrying the Christ Child across the river, in the background meditating in front of a hut—quite similar to the one shown in the Francken painting. I thank Anna Pawlak and Ivo Raband with whom it was a pleasure discussing this iconographic issue.

56 Similar shells, most probably from Francken's own collection, can be found in the 1619 *Preziosenwand* in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts Antwerp. These are identified in Hout, "From Tetradrachm to Pufferfish" 115, and in Chong A. – Kloek W. (eds.), *Still-Life Paintings from the Netherlands, 1550–1720*, exh. cat., Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (Zwolle: 1999) 136, cat. 12.



FIGURE 1.2 *Frans Francken the Younger, The Cabinet of a Collector (1617). Oil on panel, 76.7 × 119.1 cm. London, The Royal Collection Trust (inv. no. 405781).*

IMAGE © ROYAL COLLECTION TRUST/HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II 2017.

The most eye-catching of the objects fastened by string to nails in the wall is the Javanese *kris* or dagger on the left, visible next to a delicately crafted pearl pendant (an object reflecting the flourishing trade with pearls handled by Antwerp's Portuguese merchants) and the drawing after Raphael's *Holy Family*.⁵⁷ The different parts of the weapon can be clearly distinguished: the sheath covered with gold ornaments on its upper rim and rounded tip; its large, curved wooden cross-piece with floral decoration; and carved ivory or wood hilt in the shape of a demon, in other words an 'idol' or 'demon' in the terms used for such carvings, emerging from a circular foliate base and wearing a necklace possibly made of precious stones. The figure holds an unidentified object in its right arm. It has long curly hair, a broad nose, and bulbous eyes, which seem to stare at the viewer in a rather uncanny manner [Fig. 1.3].

57 For the involvement of the Antwerp Portuguese in the pearl and precious stone trade, see Thijs A.K.L., "Antwerp's Luxury Industries: The Pursuit of Profit and Artistic Sensitivity", in Stock J. Van der (ed.), *Antwerp, Story of a Metropolis, 16th–17th Century*, exh. cat., Hessenhuis, Antwerp (Ghent: 1993) 105–113.



FIGURE 1.3
Detail of Fig. 1.2: Javanese kris.



FIGURE 1.4 *Frans Francken the Younger, The Interior of an Artist's Studio, with the Artist Showing His Work in the Background (first half of the seventeenth century). Oil on panel, 49.5 × 70.5 cm. Presented at Koller Auktionen, Zurich, 26 March 2010, lot 3058.*

IMAGE © KOLLER AUKTIONEN AG, ZÜRICH.

Like a number of other early paintings of this type, the interior that reveals the collection is juxtaposed with a threatening exterior. In the background to the right of the composition, a church is being ransacked, while at the threshold to the collection elaborately dressed donkey-headed men armed with clubs are smashing up various objects of learning and leisure, such as musical and astronomical instruments, a painter's palette, a sculpted figure, manuscripts, and books. Banished to outdoors, the vivid imagery of destruction reinforces the fiction of a protected space, where works of art and items of value (including the Javanese *kris*) are displayed for the discerning eye—and hand—of the expert and connoisseur. The gold paint used by the artist to emphasise some of the ornaments and contours gives the depicted objects the status of precious 'special' or 'extraordinary' things. Emerging from, while still very much belonging to, an explicitly Catholic material culture of luxury, the painting maps out the range of aesthetic and religious responses to material and visual splendour between iconoclasm and idolatry, worship and connoisseurship. Interestingly, the same *kris* can also be seen in two related paintings of collections attributed



FIGURE 1.5 *Studio of Frans Francken the Younger, Ulysses Recognizing Achilles (Disguised as a Woman) among the Daughters of Lycomedes (late 1620s). Oil on panel, 74 × 105 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (inv. no. R.F. 1535).*

IMAGE © RMN-GRAND PALAIS (MUSÉE DU LOUVRE)/HERVÉ LEWANDOWSKI.

to Frans Francken the Younger or his workshop, auctioned in Dijon (1961, G. de Salvatore) and Zurich (2010, Koller), where the scene of destruction is replaced by a view into an artist's studio, in other words a scene of making and creation [Fig. 1.4].⁵⁸ In addition, the same or a similar *kris* is prominently placed in the immediate foreground of another *constcamer* by Frans Francken the Younger, this one featuring the *Discovery of Achilles among the Daughters of King Lycomedes* [Fig. 1.5].⁵⁹ The conspicuous figural hilt of the exotic weapon

58 Härting, *Frans Francken der Jüngere* vol. 1, 16; vol. 2, 369–370, cat. 447. The version presented at Koller Auktionen in Zurich, 26 March 2010, lot 3058, was also presented at Christie's London, South Kensington, 14 July 1978, lot 201.

59 Härting, *Frans Francken der Jüngere* vol. 2, 317, cat. 305 (Paris, Louvre) and cat. 306 (auctioned at Christie's, London, 9 March 1923). The following study appeared in print after submission of this essay for publication: Rosenthal L., "Frans Francken the Younger's *Discovery of Achilles*: Desire, Deception, and Inalienable Possession", in Melion W. – Woodall J. – Zell M. (eds.), *Ut pictura amor: The Reflexive Imagery of Love in Artistic Theory and Practice, 1400–1700*, *Intersections* 48 (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2017) 704–729.



FIGURE 1.6 Detail of Fig. 1.5: *Javanese kris*.

resonates with the wealth of grotesque ornaments of the valuable vases and vessels also displayed on the floor and may also hint at the ambiguity of the feminised interior [Fig. 1.6].

Oscillating Identities

The Francken *constcamer kris* is a fairly characteristic example of a Javanese *kris*, as they began to enter European markets and collections toward the end of the sixteenth century, together with other objects from Southeast Asia, such

as artefacts containing mother-of-pearl, tortoiseshell, and ivory.⁶⁰ By the early seventeenth century, exotic weapons, among them *kris*es, had been brought to Europe by the hundreds or, rather, thousands, first through Portuguese merchants' networks and then mostly by employees of the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, VOC) and the East India Companies of England and Denmark.⁶¹ The *constcamers* in Munich, Innsbruck, Prague, and Graz were among the first collections for which Javanese *kris*es are documented. Exotic weapons, including *kris*es, were also to be found in Antwerp collections. A telling example is the 'serpentine dagger with a wooden sheath', included among the roughly seventy weapons listed in the 1632 probate inventory of Leonora Rodrigues (ca. 1565–1632), widow of Diego Duarte I (ca. 1544–1626) who traded in gemstones and jewellery.⁶² *Kris*es were of course also available in Amsterdam, a city with which Antwerp merchants, artists, and artisans continued to maintain a close relationship. In 1612, for example, in the Amsterdam house of the very wealthy merchant and collector Jean Nicquet, 'kretsen' (*kris* daggers) were inventoried among other East Indian artefacts including porcelain, lacquerware, and other weaponry.⁶³

Within Javanese culture, *kris*es were not simply stabbing weapons; they were also valued both as sacred objects possessing supernatural protective powers and the ability to move (and, in fact, kill) at their own volition, and as material symbols of status and wealth, and were frequently handed down as heirlooms from one generation to the next. Their makers were highly appreciated for their secret and expert knowledge and their skill in the creation of these complex blades, which were produced by placing different layers of iron and other metals on top of one another and 'twisting, cutting, and punching' them

60 Bujok E., "Ethnographica in Early Modern *Kunstkammern* and Their Perception", *Journal of the History of Collections* 21 (2009) 17–32, at 17.

61 There are extensive collections of *kris*es in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen; Museum für Völkerkunde, Dresden; British Museum, London; State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; and Weltmuseum, Vienna.

62 See Duverger E. (ed.), *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, 14 vols. (Brussels: 1984–2009) vol. 3, 278: 'eenen geslangde poignaert met een houten scheede'. For the Duarte family, see Paepe T. de, "Networking in High Society: The Duarte Family in Seventeenth-Century Antwerp", *DIVA*, Antwerp Home of Diamonds (Antwerp: 2016), <http://www.divaantwerp.be/en/research/networking-in-high-society> (accessed: 11.08.2017).

63 Veen J. van der, "East Indies Shops in Amsterdam", in Corrigan K.H. – Campen J. van – Diercks F. (eds.), *Asia in Amsterdam: The Culture of Luxury in the Golden Age*, exh. cat., Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Amsterdam: 2015) 134–141, at 137.

in order to obtain specific ornaments or designs.⁶⁴ Because of their demon-shaped hilts, *kris*es also became associated with another type of collectible that had similarly become available through trans-continental trade: the figurines of so-called heathen idols. In the context of the early modern European collections (and the collections of travel accounts published in books) the *kris* took on a double identity, oscillating between weapon and idol, endowed both with agency and with power over life and death.

Although inventories of collections and possessions—unlike travel accounts—rarely mention the Javanese and Malay terms *kris* and *keris* respectively, they contain frequent references to weapons with flame-shaped blades and figural hilts.⁶⁵ The following early seventeenth-century examples suggest that these exotic weapons were viewed within the multiple intersecting contexts of early modern cultures of collecting, including antiquarianism, connoisseurship, and curiosity, as well as religious, exegetical, and missionary interests. The inventory of the *constcamer* of Rudolf II in Prague, compiled by the painter Daniel Fröschl (1563–1613) between 1607 and 1611, lists among the 'Indian things' ('*indianische Sachen*') an 'Indian flame-shaped damascened dagger with a hilt (haft) carved of wood and a sheath'.⁶⁶ On his second visit to the Munich *Kunstammer* in 1611, Hainhofer mentions, among several weapons displayed on a table, an 'Indian dagger with a yellow wooden sheath, and an idol on the hilt'.⁶⁷ In his account of his visit to Ruhelust Castle in Innsbruck in March 1628, he reports that he saw several 'Indian daggers with idols on their hilts' with other weapons in the armoury.⁶⁸ Of particular interest is an

64 Kumar A., *Globalizing the Prehistory of Japan: Language, Genes and Civilization* (Abingdon – New York, NY: 2009) 22–23.

65 For the Javanese and Malay words, see Mahdi W., *Malay Words and Malay Things: Lexical Souvenirs from an Exotic Archipelago in German Publications before 1700* (Wiesbaden: 2007) 50.

66 Bauer R. – Haupt H. (eds.), "Das Kunstammerinventar Kaiser Rudolfs II., 1607–1661", *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 72 (1976) 11–191, at 32, no. 554: '1 indianisch flammeter damasciniertes dolch mit geschnitztem hiltzerm hefft und schaiden'. The entry may refer to the Javanese *kris* with a painted sheath in the Weltmuseum, Vienna, inv. no. 91.919 a, b. See Seipel W. (ed.), *Exotica: Portugals Entdeckungen im Spiegel fürstlicher Kunst- und Wunderkammern*, exh. cat., Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien (Vienna: 2000) 246–249, cat. 157 (H. Leigh-Theisen).

67 Diemer et al., *Die Münchner Kunstammer* vol. 3, 372: 'Indianische Dolchen, mit ainer gelb hültzine schaiden, aussen am hefft mit ainem Idolo' ('Philipp Hainhofer besucht die Kunstammer, 23.–25. Mai 1611', fol. 114r).

68 Feest C.F., "Zemes idolum diabolicum: Surprise and Success in Ethnographic Kunstammer Research", *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 4 (1986) 181–198, at 188. See Doering O.

account by the Benedictine abbot Kaspar Plautz of his visit to the *Kunstkammer* in Graz (before 1619), published in his 1621 treatise *Nova typis transacta navigatio novi orbis Indiae Occidentalis*.⁶⁹ Plautz claims to have both seen and touched in the ‘most magnificent library’ of Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria and Styria (who became Holy Roman Emperor in 1619), an ‘idol’ brought there from Spain, which he describes as being ‘of very hard wood’ and ‘ornamented with gold, rubies, and emeralds at the base’. Plautz wondered about the type of wood being used to carve the figure, which appeared to him similar to boxwood, ‘greasy and mucous’.⁷⁰ Plautz added an engraving with the front and back view of the figure, in order that ‘the honoured reader may truly see and recognise the form, image and shape of their idol *zemes*’ [Fig. 1.7].⁷¹ And he ends up by boasting that his fellow Benedictine missionaries had broken and burned roughly 170,000 of these *zemes* figurines on the island of Hispaniola in the Caribbean, thus moving without further argument from a close reading of the artifice and craftsmanship of a sculpted figure to an account of the mass destruction of these idols motivated by religious zeal. As has been discussed in detail by Christian Feest, although the Latin inscription of the engraving identifies the ‘diabolical idol’ as a ‘*zemes*’, what is depicted here is the figural hilt of a Javanese *kris*. Plautz thus reframed and redefined the hilt of a *kris* as *zemes*, or *cemí*, relocating an ‘idolatrous’ object from the East to the West Indies and thus expanding and globalising idolatrous practice.⁷²

The *kris* hilt pictured and described in Lorenzo Pignoria’s updated edition of Vincenzo Cartari’s reference book on the images of the gods of the ancients reflects the complexity of the antiquarian engagement with objects from remote places and past times. In several editions from 1624 onward the final section on the images of the Indian gods (‘Seconda parte delle imagini de gli dei indiani’), added by Pignoria, concludes with the discussion of ‘a small ivory idol from the Indies beset with gems [kept] among the precious curiosities’ of Pignoria’s

(ed.), *Des Augsburger Patriciers Philipp Hainhofer Reisen nach Innsbruck und Dresden* (Vienna: 1901) 98: ‘Indianische Dolchen, mit Idolj auf den hefften’.

69 The visit took place perhaps as early as 1604 and certainly before 1617. In the following I cite from Feest, “*Zemes idolum diabolicum*” 183.

70 Ibidem.

71 Ibidem.

72 For processes of idolatrising and demonising *cemí* figures, see Gruzinski S., *Images at War: Mexico from Columbus to Blade Runner (1492–2019)*, trans. H. MacLean (Durham, NC – London: 2001) 10–18. See also Russo A., “These [Statues] They Generally Called Çemi: A New Object at the Crossroad of Languages”, in Grossmann – Krutisch, *The Challenge of the Object* 77–81.



FIGURE 1.7 Wolfgang Kilian (engraver), "The Diabolical Idol zemes" in Caspar Plautz, *Nova typis transacta navigatio novi orbis Indiae Occidentalis* (Linz, no publ.: 1621) plate 8. Engraving, 30.8 × 18.7 cm. Munich, Bavarian State Library (Rar. 1042).

IMAGE © BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, MUNICH.

friend Nicolas Fabri de Peiresc [Fig. 1.8].⁷³ The four woodcuts showing the ‘idol’ from four different angles clearly refer to a demon-shaped *kris* hilt, as is also suggested by the description in the inventory of Peiresc’s collection drawn up after his death: ‘A figure of an ancient idol of ivory decorated with gilded silver and enhanced with eight to ten rubies or carbuncles, which serves as the hilt of a cutlass.’⁷⁴ The shift of emphasis from an ‘Indian’ to an ‘antique’ idol points to the ambiguous understanding of India as both ‘other antiquity’ and an idolatrous civilisation.⁷⁵ Interestingly, Pignoria himself reflects on its representation from multiple viewpoints by suggesting that it may mean that ‘time is the best revealer of all things hidden’ (*il Tempo, ottimo manifestatore di tutte le cose occulte*).⁷⁶

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- 73 Cartari Vincenzo, *Seconda novissima editione delle immagini de gli dei delli antichi*, ed. Lorenzo Pignoria (Padua, Pietro Paolo Tozzi: 1626) 585: ‘Un’Idoletto dell’Indie d’Aorio fornito di Gioie tiene fra le molte sue preziose curiosità il Sig. di Peiresc, da me tante volte nominato, e non mai abastanza lodato, io l’ho fatto rappresentare qui in quattro faccie, che cosa possa significare ce lo direi forse il Tempo, ottimo manifestatore di tutte le cose occulte’. See Logemann C. – Pfisterer U., “Götterbilder und Götzendienen in der Frühen Neuzeit: Bernard Picarts *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous le people du monde* und das Konzept der Ausstellung”, in Effinger – Logemann – Pfisterer, *Götterbilder und Götzendienen* 9–21, esp. 17–20; Jaffé D., “The Barberini Circle: Some Exchanges between Peiresc, Rubens, and Their Contemporaries”, *Journal of the History of Collections* 1 (1989) 119–147, at 119–120.
- 74 Guibert J., *Les dessins du Cabinet Peiresc au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: 1910) 91 and 99: ‘Idolo d’avorio messo incerta guarnitione d’oro basso et d’argento indorata, lavorato a guisa di fogliami e arricchita di otto o dieci rubbini o carbunculi orientali rappresentato da tutte le quattro vedute’. – ‘Une figure d’une idole d’ivoire antique garnie d’argent doré et enrichie de huit ou dix rubis ou carboucles qui sert de manche à un coutelas, as cited in Pfisterer, “Idol—Aura—Art” 21, note 17.
- 75 There is a growing body of literature on the interest in ‘other’ antiquities in the age of exploration. For a nuanced reading, see Nagel A., *Some Discoveries of 1492: Eastern Antiquities and Renaissance Europe. The Seventeenth Gerson Lecture Held in Memory of Horst Gerson (1907–1978) in the Aula of the University of Groningen on the 14th of November 2013* (Groningen: 2013). For the association between India and idolatry, see footnote 14, above.
- 76 For an excellent interpretation of this sentence within the context of antiquarian notions of time, see Miller P.N., *Peiresc’s Europe: Learning and Virtue in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, CT – London: 2000) 134.



FIGURE 1.8 *Filippo Ferrovverde, 'A Small Idol from the Indies,' shown from four angles, in Vincenzo Cartari, Seconda novissima edizione delle imagini de gli dei delli antichi, ed. Lorenzo Pignoria (Padua, Pietro Paolo Tozzi: 1626) 586–587. Woodcut, 21.5 × 15.8 cm. Heidelberg, University Library (C 5102 RES).*

IMAGE © UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK HEIDELBERG.

Conclusion: History, Geography, and the Sense of Time and Place

While inventories and related sources generally designate the Javanese daggers as 'Indian' (and, as I have pointed out above, very rarely mention the Javanese and Malay terms *kris* and *keris*, respectively, or its various European cognates and derivatives), early travel accounts link *kris*es to Bantam, at the turn of the seventeenth century the most prosperous port city of the Indonesian archipelago.⁷⁷ From the accounts of the first voyage by the Dutch to the 'East Indies' under Cornelis Houtman (1595–1597) onwards, *kris*es were associated with the dark, dangerous, and 'idolatrous' side of the city and especially the Javanese who were almost always depicted as 'obstinate, untrustworthy, evil, and murderous'.⁷⁸ At the same time, most authors also acknowledged their admiration for the skills Javanese men displayed in the forging of the flame-shaped blades that could inflict deadly wounds and in the carving of scabbards and hilts. Edmund Scott, the principal agent of the English factory at Bantam notes in his *An Exact Discourse of the Subtilties, Fashishions* [sic!], *Pollicies, Religion, and Ceremonies of the East Indians* of 1606 that the Javanese are 'very good Carvers to carve their Cryse handles';⁷⁹ those are 'either of Horne or Wood, curiously carved in the likenesse of a Divell; the which many of them do worship'. Scott further observes that most Javanese infuse poison into the temper of the blade 'so that not one amongst five hundred that is wounded with them in the bodie, escapeth with his life'.⁸⁰ In the eyes of the Dutch and English merchants and adventurers the power of the *kris*es resulted from a range of factors,

77 For the Javanese and Malay words, see Mahdi, *Malay Words and Malay Things* 50. For Bantam, see Parthesius R., *Dutch Ships in Tropical Waters: The Development of the Dutch East India Company Shipping Network in Asia, 1595–1660* (Amsterdam: 2010) 201, *passim*; Wake C., "Banten around the Turn of the Sixteenth Century: Trade and Society in an Indonesian Port City", in Boeze F. (ed.), *Gateways of Asia: Port Cities of Asia in the 13th–20th Centuries* (London: 1997) 66–108; Batchelor R., "Crying a Muck: Collecting, Domesticity, and Anomie in Seventeenth-Century Banten and England", in Bleichmar D. – Mancall P.C. (eds.), *Collecting across Cultures: Material Exchanges in the Early Modern Atlantic World* (Philadelphia, PA: 2011) 116–133.

78 See, for example, Lodewijksz. Willem, *D'Eerste boeck: Historie van Indien, waer inne verhaelt is de avontueren die de Hollandsche Schepen bejeghent zijn* (Amsterdam, Cornelis Claesz.: 1598) fol. 41r: 'zijn een hartneckigh, ontrouw, boos ende mordadigh volck'. For a detailed discussion of this and other travel accounts, see Göttler, "Indian Daggers with Idols" 84–87.

79 Scott Edmund, *An Exact Discourse of the Subtilties, Fashishions* [sic!], *Pollicies, Religion, and Ceremonies of the East Indians* (London, Walter Burre: 1606) fol. N2r.

80 Ibidem fol. Nir.

including their raw material, the skill invested in their production, the poison applied to them, the murderous spirit of their users, and, last but not least, the devil-shaped dagger handles, at a period when belief in demonic forces was widespread.

Of particular interest in our context is a description and visualisation of the uses and meanings of *kris*es in late sixteenth-century Java—based on the European perception—in the first volume of Levinus Hulsius's *Sechs und zwanzig Schiffahrten* (*Twenty-six Navigations*), published in Nuremberg in 1599.⁸¹ The nineteen plates for the first volume of Hulsius's *Schiffahrten* etched by the Nuremberg artist Johann Sibmacher (1561–1612) are skilfully made and also include captions.⁸² The first volume is again 'a short and true description' of the 'first voyage' of the Dutch to the East Indies, that of Houtman mentioned above. Hulsius himself translated and added to the text of an anonymous Netherlandish account of this voyage (*Verhael vande Reyse by de Hollandsche Schepen gedaen naer Oost Indien* (Middelburg, Barent Langenes: 1597)), which was first published in Middelburg in 1597. In Hulsius's book, one of the etchings relates directly to the *kris* as both a weapon associated with the island of Java and a collectible connected to the space of the European home. The etching portrays two male and one female representative of the Javanese community at Bantam with their goods: a cluster of coconuts hanging from a palm tree in the centre, black pepper plants spread out on the ground, a container filled with rice carried by the woman to the left, and a *kris* worn by the man to the right of the palm tree [Fig. 1.9].

Interestingly, the 'devil-shaped' handle of the *kris* also appears in a detail to the left of the etching as both a collectible of great craftsmanship and as an idolatrous object that also functions as evidence of the Javanese's worship of the devil. Hulsius adds to the translated text by claiming that the '*abris*s', or 'counterfeit', of the devil in the etching was made 'from the hilt of an exceedingly beautiful Chinese dagger', which he saw in Nuremberg after it had been brought back from Java by the Dutch. Its blade, which looked like a flame, was

81 For Hulsius, see Groesen M. van, *The Representations of the Overseas World in the De Bry Collection of Voyages (1590–1634)* (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2012) 346–352; Steffen-Schade J., "Ethnographische Illustrationen zwischen Propaganda und Unterhaltung: Ein Vergleich der Reisesammlungen von De Bry und Hulsius", in Burghartz S. (ed.), *Inszenierte Welten: Die west- und ostindischen Reisen der Verleger de Bry, 1590–1630* (Basel: 2004) 157–195.

82 I have been using Hulsius Levinus, *Kurtze Warhafftige Beschreibung der Newen Reyse oder Schiffart, so die Hollendischen Schiff in den Orientalischen Indien verricht*, 2nd ed. (Nuremberg, Levinus Hulsius: 1599). On the etchings for the *Erste Schiffart*, see Bevers H. (ed.), *Johann Sibmacher*, compiled by G. Seelig, 3 vols., *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, 1400–1700*, 60–62 (Rotterdam: 2002) vol. 1, 204–217 and nos. 293–311.



FIGURE 1.9 Johann Sibmacher, The Inhabitants of the Island of Java, in Levinus Hulsius, *Erste Schiffart* (Nuremberg, Levinus Hulsius: 1599), after page 30 (numbered 29). Etching, 13.8 × 14.5 cm. Providence, RI, John Carter Brown Library via <https://archive.org/details/ersteschiffartkuoohout>.

IMAGE © COURTESY OF THE JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY AT BROWN UNIVERSITY.

damascened and fitted into an artfully carved wooden sheath.⁸³ Sibmacher's etching is one of the earliest known European representations of a Javanese

83 Hulsius, *Kurtze Warhafftige Beschreibung der Newen Reyse oder Schiffart* 30–31: 'Und ist der abriß deß Teuffels in dieser eigenden Figur, allhie zu Nürnberg, von einem hefft eines uberauß schönen Chinesisch Dolchen, so die Holänder auß Iava gebracht, abgerissen worden, die klinge war Damaskiniert, wie die gegossene klingen, und war wie ein flammen, hett ein höltzene gar artig gemachte scheide'.

kris; the separate space in which the artefact is displayed for close inspection by the readers of Hulsius's travel book introduces it as a collectible and may also alert us to the myriad conceptual and cultural tensions and confusions that arose from 'collecting across cultures' in the early modern period.⁸⁴

The etching might also provide an important key to understanding the dynamics of Francken's early *constcamer* paintings, with emphasis on the process of looking, studying, and evaluating, albeit in an explicitly Catholic and Counter Reformation context [Figs. 1.2, 1.3]. The visible red strings by which the paintings, natural specimens, and ancient and 'exotic' artefacts are hung on the nails drilled into the wooden wall underscore their function as objects of display to be scrutinised carefully and by 'erudite eyes'. A knowledgeable viewer would have connected the *kris* with stories of the threats and almost supernatural powers the daggers exercised in faraway Bantam, as described in the travel literature of the time. The curious and somehow asymmetrical juxtaposition of a 'foreign idol' (the hilt of the *kris*) and an allegorical scene of 'local' iconoclasm and violence (presented as an act of ignorance) would have also challenged him or her to reflect about the subtle affinities linking idolatry, antiquarianism, and connoisseurship, but also the distinctions between them, and between idolatrous and iconoclastic attitudes to 'special', 'exquisite', and 'extraordinary' things.

At the turn of the seventeenth century, among the foreign novelties entering not merely the collections assembled by members of the European elites, but also the European imagery and imagination, the artefacts categorised as 'idols' emerged as a central focus in a variety of debates. Described in terms of the grotesque, they motivated engagement with past and remote material cultures, as well as reflections about the interdependences of aesthetic, religious, and moral norms. It is, I think, noteworthy that these figural artefacts, although removed from their original cultic contexts and displayed in the earliest museums or 'Kunstkammern' among other 'extraordinary' and 'exquisite' things, still retained some of the magical or supernatural powers, which were attributed to the Devil believed to inhabit them. Within a Catholic and Counter Reformation context, the material remains of 'barbaric' or 'idolatrous' beliefs functioned as 'counter-objects' to the relics and images 'rescued' from the violence of Protestant iconoclastic attacks.

The grotesque ornamentation associated with 'Indian idols' also resonates with another sought-after collectible: 'Indian shells' were to be found in almost every collection, including Arias Montano's 'cabinet of natural things' and Ortelius's 'museum'. Shells were also a standard motif in *constcamer* paintings,

84 Bleichmar – Mancall, *Collecting across Cultures*.



FIGURE 1.10 Detail of Fig. 1.2: The central religious painting.

including Frans Francken's *Cabinet of a Collector* of 1617. In a crucial passage in his *Naturae Historia*, written in the mid-1590s, but only published posthumously in 1601, Arias Montano compares shells of the same species found in the waters near the Italian coast with those from the waters off America, concluding that the place of origin of the latter can easily be concluded from their particular patterns.⁸⁵ The *constcamers* and collectors' cabinets depicted by Frans Francken the Younger and other Antwerp artists encourage this kind of critical attentiveness toward the expanding visual and material worlds connected by

85 Guerra L.D., "Hércules rebasado: Montano y Vico ante el Nuevo Mundo", *Cuadernos sobre Vico* 25 (2011)/26 (2012) 95–124, at 106–107.

Arias Montano himself with the work of 'erudite eyes' and a 'discerning mind'. Francken's *Cabinet of a Collector*, however, with its central painting of a man reading, and perhaps also contemplating the Christ Child across the water who directs his gaze toward him as he turns a giant orb [Fig. 1.10], also reminds us that in the expanded circles of Arias Montano, Ortelius, and their acquaintances, experience of the world relied upon the cultivation of self-knowledge and the shaping of one's moral and religious self.⁸⁶

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86 For the mutual relationship between self-knowledge and experience of the world in the circle around Ortelius, see Cosgrove D., "Globalism and Tolerance in Early Modern Geography", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 93 (2003) 852–870.

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Arabic Inscriptions in the Service of the Church: An Italian Textile Evoking an Early Christian Past?*

Denise-Marie Teece

The textile at the centre of this study arrived at The Metropolitan Museum of Art over seventy years ago [Fig. 2.1].¹ Previously in the collection of Giorgio Sangiorgi—a dealer with a special interest in textiles, active in Rome in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—the piece then passed into the possession of Sangiorgi's friend, Adolfo (Adolph) Loewi.² The museum acquired the textile from Loewi in 1946. As befitting an MMA acquisition, it is a most luxurious object, finely woven with expensive materials. Its bands of Arabic script, woven with golden threads against a purplish satin ground, read 'al-Sultan al-Malik [...]' (the Sultan, the King). These bands of script are placed against scrolling vegetal vines, some of the tendrils terminating in animal heads [Fig. 2.2]. The inscription alternates with bands containing quatrefoil medallions highlighted with crimson red, surrounded by fantastic animals: dragons and griffins, and birds of prey with outstretched wings [Fig. 2.3].

When it arrived at the museum, the textile's many pieces were stitched together to form a rough oval [Fig. 2.4]. The piece was catalogued as a chasuble—a type of vestment worn by the celebrant during the services of

* My thanks to Sheila Canby, Patti Cadby Birch Curator in Charge of the Islamic Department at the Metropolitan Museum of Art; Florica Zaharia, Conservator in Charge; and Conservator and friend Janina Poskrobko for her kind encouragement and for her careful technical analysis, images, and permissions. My appreciation also to Conservators Cristina B. Carr and Kathrin Colburn, and Associate Conservator Giulia Chiostrini and to Nobuko Shibayama and the Metropolitan Museum of Art Scientific Research department. My deepest gratitude to Mia M. Mochizuki and Christine Göttler for the invitation to submit this paper and for their thoughtful editing. Finally, I am grateful to Priscilla Soucek, Daniel Walker, Navina Haidar, and Walter Denny for their encouragement of my study of textiles.

1 The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, NY (MMA) acquired the piece from Loewi in 1946 as accession number 46.156.14.

2 Munoz A., *La Mostra d'arte retrospettiva a Castel Sant'Angelo e la collezione di stoffe di Giorgio Sangiorgi* (Rome: 1911).



FIGURE 2.1 *Detail of a chasuble (?) fragment (fourteenth century). Silk and metal-wrapped thread, 104.1 × 55.9 cm. New York City, NY, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1946 (inv. no. 46.156.14).*

IMAGE © THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK CITY, NY.

the Church.³ Presently, the textile has been separated into its many (approximately fifty) component elements. Nevertheless, we can perhaps envision it as it once was by looking to its 'sister'—a church vestment made from the identical cloth in the treasury of the Cathedral of St. Mary of the Assumption in

3 Johnstone P., *High Fashion in the Church: The Place of Church Vestments in the History of Art from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century* (Leeds: 2002) 10.



FIGURE 2.2 *Detail of a chasuble (?) fragment (fourteenth century). Silk and metal-wrapped thread. New York City, NY, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1946 (inv. no. 46.156.14).*

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PHOTO: DENISE-MARIE TEECE.



FIGURE 2.3 *Detail of a chasuble (?) fragment (fourteenth century). Silk and metal-wrapped thread, New York City, NY, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1946 (inv. no. 46.156.14).*

IMAGE © THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK CITY, NY;
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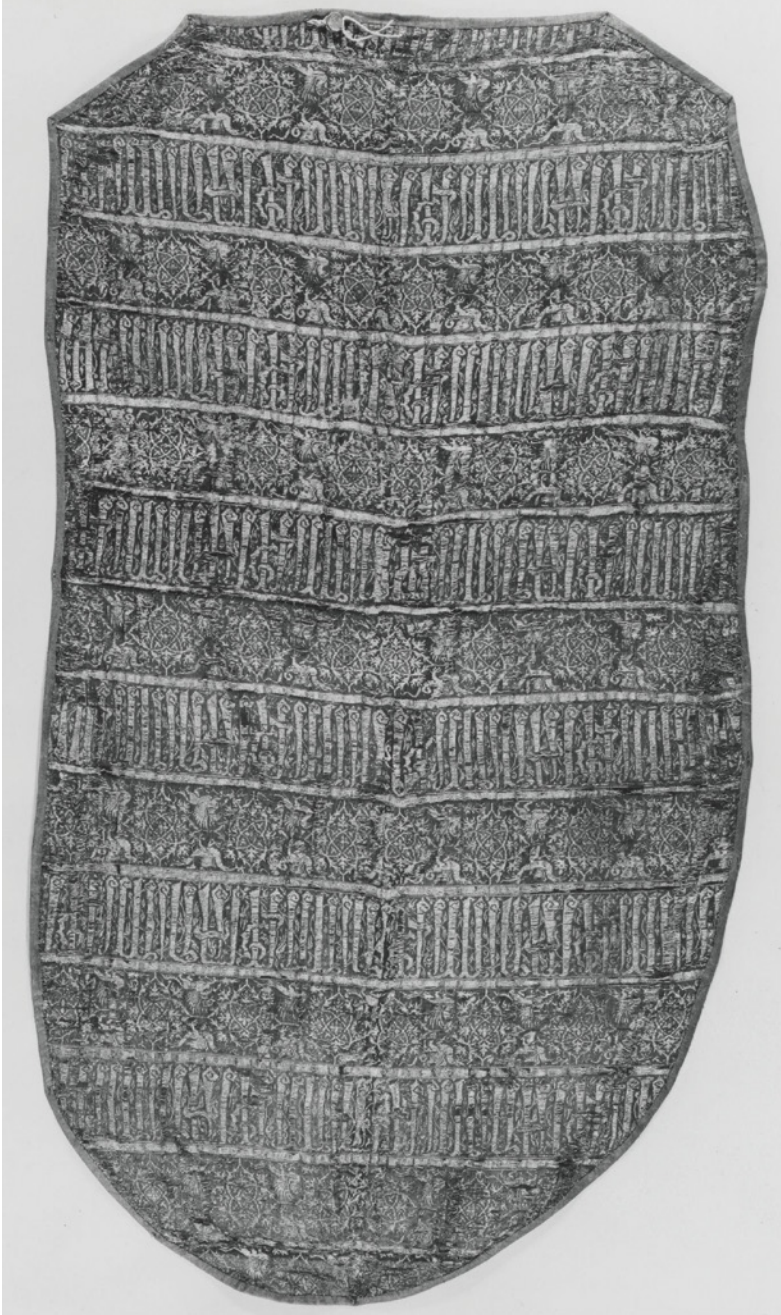


FIGURE 2.4 *Detail of a chasuble (?) fragment (fourteenth century). Silk and metal-wrapped thread, New York City, NY, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1946 (inv. no. 46.156.14).*

IMAGE © THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK CITY, NY.

Chur, Switzerland.⁴ In fact, a note in the museum object record suggests the provenance of MMA 46.156.14 as the 'Cathedral in Chur, Switzerland'.⁵

While the textile's most recent provenance may be the Cathedral at Chur, how should the life of this textile before coming into the service of the Church be understood? Its Arabic inscription suggests the textile travelled some distance to arrive in Switzerland. But, just how 'nomadic' is this textile? This paper will demonstrate that while a purely stylistic analysis of this textile might suggest origins in the Islamic world, a deep and careful examination of the inner architecture of the piece reveals its affinities with fabrics of European manufacture. In reaching this conclusion, this paper points to the positive results of close collaborations between art historians and textile conservators. Furthermore, this paper will address the choice of a textile with an Arabic inscription for use within the holiest ceremonies of the Catholic Church. It will posit that such inscriptions may be read as evocations of the Holy Land, conferring on the textile connections to an early, 'nomadic' Christian past.

Stylistic Analysis

In terms of its style, this textile is not an isolated example of its type. From about the thirteenth into the fifteenth century, striped textiles with Arabic inscriptions like the MMA example enjoyed popularity across the Mediterranean and beyond—from the Iberian Peninsula to Persia.⁶ Royalty, as well as clergy, adopted textiles with such designs for burial goods, as well as church attire. The numerous examples of church vestments made from similarly striped and Arabic-inscribed textiles attest to their ready acceptance.⁷ The textual content

4 Schmedding B., *Mittelalterliche Textilien in Kirchen und Klöstern der Schweiz* (Bern: 1978) cat. no. 93, 92–95; Wilckens L., *Die Textilien Künste: Von der Spätantike bis um 1500* (Munich: 1991) 107, figs. 112 and 108. My thanks to Kathrin Colburn, conservator at the Metropolitan Museum of Art for kindly bringing this latter reference to my attention.

5 Erwin Poeschel has suggested that the MMA fragments may have served as part of a reliquary in the church. Poeschel E., *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Graubünden* (Basel: 1948) 182, figs. 195 and 196; Schmedding, *Mittelalterliche Textilien* 95.

6 Mackie L., *Symbols of Power: Luxury Textiles from Islamic Lands, 7th–21st Century* (Cleveland, OH: 2015) 204.

7 Cf. church vestments made from striped and inscribed textiles from the Iberian Peninsula dating to the late fourteenth to early fifteenth century. Mackie, *Symbols of Power* 204–206 and figs. 5.37 and 5.38. For other vestments with origins further east (Central Asia, etc.) see Wardwell A., "Panni Tartarici: Eastern Islamic Silks Woven with Gold and Silver (13th and 14th Centuries)", *Islamic Art*, 3 (1988–1989) 95–173; figs. 5, 41, and 42. See also textiles from

of these inscriptions vary, ranging from historical—including the names of rulers and/or their honorifics—to purely poetical.⁸ Such striped textiles were typically worn with the bands running vertically. Whether the Arabic inscriptions were read and understood by a broader European audience is debatable, but textile historian Birgitt Borkopp-Restle has argued that by including a fragment upside-down in one vestment that the Arabic was made illegible to the public and thus did not pose a problem for use in the ritual of the Church.⁹

In terms of the wording of the MMA textile, a publication of the Chur piece states that the inscription on the body of the textile is composed of four words within which ‘no letter is correctly written, and no word is correctly spelled’.¹⁰ Upon closer examination, however, both the MMA and Chur textile appear to display the fairly legible repetition of three words in Arabic—‘al-Sultan al-Malik [...]’ (the Sultan, the King) and an indecipherable third word that might be read phonetically as al-Nasir, although it is spelled incorrectly (perhaps

the Marienkirche in Gdansk (Danzig), Poland: Table 5, 6, 46, 47, 49, 54, 122, 124, and 132 of Mannowsky W., *Der Danziger Paramentenschatz: Kirchliche Gewänder und Stickereien aus der Marienkirche* (Berlin: 1931). For medieval European burial goods with bands of Arabic inscriptions, see Mackie, *Symbols of Power* 231–232, fig. 6.116; Wardwell, “*Panni Tartarici*” fig. 45, and more recently Ritter and Járó: Ritter M., “Kunst mit Botschaft: Der Gold-Seide-Stoff für den Ilchan Abu Sa’id von Iran (Grabgewand Rudolfs IV. in Wien): Rekonstruktion, Typus, Repräsentationsmedium” and Járó M., “Spätmittelalterliche Handwerkstechnologie: Der Metallfaden im Wiener Gold-Seide-Stoff für Abu Sa’id”, in Ritter M. – Korn L. (eds.), *Beiträge zur Islamischen Kunst und Archäologie* (Wiesbaden: 2010) vol. 2, 136–142. See also Wardwell, “*Panni Tartarici*” figs. 13 and 14; and Majocchi P., *La seta Cangrande: Rituali Funerari e Distinzione Sociale in Italia nel Medioevo (ca. 500–1450)* (Rome: 2015) and Marini P. et al. (eds.), *Cangrande della Scala: La Morte e Corredo di un Principe nel Medioevo Europeo* (Venice: 2004).

- 8 Cf. Mackie, *Symbols of Power* 205–206 and fig. 5.38. This piece, identified as a chasuble back, displays an Arabic poetic inscription: ‘I am for pleasure; welcome. For pleasure am I; and he who beholds me sees joy and delight’.
- 9 Borkopp-Restle B., “Striped Golden Brocades with Arabic Inscriptions in the Textile Treasure of St. Mary’s Church in Danzig/Gdansk”, in Fircks J. von – Schorta R. (eds.), *The Oriental Silks in Medieval Europe* (Riggisberg: 2016) 289–299. My thanks to Christine Göttler for kindly bringing this article to my attention.
- 10 Schmedding states: ‘Kein Buchstabe ist richtig geschrieben, kein Wort richtig buchstabiert’. Some confusion might arise because the *nun* of al-Sultan is written on a higher baseline across the top of some of the letters. This is a common placement, however, for this letter in the word ‘sultan’, and not a mistake. Even the abbreviation of the word ‘sultan’ in Mamluk textiles would not be surprising. Atil states: ‘the abbreviated form of this word [Sultan] is not an uncommon feature in Mamluk art and appears in several other textiles’. Atil E., *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks* (Washington, DC: 1981) 236; Schmedding, *Mittelalterliche Textilien* 95.



FIGURE 2.5 *Detail of a chasuble (?) fragment (fourteenth century). Silk and metal-wrapped thread, New York City, NY, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1946 (inv. no. 46.156.14).*

IMAGE © THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK CITY, NY;
PHOTO: DENISE-MARIE TEECE.

substituting a *sin* for the *sod*) and heavily distorted [Fig. 2.5].¹¹ While vague, the inscription may suggest an attribution to Mamluk Egypt—specifically, to the period of the rule of Sultan al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad I ibn Qalawun—sometimes referred to as al-Nasir Muhammad. He reigned from Egypt over the Mamluk territories in three interrupted intervals from about 1293 until his death in 1341.¹²

Mamluk Attribution?

The style of the calligraphy is indeed close to that found on other inscribed textiles attributed to Mamluk Egypt, including a silk textile in the Cairo Museum of Islamic Art dated to the fourteenth century, with a similar inscription—‘Glory

¹¹ An alternative reading of this third word may be al-Hasan(?).

¹² Reigned 1293–1294; 1299–1309; 1310 until his death in 1341. Bosworth C., *The New Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Manual* (Edinburgh: 1996) 76.

to our Master, the Sultan al-Malik al-Nasir'.¹³ The vertical elongation of the letters and the placement of the *nun* in al-Sultan is close to that found in the MMA textile. The calligraphy on the MMA textile may also be compared to a drawing done by the Venetian artist Pisanello (ca. 1395–ca. 1455), in which he fairly accurately transcribes what appears to be a Mamluk inscription including the name of the contemporary Mamluk sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh.¹⁴

Mamluk weavers favoured textiles incorporating Arabic inscriptions and a number of examples may be cited.¹⁵ As Louise Mackie points out, almost half the surviving Mamluk silk fragments include Arabic words. These range from the repetition of single words, such as 'the sultan', to those including the full names of sultans and their titles. These phrases were often arranged into banded, striped, or ogival layouts. Often, the bands with inscriptions would alternate with narrow bands with animals in medallions. And, some Mamluk examples incorporated metal-wrapped threads, similar to the MMA piece. In addition to the style and content of the inscription, the shape of the medallions in the MMA fragment is strongly reminiscent of those found in another fourteenth-century Mamluk textile in the Victoria and Albert Museum.¹⁶

Persian Provenance?

While a glance at the design and inscription might immediately suggest production in Mamluk Egypt, another provenance is also possible. It is reported that during the reign of al-Nasir Muhammad, an embassy from the Ilkhanid ruler Abu Sa'id (r. 1316–1335)¹⁷ arrived at the Mamluk sultan's court with gifts that included textiles. These are described as products of the Ilkhanid realms, but some displayed inscriptions with the name of al-Nasir Muhammad. The embassy and its gifts are recorded in the memoirs of contemporary historian Abu'l-Fida:

13 Atil, *Renaissance of Islam* 229, cat. no. 113.

14 Nagel A., "Twenty-five Notes on Pseudoscript in Italian Art", *Res* 59/60 (Spring/Autumn 2011) 229–248, at 236–248. and fig. 11. Presumably this inscription refers to al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh al-Mahmudi al-Zahiri, who reigned from 1412 to 1421. Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties* 77.

15 Atil, *Renaissance of Islam* 229, cat. no. 113; 234, cat. no. 117; and 236, cat. no. 119; Mackie L., "Toward an Understanding of Mamluk Silks: National and International Considerations", *Muqarnas* 2, *The Art of the Mamluks* (1984) 127–146.

16 Mackie, "Toward an Understanding of Mamluk Silks" 130, 137, plate 5; V&A 817–1898.

17 Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties* 250.

And, I had an audience of the sultan in the Citadel at the beginning of al-Hijja [19 November 1324] [...] while I was there, the ambassadors of Abu Sa'id, the king of the Mongols arrived [...]. They proffered their gifts while I was present [...] a number of choice gowns of cloth and so forth, with sleeve bands of gold brocade, a piece of muslin containing a number of pieces of gold brocade, and eleven Bactrian camels carrying chests full of cloth, the produce of that country, numbering 7,000 pieces, inscribed with the sultan's titles. He [al-Malik al-Nasir] accepted that from them, and overwhelmed the ambassadors with various robes of honour and favours.¹⁸

Textiles containing Arabic inscriptions—even some naming Mamluk rulers—appear to have been made in Ilkhanid realms. Mackie publishes a piece of so-called 'cloth of gold' (*nasij*), which was probably created in the fourteenth century in eastern Iran or Central Asia.¹⁹ A portion of the design includes an inscription that reads 'Glory to our Lord the Sultan, the King, the Just, the Wise, Nasir [Muhammad?].'²⁰ Again, it has been suggested that this likely refers to the Mamluk ruler Nasir al-Din Muhammad ibn Qalawun.²¹ Abu'l-Fida's account and this surviving example caution us that even textiles with inscriptions containing the name of a particular ruler may not be enough to attribute securely a textile to a particular location. Could the MMA textile have been a Persian production destined as a gift for a Mamluk ruler?

18 Abu'l-Fida, *The Memoirs of a Syrian Prince, Abu'l-Fida, Sultan of Hamah* (672–732/1273–1331) trans. P.M. Holt (Wiesbaden: 1983). 84. The description of 7,000 pieces given in this 1983 translation edition is mentioned elsewhere in the scholarly literature as only 700.

19 Mackie, *Symbols of Power* 220, fig. 6.5. This is said to have once formed part of an ecclesiastical cope in the collection of the Marienkirche in Danzig (Gdansk) Poland; Wardwell, "Panni Tartarici" 101–102 and fig. 19, where it is categorised as part of her 'Group 1' and attributed to Central Asia. Much has been written on 'cloth of gold' including: Allsen T., *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles* (Cambridge: 1997); Wardwell, "Panni Tartarici"; Wardwell A., "Two Silk and Gold Textiles of the Early Mongol Period", *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 79 (1992) 354–378; and Watt J. – Wardwell A., *When Silk Was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles* (New York, NY: 1997). Also Denny J. "Textiles in the Mongol and Yuan Periods", in Watt J., *The World of Khubilai Khan: Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty* (New York, NY: 2010) 242–267.

20 Mackie, *Symbols of Power* 220. A slightly different reading and transliteration of the Arabic is provided in Wardwell, "Panni Tartarici" 101.

21 Wardwell, "Panni Tartarici" 101.

Other Attributions

To complicate the question of weaving centre a bit more, the MMA textile has been the subject of various attributions. Currently, the MMA piece is described as a Mamluk production of the fourteenth century. The publication of the Chur piece, however, suggests the MMA textile should be catalogued as a fourteenth-century Italian weaving.²² Notes in the MMA textile conservation file, however, suggest a possible attribution to sixteenth-century Italy. Why this conflicting information? The MMA piece belongs to a group of textiles that have proven notoriously difficult to pin down. As a *Textile History* publication by Norman Indictor and others notes, attributions of these textiles have been made primarily on the basis of style, despite a degree of confusion due to the popularity of an 'international style' at the time.²³

Structural Analysis

As art historians, the study of textiles requires us not only to examine design and style, but also to have some basic understanding of the structure—the architecture of a textile. This understanding can aid in sometimes locating a textile's place of production. Scholarship of Islamic textiles is still lacking a broad, clear corpus of materials to use as comparison, but some important technical studies have been published. I will consider here a few 'classic' technical studies which serve to demonstrate the types of analyses that are available for consideration and comparison. For the study of textiles to proceed, it requires us to grow the corpus of published comparative materials with sound technical analysis. While research into textile patterns is helpful to start, studies that pair stylistic analysis with competent and thorough technical examination are needed most. Art historians and experienced conservators and scientists

22 Schmedding, *Mittelalterliche Textilien* 92.

23 Indictor N. – Koestler R.J. – Blair C. – Wardwell A.E., "The Evaluation of Metal Wrappings from Medieval Textiles Using Scanning Electron Microscopy-Energy Dispersive X-Ray Spectrometry", *Textile History* 19, 1 (Spring 1988) 3–22, at 3. For more on trade and the sharing of motifs in this period, see Wardwell A., "Flight of the Phoenix: Crosscurrents in Later Thirteenth- to Fourteenth-Century Silk Patterns and Motifs", *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 74, 1 (January 1987) 2–35; Wardwell A., "The Stylistic Development of 14th- and 15th-Century Italian Silk Design", *Aachener Kunstblätter* 47 (1976–1977) 177–226; and Jacoby D., "Oriental Silks Go West: A Declining Trade in the Later Middle Ages", in Arcangeli C. – Wolf G. (eds.), *Islamic Artefacts in the Mediterranean World: Trade, Gift Exchange and Artistic Transfer* (Venice: 2010).

working together can best serve to expand our knowledge of the field. To this end, a limited technical analysis of the MMA textile 46.156.14, undertaken in cooperation with the Textile Conservation Department, revealed some basic structures of the textile (see Appendix).²⁴

Weave Structure

At first glance, the MMA textile's structure appears similar to a group of textiles which are attributed to western Iran—specifically to the Ilkhanid capitals of Tabriz or Sultaniyya—during the fourteenth century.²⁵ As Anne Wardwell describes, this group exhibits silk main warps that comprise single threads, spun in a Z twist fashion. (That is to say, the twist of the fibres appears to run from top right to bottom left—like a Z—when viewed vertically.) Furthermore:

There are four to each binding warp, and a total of approximately 110 warps per centimetre. The silk ground wefts are two to three times as thick as the main warps. The weaves are all lampas, the binding of the ground areas being satin [...]. Both the ground wefts and the binding warps are concealed by the densely concentrated main warps in the ground areas.²⁶

In addition, Wardell states that the gilded strips are also typically wound in an S twist fashion around their core.

24 My thanks to Janina Poskrobko for her careful analysis, as reported in the Appendix. Of special note here are the weft threads of a warm crimson colour. A dye analysis performed by Nobuko Shibayama, Associate Research Scientist in the Museum's Scientific Research Department, confirms the use of kermes dye. Kermes was a costly product in Italy in the fifteenth century, and the fact that this crimson-coloured thread is brocaded instead of running selva to selva may suggest the weaver wished to make economical use of an expensive thread. Meek C., "Laboreria Sete: Design and Production of Lucchese Silks in the late Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries", in Owen-Crocker G.R. – Netherton R. (eds.), *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* (Woodbridge: 2011) 141–168, at 115. Bensi P., "Aspects of Dyeing Techniques and Materials in Italy during the 15th and early 16th Centuries", in Buss C. (ed.), *Silk Gold Crimson: Secrets and Technology at the Visconti and Sforza Courts* (Milan: 2009) 37–41. For crimson/kermes dye in the Ottoman sphere, see Atasoy N. et al., *Ipek, The Crescent and the Rose: Imperial Ottoman Silks and Velvets* (London: 2001) 195–196 and for more on the sources of purple dye—also a costly colour—194–195.

25 Wardwell, "Panni Tartarici" 112—specifically her 'Group VII'.

26 Ibidem 113.

In the group of Persian textiles that Wardwell has identified, however, the gilded threads (with one exception) present cores made not of silk fibres, but of linen. This gives these weft threads a rather thick, coarse appearance. As a result, there are fewer gilded threads per vertical centimetre.²⁷ In addition, the gilded threads in all but one of the pieces published by Wardwell are made from a gilded animal substrate (leather or membrane), not from a gilded silver metal strip. These differences make it unlikely that our textile can be aligned with this particular Persian group, as described by Wardwell.²⁸ While this calls into question a Persian attribution for the MMA textile, the presence of metal-wrapped thread in the MMA textile may provide another avenue for consideration and investigation.

Metal Thread Analysis

Textiles incorporating the use of metal and metal-wrapped threads have been made from an early period.²⁹ These metal threads may take on various forms—among them are those made from the gilding of organic material—whether cellulosic (paper) or proteinaceous (animal origin substrate).³⁰ In other cases, the metal itself—in the form of silver or gilded silver strips (or other metals)³¹—are incorporated directly into the textile. These gilded materials may be woven as flat strips into the textile. Or, alternatively, the gilded strips may be wrapped around a fibre core.³² In the MMA example, the metal threads comprise gilded silver metal strips (lamellae) wound around

27 Ibidem 113 describes some of the textiles as having 13–17 gilded threads per cm, others are more refined—having 22–24 threads per cm.

28 The pieces studied by Wardwell, with a single exception (fig. 45), utilised gilded (or silvered) animal substrate for their metal wrapping. The MMA textile uses gilded silver metal strips.

29 For a brief history of the early use of metal thread, see Hardin I. – Duffield F., “Microanalysis of Persian Textiles”, *Iranian Studies* 25, 1/2, *The Carpets and Textiles of Iran: New Perspectives in Research* (1992) 43–59, at 43–44.

30 Indictor N. – Koestler R. – Wypyski M. – Wardwell A., “Metal Threads Made of Proteinaceous Substrates Examined by Scanning Electron Microscopy Energy Dispersive X-Ray Spectrometry”, *Studies in Conservation* 34, 4 (November 1989) 171–182, at 171. For examples of textiles that incorporate gilded paper and gilded animal substrate, see the exhibition catalogue of Watt – Wardwell, *When Silk was Gold*.

31 Járó M., “Gold Embroidery and Fabrics in Europe: XI–XIV Centuries”, *Gold Bulletin* 23, 2 (May 1990) 40–57.

32 Indictor et al., “Metal Threads” 171.



FIGURE 2.6 *Detail of metal-wrapped thread at 50× magnification of a chasuble (?) fragment (fourteenth century). Silk and metal-wrapped thread, New York City, NY, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1946 (inv. no. 46.156.14).*

IMAGE © THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK CITY, NY;
PHOTO: JANINA POSKROBKO.

a yellowish silk core [Fig. 2.6]. According to internal textile conservation examination reports, the gilding in the MMA textile 46.156.14 is found only on the outer surface of the silver metal strip and not on the side facing the silk core. The metal strip itself measures approximately 0.30 to 0.35 mm wide.³³ This

33 The metal-thread analysis was completed at the Museum in 2001 by Mark Wypyski, Research Scientist of the Department of Scientific Research, MMA. My thanks to him, Nobuko Shibayama, and to Florica Zaharia for permission to share these test results. The

close reading of the metal threads in the MMA piece can aid in comparing it with other textiles produced in the fourteenth to sixteenth century.

A number of studies useful for understanding the make-up of fourteenth-century textiles with metal-wrapped threads have been published.³⁴ Among these is the 1988 study by Indictor and others in which textiles from various regions were investigated—Egyptian/Syrian, Italian, Spanish, Near Eastern—dated to the thirteenth to fourteenth century. Two of the textiles included in their study are identified as ‘Mamluk’. Of these two, one piece in the Cleveland Museum of Art (CMA 39.40) makes use of a metal strip wound directly about a silk core.³⁵ It comprises a series of fragments, conjoined to form the shape of a mantle for a statue of the Virgin, reportedly used in a church near Valencia, Spain.³⁶ This piece contains a similar inscription as the MMA textile, reading ‘Glory to our master, the sultan al-Malik’ and elsewhere simply ‘the sultan al-Malik’.³⁷

While both the CMA and MMA textiles incorporate gilded threads made with metal strips, display similar inscriptions, and were utilised in similar church contexts, the fabric of the CMA mantle differs from the MMA textile in several ways.³⁸ First, in the CMA piece, *both* sides of the metal strip display a

results of a SEM/EDS Elemental Analysis revealed that the composition of the silver alloy (on the non-gilded side) contained 97.8 per cent silver and 2.1 per cent copper.

- 34 Indictor et al., “The Evaluation of Metal Wrappings”; Indictor N. – Koestler R., “The Identification and Characterization of Metal Wrappings in Historic Textiles Using Microscopy and Energy Dispersive X-Ray Spectrometry: Problems Associated with Identification and Characterization”, *Scanning Electron Microscopy* 2 (1986) 491–497; Járó M., “Catalogue of Metal Threads in Medieval Woven Textiles in the Collection of the German National Museum, Nuremberg”, in Martius S. – Russ S. (eds.), *Historische Textilien: Beiträge zu ihrer Erhaltung und Erforschung* (Nuremberg: 2002) 51–58; Járó M., “Fili metalliche nelle stoffe di Cangrande (Metal Threads in the Cangrande Textiles)”, in Marini P. et al., (eds.), *Cangrande della Scala: La Morte e il Corredo di un Principe nel Medioevo Europeo* (Venice: 2004) 112–121; Járó, “Spätmittelalterliche Handwerkstechnologie”. While this study deals with textiles from a range of locations and time periods, unfortunately none of the metal-wrapped threads sampled by them are similar to the MMA textile discussed here.
- 35 The other incorporates gold leaf on leather substrate wound around a silk core. Indictor et al., “The Evaluation of Metal Wrappings” 16.
- 36 Note that the piece is identified as no. 5 in fig. 1 of Indictor et al., “The Evaluation of Metal Wrappings”. It is published in colour as cat no. 116 in Atil, *Renaissance of Islam*.
- 37 Atil, *Renaissance of Islam* 233.
- 38 Indictor et al., “The Evaluation of Metal Wrappings” 12, Table 3 and 14, Table 4.

similar metal content.³⁹ That is, the strip is gilded on both sides. In the MMA piece, only one side of the metal wrapping is gilded. Furthermore, in the CMA piece, both the core fibres and the metal wrapping display a Z twist, rather than the S twist found in the MMA textile. These differences suggest that the MMA textile—or at least its metal-wrapped thread—was not produced in the same region as the piece identified as Mamluk by Indictor.

Italian Attribution

Of all the fourteenth-century pieces published by Indictor et al. in their study, a single piece most closely resembles the metal-wrapped thread in the MMA textile. It is the fourteenth-century ‘stola’ held in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.⁴⁰ While displaying a different weave structure, this textile is described as having gilded threads with a yellow (or natural) silk core exhibiting an S twist. This is wrapped with metal lamella, again in an S twist fashion. Also similar to the MMA textile, the metal wrapping in the stola has differing metal content for the top and bottom of the strip. Finally, the width of the metal strip resembles that found in the MMA textile—about 0.37 mm.⁴¹

The stola is attributed by Indictor to Italy, based on the fact that the metal threads exhibit a mixed metal content. Their study concludes that a European production site may be assigned for those thirteenth- and fourteenth-century textiles exhibiting a mixed metal content; while a Middle Eastern assignment should be considered for examples containing gold or silver in the absence of

39 Indictor et al., “The Evaluation of Metal Wrappings” 12, Table 3. CMA 39.40 (both A&B sides of the metal strip) tested as: Ag (>75%); Au (<10%); Cu (<10%), S and other trace elements. The fact that both sides of the metal strip exhibit a similar metal content may suggest that it was created from flattened gilded metal wire—akin to what was found in the so-called Abu Sa’id tiraz. Járó, “Spätmittelalterliche Handwerkstechnologie”.

40 It is pictured in fig. 1 of Indictor et al., “The Evaluation of Metal Wrappings” as no. 1. It is held by the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Weltliche Schatzkammer, Inv.-Nr. XIII 8. Seipel W. (ed.), *Nobiles Officinae: Die königlichen Hofwerkstätten zu Palermo zur Zeit der Normannen und Staufer im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* (Milan: 2004), cat. no. 74, 282–287 with colour images and details. It is dated here to ‘presumably before 1328’.

41 For a different measurement (0.20 mm), see Járó M. “Goldfäden in den sizilischen (nachmaligen) Krönungsgewändern der Könige und Kaiser des Heiligen Römischen Reiches und im sogenannten Häubchen König Stephans von Ungarn: Ergebnisse wissenschaftlicher Untersuchungen”, in Seipel, *Nobiles Officinae* 311–318, at 317.

the other.⁴² The stola was published again recently by Lisa Monnas, where it was referred to simply as Italian, fourteenth century.⁴³

This attribution to Italy is further bolstered by statements made by Márta Járó. In a recent study of a fourteenth-century textile, she states that in that period (1) the metal-wrapped thread used in Europe typically was gilded on just one side, (2) the metal strips usually measured between 0.2 and 0.3 mm wide, and (3) in almost all cases, the gold-plated silver strips were wrapped in an S twist fashion around yellow silk cores.⁴⁴ This description echoes that of the metal-wrapped thread in the MMA textile, and fits well with the analysis of other textiles also attributed to Italy.⁴⁵ The use of such gilded metal-wrapped thread seems to have been known in Europe before the sixteenth century. A recent MMA study states:

The technique of cutting thin strips from a pre-gilded silver foil was widely used [in Europe] in the manufacturing of metal-wrapped threads up to the sixteenth century, when the practice was gradually replaced by the use of gilded metal rods, drawn and flattened to obtain thin, double-sided gilded strips.⁴⁶

While this evidence is compelling, the nature of the metal-wrapped thread alone is not enough to attribute the MMA textile to a European centre.⁴⁷

42 Indictor et al., "The Evaluation of Metal Wrappings" 16.

43 Monnas L., *Merchants, Princes and Painters: Silk Fabrics in Italian and Northern Paintings 1300–1550* (New Haven, CT: 2008) 73.

44 Járó, "Spätmittelalterliche Handwerkstechnologie" 137–140. Járó also publishes a few examples of Italian fourteenth- and fifteenth-century silks with similar metal-thread structure as the MMA example in Járó, "Catalogue of Metal Threads".

45 Although dealing with materials of a slightly later date, see Montegut D. et al., "Examination of Metal Threads from Some XV/XVI Century Italian Textiles by Scanning Electron Microscopy-Energy Dispersive X-Ray Spectrometry", in Vandiver P. et al. (eds.), *Materials Issues in Art and Archaeology III*, Symposium held April 27–May 1, 1992, San Francisco, California (New York, NY: 1992); Járó, "Catalogue of Metal Threads" 56–57.

46 Caro F. et al., "Redeeming Pieter Coecke van Aelst's Gluttony Tapestry: Learning from Scientific Analysis", *Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal* 49 (2014) 151–164. My thanks to MMA Associate Conservator Giulia Chiostrini for bringing this article to my attention.

47 Metal-wrapped thread was also known outside of Europe. There is at least one textile attributed to fourteenth-century Persia which incorporates gilded silver metal-wrapped thread, as published by Járó, "Spätmittelalterliche Handwerkstechnologie". Here, however, both sides of the metal wrapping are gilded, suggesting the use of a flattened gilded wire/rod. In addition, in that example, the metal strip is wrapped Z around a yellow silk core also spun Z—different from the MMA example. Wardwell, "Panni Tartarici" 109.

Finally, the selvages should be considered. While the MMA fragments do not preserve a selva among the various pieces, the selvages are preserved in the Chur textile. They are described in its publication as comprising a ‘warp satin of beige coloured warps with thick linen cords along the edge’.⁴⁸ Wardwell, in her 1988 study, describes the types of selvages one might expect to find in textiles created in various regions in the fourteenth century. According to Wardwell,

the selvages of Italian drawloom silks from this period are completed by linen cords; those of Spanish silks are also reinforced by cords that are usually linen or occasionally silk [...]. In the textiles attributed to [...] the Middle East, the selva edges are reinforced by bundles of silk warps, but never with linen cords.⁴⁹

The thick linen cords running along the edges of the Chur textile point once more to a European weaving centre for the MMA example.

European Textile Production and Arabic Script

This MMA textile stands on the cusp—some aspects of its design recall textiles produced in the Islamic world, while its structure and metal thread composition point to European production. Even the presence of Arabic script,

For slightly later Ottoman textiles with similar metal-wrapped thread, see the essay by Sardjono S. “Ottoman or Italian Velvets? A Technical Investigation”, in Carboni S. (ed.), *Venice and the Islamic World, 828–1797* (New York, NY: 2006) 193–203. Here she investigates three fifteenth-century textiles, which she attributes to Ottoman weaving centres. All three utilise metal-wrapped threads that are composed of gilded silver metal strips wrapped in an S fashion around a yellow silk core, with an S twist. Unlike the MMA example, however, the metal strips in the Ottoman-attributed textiles are gilded on both sides. “Technical Analysis of Selected Textiles” in Atasoy et al., *IPEK*. While many of the Ottoman examples discussed here are of a later date—sixteenth century and beyond—a majority display a yellow silk core with an S twist, wrapped S with a gilded metal strip. It is not clear from the analysis presented if the strips are gilded on both sides, or only one. But the description of the preparation of metal threads on pp. 192–193 suggests that at least some of the threads created in Ottoman workshops were formed from gilded wires that were then flattened. In that case, both sides of the strip would be gilded.

48 Schmedding, *Mittelalterliche Textilien* 92: “Kettatlas aus beigefarbenen Kettfäden und dicken Leinenzwirnen am Rand”. My thanks to Kathrin Colburn for her assistance in clarifying this translation.

49 Wardwell, “*Panni Tartarici*” 96. Unfortunately, her article does not point us to any specific studies to confirm this information.

however, is not sufficient to secure its origins somewhere in the Islamic world. In the fourteenth century, the fashion for striped textiles was not confined to Mamluk or Ilkhanid territories, but rather spread across the Mediterranean to Europe.⁵⁰ As Mackie points out, 'in Italy, Arabic script, usually illegible, was incorporated into numerous layouts including striped silks, during the 14th century'.⁵¹ Wardwell also notes a striped Italian textile with bands incorporating pseudo-Arabic script, a pattern derived from Mamluk striped silks. She goes on to say that 'from the evidence provided by inventories, silks of this type can be assigned to the last quarter of the [14th] century'.⁵²

The production of silks in Italy at this time was rapidly expanding and Italian weavers were open to the international flow of 'nomadic' designs and patterns, including those with Arabic script. The drawing by Pisanello mentioned above bears witness to the ability of Italian artists in this period to competently copy designs of Arabic inscriptions. Textile designers at the time—like those working in weaving centres such as Lucca—were capable artists, able to create patterns similar to those found on the MMA example.⁵³

The available comparable evidence argues strongly for the attribution of the MMA textile to a weaving centre in Europe, most likely somewhere in present-day Italy. Further research into the MMA fragments and their 'sister' in Chur may yield even more clues as to their place and period of creation.⁵⁴ More importantly, it is hoped that this essay serves to emphasise the importance of working closely with colleagues in the conservation and science fields. While

50 Pastoureaux, M., *Rayures: Une histoire des rayures et des tissus rayés* (Paris: 1995). According to Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters* 227, 'Michel Pastoureaux has pointed out that by the later Middle Ages it became practically obligatory to show people of eastern origin in striped clothing'.

51 Mackie, "Toward an Understanding of Mamluk Silks" 140.

52 Wardwell, "Italian" 185, fig. 10, and 186–187 for further discussion of Italian silks made in imitation of Mamluk silks.

53 Meek, "Laboreria Sete" 158–163. See also: Coutts H. – Evans M. – Monnas L., "An Early Italian Textile Drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum", *The Burlington Magazine* 150, 1263 (June 2008) 389–392; Monnas L., "The Artists and the Weavers: The Design of Woven Silks in Italy 1350–1550", *Apollo* 125 (1987) 416–424. See also a spotted, winged dragon design similar to the MMA textile in a Venetian pattern book printed in 1530, entitled *Corona di Racammi* (*Crown of Embroidery*) (MMA 32.54.1). Speelberg F., *Fashion and Virtue: Textile Patterns and the Print Revolution, 1520–1620. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (Fall 2015) 29. Similar dragons appear in other Italian textile designs of the period.

54 Further research into the MMA dye analysis may provide useful. For example, Meek, "Laboreria Sete" makes mention of a special *porpora* fabric produced in Lucca which might be worth further investigation.

stylistic analysis of textile patterns may help us in some cases, we should always look to the object. Learning as much as we can from its material evidence is the most fruitful path for a solid understanding of textiles—nomadic or otherwise. As other scholars, conservators, and scientists continue to publish work on similar textiles, further groupings may emerge from that corpus of materials.

Reconsidering the Church Context

Beyond its weaving centre, the MMA textile presents us with yet another conundrum: the question of why a textile embellished with Arabic script would be utilised in the most sacred ceremonies of the Church? The MMA/Chur textile bears witness to the acceptance of the display of Arabic script within the Church ceremony—but, what was the reasoning and meaning behind this usage? The use of an ‘Islamic’ textile within the context of a church is hardly unique. The MMA’s collection alone holds a number of such pieces.⁵⁵ The meaning that these textiles conveyed cannot be generalised. Each of these vestments tells a unique story, and carries unique meanings with them over time. Some of these meanings are connected to the mechanism of arrival at their respective church. Some may be examples of triumphalism, won in battle and displayed as booty.⁵⁶ Others may have been valued as local or regional luxury items, without any necessary emphasis on religious association.⁵⁷ And, some, involved in the transfer of holy relics, may have become ‘sacred’

55 The MMA collection vestments (or textiles whose shape suggest that of vestments) include: 06.1210, 20.94.1, 26.231.2, 49.32.79a-y, 49.32.71, and 14.67. See also Victoria and Albert Museum examples: 664–1896, 594–1884, 477–1894, 8361–1863, and 576–1907. It should be noted that the precise origins for some of these textiles is still debatable, so referring to them all as ‘Islamic’ may be erroneous. For Ottoman textiles utilised as church vestments, see Atasoy et al., *IPEK* 240–252.; Simon-Cahn A., “The Fermo Chasuble of St. Thomas Becket and Hispano-Mauresque Cosmological Silks: Some Speculations on the Adaptive Reuse of Textiles”, *Muqarnas* 10, *Essays in Honor of Oleg Grabar* (1993) 1–5.

56 Shalem A., *Islam Christianized: Islamic Portable Objects in the Medieval Church Treasuries of the Latin West* (Frankfurt am Main: 1996) 72.

57 Feliciano, “New Approach” and Feliciano M., “Muslim Shrouds for Christian Kings? A Reassessment of Andalusi Textiles in Thirteenth-Century Castilian Life and Ritual”, in Robinson C. – Rouhi L. (eds.), *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile* (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2005) 101–131.

themselves, due to their contact with revered objects.⁵⁸ In addition to these and other readings (diplomatic gifts, donations, etc.) another possibility will be proposed here—the connection between the Arabic script and the Holy Land.

In addition to the presence of actual 'Islamic' textiles within the Church service, several scholars have investigated the appearance of textiles with 'pseudo Arabic' inscriptions in the religious art of Europe.⁵⁹ Often these appear in paintings or sculptures depicting biblical scenes—such as images of the Holy Family, or of personages connected to the Holy Family.⁶⁰ Several scholars have suggested that the use of Arabic script in these depictions may stem from a kind of confused historicism. This was an idea put forth by Richard Ettinghausen, which was noted and expanded upon by Shalem in 1996, and later reiterated by Mack in 2002.⁶¹ Mack states:

Italians correctly associated Arabic with the Holy Land, but evidently did not know it arrived there in the seventh century as the language of Islam. From at least the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, Europeans commonly confused Arabic with ancient Eastern scripts, specifically one that was used in the eastern Mediterranean during New Testament times.⁶²

This idea requires more interdisciplinary investigation to be verified. While church officials were likely aware of the difference between Arabic and

58 Rosser-Owen M., "Islamic Objects in Christian Contexts: Relic Translation and Modes of Transfer in Medieval Iberia", *Art in Translation* 7, 1 (March 2015) 39–64.

59 The bibliography on this topic is extensive, and includes: Nagel, "Twenty-five Notes on Pseudoscript"; Mack R. – Zakariya M., "The Pseudo-Arabic on Andrea del Verrocchio's David", *Artibus et Historiae* 60 (2009) 157–172; Auld S., "Kuficising Inscriptions in the Work of Gentile da Fabriano", *Oriental Art* n.s. 32 (1986) 246–265; Tanaka H., "Oriental Script in the Paintings of Giotto's Period", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 6th ser., 113 (1989) 214–226; Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters* 222–231.

60 Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters* 222–224.

61 Ettinghausen R., "The Impact of Muslim Decorative Arts and Painting on the Arts of Europe", in Schacht J. – Bosworth C. (eds.), *The Legacy of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: 1974) 292–320, he states on 294: 'As this [Arabic] writing often occurred on Biblical figures [...] it may have been interpreted as ancient Hebrew script or at least as that used by the New Testament figures and by Christian saints'; Shalem, *Islam Christianized* 134.; Mack R., *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* (Berkeley, CA: 2002) 52–54.

62 Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza* 52.

Aramaic in this period,⁶³ some evidence does suggest that—at least at the popular level—the distinction might not have been so clear. There are a number of traditions connecting objects with Arabic inscriptions to the Holy Family.

For example, Mack and Shalem both discuss the case of the so-called ‘Alhambra Vase’ today in the National Museum in Stockholm—the history of which has been traced by Otto Kurz.⁶⁴ It is an ornamental vase created in Muslim Spain with a prominent Arabic inscription. The vase eventually made its way to a church in Famagusta, Cyprus, where it was believed to have been one of the six jars of water that Jesus transformed into wine during the marriage at Cana. Mentioned as such in the sixteenth century, belief in the vase as a relic connected to Jesus persisted at least into the seventeenth century.

In addition, at least one textile with an Arabic inscription has been similarly and popularly linked back to the Holy Family and the Holy Land. Referred to as the Veil of Saint Anne, it is a nearly complete example of a Fatimid-period textile dating to the end of the eleventh century.⁶⁵ It is historically connected to the Cathedral of Apt, Provence, where it was ‘venerated as a relic of the Virgin’s mother’.⁶⁶ It is unclear when this connection was first made, or when the piece arrived at the church, but it has been posited that the textile was obtained during the first crusade and brought back to Apt from Palestine.⁶⁷ It constitutes yet another example of an object with an Arabic inscription believed to be linked to the Holy Family. These and other examples, speak to a popular connection between the Arabic script and the Holy Land.

Even if Europeans were aware of the use of Aramaic by the Holy Family, this does not preclude the use of Arabic script (or pseudo-Arabic script) as a visual conceit. It is possible that artists—not bound by the need for historical accuracy—used the script to refer to the contemporary Holy Land, where Arabic was in active use. Given this possible connection, the utilisation of

63 My thanks to Allen Fromherz for his careful and insightful comments and advice on this topic.

64 Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza* 53, footnote 13; Kurz O. “The Strange History of an Alhambra Vase”, reprint no. 17, *Selected Studies: The Decorative Arts of Europe and the Islamic East* (London: 1977) vol. 1, 205–212. Also cited by Shalem, *Islam Christianized* 135, footnote 19.

65 Bloom J., *Arts of the City Victorious: Islamic Art and Architecture in Fatimid North Africa and Egypt* (New Haven, CT: 2007) 160–161; Mackie, *Symbols of Power* 113–115; Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters* 222.

66 Bloom, *Arts of the City Victorious* 160.

67 Elsberg H. – Guest R. “The Veil of Saint Anne”, *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 68, 396 (March 1936) 140, 144–145 and 147. As Shalem, *Islam Christianized* 73 points out, however, no medieval sources have come to light to confirm this tradition.

Arabic inscriptions in a garment worn during the celebration of mass begins to make sense. Perhaps the MMA/Chur textile was not viewed as triumphalism, not booty, not merely luxurious, not 'exotic', but rather as a reference back to the holy places of early Christianity. Following Shalem's earlier argument, it is possible that the presence of Arabic script made the chasuble more 'authentically' Christian.⁶⁸

For some people today, the appearance of Arabic script immediately calls to mind the religion of Islam. When this chasuble was constructed, however, the Arabic script likely also held other connotations. It not only represented the text of the Holy Qur'an and the wider Islamic world, but also a place and a past: the Holy Land, and the biblical stories that transpired there. By wearing this textile, the priest celebrated not only the mass, but also this early Church history. I would argue that this inscribed textile was not in 'servitude' to the Church—not seen as a trophy or triumphalism—but rather was in the service of the Church. It stood as a symbol of an integral and essential part of early Christian history which occurred in lands where Arabic script was (and still is) common. The use of the Arabic script likely made this textile even more revered—even more 'authentic'. This textile served to celebrate the church's origins—and those early days, before the 'nomadic' early Christians left the Holy Land.

Appendix

Technical Analysis of MMA 46.156.14, as reported by Janina Poskrobko, Conservator in the Museum's Textile Conservation Department

The ground weave of the textile is bound in a warp-faced irregular six-ends satin by silk [Fig. 2.7] threads in purplish-red. The warp is formed by single Z-spun threads, whereas the weft threads do not show any visible spin. There are approximately 86 warp threads per centimetre in the ground weave.⁶⁹ The textile's pattern is executed by thick wefts bound in three-ends twill by binding warps in beige and occasionally in orange-red silk. The pattern wefts include two silk wefts in contrasting colours, one in beige and another in red, both without a visible spin [Figs. 2.8, 2.9]. There is also a metal thread weft,

68 Shalem, *Islam Christianized* 137.

69 This is a denser weft count than what was observed by Schmedding, *Mittelalterliche Textilien* 92.



FIGURE 2.7 *Microphotograph of silk core fibres of a metal-wrapped thread at 400× magnification of a chasuble (?) fragment (fourteenth century). Silk and metal-wrapped thread, New York City, NY, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1946 (inv. no. 46.156.14).*

IMAGE © THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK CITY, NY;
 PHOTO: FLORICA ZAHARIA.

composed of gilded-silver metal strip wrapping a silk core in S-direction with approximately 16 wraps per centimetre.⁷⁰ There are approximately 24 gold wefts per centimetre.

⁷⁰ My thanks to Florica Zaharia for confirmation of this core material through microscopic analysis.



FIGURE 2.8 *Detail of a centre of a medallion at 10× magnification of a chasuble (?) fragment (fourteenth century). Silk and metal-wrapped thread, New York City, NY, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1946 (inv. no. 46.156.14).*

IMAGE © THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK CITY, NY;

PHOTO: JANINA POSKROBKO.

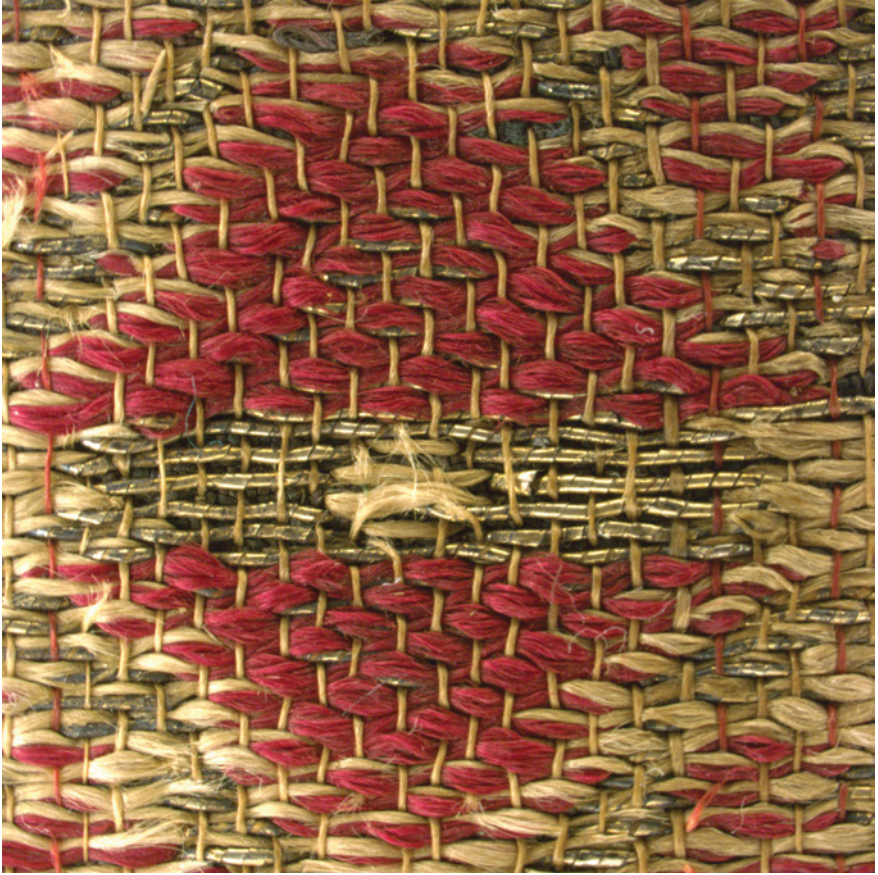


FIGURE 2.9 *Detail of the reversed side of a centre of a medallion at 10x magnification of a chasuble (?) fragment (fourteenth century). Silk and metal-wrapped thread, New York City, NY, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1946 (inv. no. 46.156.14).*

IMAGE © THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK CITY, NY;
PHOTO: JANINA POSKROBKO.

*Dye Analysis Findings Concerning MMA 46.156.14, as reported by
Nobuko Shibayama, Associate Research Scientist in the Museum's
Scientific Research Department*

Type of yarns		Colour	Suggested dyes	Probable original shade
Warp	binding	Blue/purple	Orchil, indigo	Purple
	pattern	Red	Madder (probably <i>rubia tinctorum</i>), soluble redwood (e.g. sappanwood)	Red
	pattern	Beige	Soluble redwood (e.g. sappanwood)	Red
Weft	binding	Blue/purple	Orchil, indigo	Purple
	pattern	Red	Kermes, tannin-dye	Red
	pattern	Beige	Soluble redwood (e.g. sappanwood)?	?
	pattern	Orange	Safflower	Pink
	pattern	Yellow core yarn of metal thread	Young fustic	Yellow

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Materiality and Idolatry: Roman Imaginations of Saint Rose of Lima*

Tristan Weddigen

Rosa de Santa María (1586–1617), born Isabel Flores de Oliva in Lima, Peru, was beatified in 1668 and sanctified in 1671, becoming the first saint from and patron of Latin America. In the aesthetic construction of Saint Rose's hagiographic persona, paintings by Lazzaro Baldi (ca. 1624–1703) in Rome and a marble sculpture by Melchiorre Cafà (ca. 1635–1667) in Lima testify to the spiritual power relations between papal Rome and Peru, more particularly the process of defining Rose's imagery in the context of the transcultural discourses on materiality and idolatry.

Becoming an American Saint in 1668: Celebrations for Rose of Lima's Beatification

The festivities for Rosa de Santa María's beatification took place on 15 April 1668, during the pontificate of Clement IX Rospigliosi (1667–1669), in Saint Peter's Basilica, reportedly in the presence of as many as 9,000 devotees, and lasted for a month. The ephemeral apparatus and liturgical actions are described in detail, among others, in a *relazione* by Claude Bouillaud, Procurator of the Cause, and were also reported internationally.¹ A plethora of narrative

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1 Bouillaud Claude, *Breve relatione della solennissima festa della beatificazione della beata Rosa di Santa Maria nativa della città di Lima nel Perù, monaca del Terz'Ordine di S. Domenico: fatta nella basilica di S. Pietro, adì 15 aprile 1668* (Rome, Nicol'Angelo Tinassi: 1668). Cf. Córdova y Castro Francisco de (ed.), *Festivos cultos celebres aclamaciones que la siempre triunphante Roma dio a la bienaventurada Rosa de S. María virgen de Lima en su solemne beatificación*

and emblematic paintings, hangings, and tapestries from the Barberini household, most notably four canvases of 4.5 by 3.0 metres and one large altarpiece, all attributed to the painter Baldi, decorated the Basilica's apse.² The celebrations were sponsored by the Master of the Order of Preachers, Giovanni Battista De Marini (1597–1669), and organised by Antonio González de Acuña (1620–1682), the Dominican professor of theology and brother of Lima's Convento de Nuestra Señora del Rosario, who, as the Procurator General of the Peruvian Province, had been advocating Rose's cause in Rome since 1657. As a diary entry published by Shawon K. Kinew documents, the sculpture by Cafà, displayed on the altar, was also ceremonially unveiled.³

Among the subsequent celebrations in Rome and abroad, those at Santa Maria sopra Minerva, starting on 13 May 1668, and lasting eight days, were particularly lavish and attracted no less than 1,500 spectators.⁴ As Francisco de Córdova y Castro's *Relación* testifies, a conspicuous amount of visual and textual material exhibited at Saint Peter's was conceptually and materially recycled, shuffled, and augmented in the display at the Dominican church and put under the tutelage of the pope, the Spanish Crown, and Antonio Barberini (1607–1671), the cardinal's contribution explaining a swarm of apiary iconography.⁵ Amid other decorations, on the left side of the Piazza della Minerva, in front of the façade of the Dominican Convent, draped with tapestries, a 'curiously fashioned' altar was set up: its pyramidal and pentagonal shape, its steps adorned with gilt and silver statues, urns, and candelabras, and

(Rome, Nicol'Angelo Tinassi: 1668) 21; Genova Giuseppe da, *La pianta di Gierico rosa peruviana candida, vermiglia, e profumosa da suavissimi amorini corteggiata. Panegirico* (Rome, Giacomo Dragonello: 1671); Meléndez Juan, *Tesoros verdaderos de las Yndias en la historia de la gran provincia de San Juan Bautista del Perú de el Orden de Predicadores*, 3 vols. (Rome, Nicol'Angelo Tinassi: 1681) vol. 2, 461–467; Fagiolo Dell'Arco M., *La festa barocca*, *Corpus delle feste a Roma* 1 (Rome: 1997) 455–456; Afflitto C. d' – Romei D. (eds.), *I teatri del paradiso. La personalità, l'opera, il mecenatismo di Giulio Rospigliosi (papa Clemente IX)*, exh. cat., Pistoia, Palazzo Comunale (Siena: 2000) 137–139.

2 Bouillaud, *Breve relatione della solennissima festa* 9. Cf. Feuillet Jean Baptiste, *La vie de la bienheureuse épouse de Jésus-Christ sœur Rose de Sainte Marie, religieuse du Tiers Ordre e S. Dominique, originaire du Pérou dans les Indes Occidentales* (Paris, André Cramoisy: 1668) 264; Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 19.

3 Kinew S.K., "New Sources for Melchiorre Cafà's 1665 Sculpture of Rose of Lima", *The Burlington Magazine* 158, 1358 (2016) 345–348, at 348, n. 5.

4 Anonymous, *Relatione del magnifico, e sontuoso apparato della chiesa di S. Maria super Minervam fatto per render gratie à S. D. maestà per la beatificazione della b. Rosa di S. Maria indiana del Terzo Ordine di S. Domenico* (Rome, no publ.: 1668).

5 Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 21; Anonymous, *Relatione* no p. [6].

its crowning with the statue of Rose suggest the erection of a Spanish-colonial altar of the kind known from the Corpus Christi processions in Cusco, in which a sculpture of Rose was carried too, signalling the lavishness of New World devotion in Rome.⁶

Inside the church, in front of the main altar, a large architectural setting, plated with chased silver and thus possibly from Peru, was put up, with columns that carried the statues of female Dominican saints crowned with wreaths of roses: first, the saints Catherine of Siena and Agnes of Montepulciano, then the blessed Margaret of Savoy, Margaret of Castello, Joan of Portugal, Columba of Rieti, and Lucy Brocadelli.⁷ In the centre of the apparatus stood an altar, on which a most artful marble statue of 'Rose sleeping, with an angel about to wake her up'—Cafa's sculpture—was disposed; a Virgin and the Child on a throne of clouds with angels, probably a perspectival stage set, was installed above the sculpture in such a way as to suggest that Mary was inclining towards Rose, as if to wake her from her pious dreams.⁸ The enactment at the Minerva alluded to both the spiritual and the material resources arising in the New World for the profit of the Old, and the Roman Church's role in welcoming the new saint in the pantheon of Dominican heroines. At this point, a chapel was temporarily installed and furnished with wall hangings and a painted effigy of Rose—probably Baldi's altarpiece.⁹

Staging New World Piety in 1671: Lazzaro Baldi's Chapel for Rose of Lima's Sanctification

The procedure was successful, for only three years later, on 12 April 1671, Pope Clement x Altieri (1670–1676) celebrated Rose's sanctification, together with that of Louis Bertrand, Philip Benizi de Damiani, Francis Borgia, and Cajetan, at Saint Peter's Basilica, where the iconographic and textual corpus assembled for the beatification was mostly reused. The *teatro* is documented in a print by

6 Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 25–26; Anonymous, *Relatione* no p. [8]. Cf. Dean C.S., *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, NC – London: 1999).

7 Anonymous, *Relatione* no p. [7].

8 Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 35; Anonymous, *Relatione* no p. [7]; Parra Jacinto de la, *Rosa laureada entre los santos. Epitalamios sacros de la corte, aclamaciones de España, aplausos de Roma, congratulaciones festivas del clero, y religiones, al feliz desposorio que celebro en la gloria con Christo la beata virgen Rosa de Santa María, de la Tercera Orden de Predicadores, Patrona del Perú, y beatificación solemne que promulgo en la iglesia militante la Santidad de Clemente Nono, de felice recordación, en 15. de abril de 1668* (Madrid, Domingo García Morrás: 1670) 107.

9 Anonymous, *Relatione* no p. [8].

Giovanni Battista Falda (1643–1678), in which Rose's portrait banner prominently hovers over the apse, and in contemporary engravings after Ciro Ferri (1633–1689) and by François Spierre (1639–1681) she figures among the fabulous five *santi clementini*.¹⁰ These were part of a most impressive Dominican promotion strategy, which already in 1668 was said to comprise 45,000 printed images, 20,000 medals, 12,000 copies of Rose's *Life* in at least six European languages, and countless compilations.¹¹ Numerous prints, some on silk for the ecclesiastic nobility, but mostly mass-produced *santine*, were distributed in Rome, and great numbers were dispatched abroad, with the estranging effect that some illustrations of Rose's life painted and sculpted in America follow Flemish models, such as Cornelis Galle II's (1615–1678) charming series of the *Vita et historia Sanctae Rosae*.¹² In Rome, Cafà and Baldi, moving in the same Dominican circles, practically shared the production of visual propaganda for Rose among them. The latter, in particular, received several commissions, such as the frontispiece to Leonhard Hansen's (1603–1685) foundational *Vita mirabilis et mors pretiosa venerabilis sororis Rosae* of 1664, and later became a specialist in canonisation imagery.¹³

- 10 See Giovanni Battista Falda, *Disegno, e prospetto del teatro, e nuovo apparato* [...], 1671, print, 36 × 50 cm, Rome, Giovanni Giacomo Rossi; François Spierre, [*The Five Clementine Saints*], print, 1671; Barend de Bailliu, after Maurizio Francesco Bruno's drawing, after Ciro Ferri's design, *Effigies Sanctorum* [...], print, 1671. Pampalone A. (ed.), *Disegni di Lazzaro Baldi nelle collezioni del Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe*, exh. cat., Rome, Villa Farnesina alla Lungara (Rome: 1979) 32, fig. 19; Mujica Pinilla R., *Rosa limensis. Mística, política e iconografía en torno a la patrona de América*, 2nd ed. (Mexico: 2004) [1st ed., Lima: 2001] 30, fig. 3.
- 11 Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 39. See medal of Clement IX with inscription 'Dedit indica Rosa oderem suavitatis anno 1668'. Cf. Quiles García F., *Por los caminos de Roma. Hacia una configuración de la imagen sacra del barroco sevillano* (Buenos Aires: 2005) 133–150.
- 12 Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 24; Parra, *Rosa laureada* 100; Galle II Cornelis, *Vita et historia S. Rosae a S. Maria quae nata Limae in regno Peruano 1586, obiit 1617 aetatis suae 31*, ed. del Valle Juan (Antwerp, Cornelis Galle: no year); Bouillaud, *Breve relatione della solennissima festa 11*; Mujica Pinilla, *Rosa* 163–164; Agresti A., "Le canonizzazioni come impulso alla produzione artistica nella Spagna del XVII secolo", in Anselmi A. (ed.), *I rapporti tra Roma e Madrid nei secoli XVI e XVII. Arte, diplomazia e politica* (Rome: 2014) 557–585.
- 13 Hansen Leonhard, *Vita mirabilis et mors pretiosa venerabilis sororis Rosae de S. Maria Limensis, ex Tertio Ordine S. P. Dominici, ad sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum Alexandrum VII. Pontificem Max[imum] excerpta et collecta*, 2nd ed. (Rome, Nicol'Angelo Tinassi: 1664); Bertolini Serafino, *La Rosa peruana overo Vita della sposa di Christo suor Rosa di Santa Maria nativa della città di Lima nel regno del Perù, del Terz'Ordine di san Domenico* (Rome, Nicol'Angelo Tinassi: 1666); Pampalone, *Disegni*: frontispieces by Benoît Thiboust after Baldi. Latin *vitae*: Leonhard, *Vita mirabilis et mors pretiosa* (1664); Hansen Leonhard,

The sanctification choreography at the Minerva on August 4, designed by the Dominican architect Giuseppe Paglia (1616–1683) and documented in two prints, showed an important difference in respect to the one of the beatification: while Cafà's marble statue had been sent to the Dominicans of Lima and was only remembered in a painting attached to the facade, a sumptuous chapel eternising the ephemeral event was ordained at the Minerva, which Baldi

Vita mirabilis, mors pretiosa, sanctitas thaumaturga inclytae virginis S. Rosae Peruvanae ex Tertio Ordine S. P. Dominici, pridem ex autenticis approbatorum processuum documentis excerpta et collecta, 3rd ed. (Rome, Nicol'Angelo Tinassi: 1680); Carnandet J. – Bollandus J. – Henschen G. (eds.), *Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur, vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur*, 70 vols. (Paris: 1863–1940) vol. 5, 892–1029. Latin compendia: Lucchesini Giovanni Lorenzo, *Compendium admirabilis vitae Rosae de S. Maria Limanae Ordinis S. Dominici*, ed. González de Acuña Antonio (Rome, Nicol'Angelo Tinassi: 1665); Hansen Leonhard, *Compendiolum vitae admirabilis et pretiosae mortis b. Rosae de S. Maria Limensis Peruvanae, Tertii Ordinis S. P. Dominici a S. D. N. Clemente XI. beatis annumerate, iuxta exemplar Romanum*, ed. González de Acuña Antonio, 2nd ed. (Augsburg, Simon Utzschneider: 1668); González de Acuña Antonio, *Rosa de S. Maria virgo Limensis e Tertio Ordine SS. P. Dominici* (Augsburg, Simon Utzschneider: 1668); Hansen Leonhard, *Admirabilis vita, virtus, gloria S. Rosae a S. Maria virginis Limanae Ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. González de Acuña Antonio, 8th ed. (Augsburg, Simon Utzschneider: 1671); Hansen Leonhard, *Compendium admirabilis vitae S. Rosae de S. Maria*, ed. González de Acuña Antonio, 8th ed. (Rome, Nicol'Angelo Tinassi: 1672). Italian compendia: Leoni Giovanni Domenico, *Breve ristretto della vita meravigliosa della venerabil serva di Dio suor Rosa di S. Maria da Lima del Perú* (Rome, Nicol'Angelo Tinassi: 1665); Leoni Giovanni Domenico, *Breve ristretto della vita meravigliosa della gloriosissima sposa di Christo Rosa di S. Maria da Lima del Perú dell'America Meridionale, religiosa del Terz'Ordine di santo Domenico. Canonizzata da Nostro Signore Clemente X. il dì 21. Aprile 1671*, 3rd ed. (Vienna, Matteo Cosmerovio: 1671). Spanish vitae: Vargas Muchaca Juan de, *La rosa de el Perú, sórora Isabel de Santa María* (Sevilla, Juan Gomez de Blas: 1659); Ferrer de Valdecebro Andrés, *Historia de la maravillosa, y admirable vida de la venerable madre, y esclarecida virgen sor Rosa de Santa María, de la Tercera Orden de Santo Domingo* (Madrid, Pablo de Val: 1666); Hansen Leonhard, *La bienaventurada Rosa peruana de S. María, de la Tercera Orden de Santo Domingo. Su admirable vida, y preciosa muerte*, ed. Parra Jacinto de la (Madrid, Melchor Sanchez: 1668); González de Acuña Antonio, *Rosa mística. Vida y muerte de Santa Rosa de S. María virgen de la Tercera Orden de S. Domingo; natural de la Ciudad de los Reyes metrópoli del Reyno del Perú en las Indias Occidentales* (Rome, Nicol'Angelo Tinassi: 1671). Other vitae: Marchese Domenico Maria, *Vita della beata Rosa di S. Maria, peruana, del Terzo Ordine di S. Domenico* (Venice, Paolo Baglioni: 1669); Querini Giovanni Antonio, *La Rosa limana overo Vita, morte, e miracoli di S. Rosa da Lima nel Perú Tertiaria dell'Ordine di S. Domenico. Canonizzata dalla Santità di N. S. Clemente X* (Venice, Michiel'Angelo Barboni: 1671); Berneri Giuseppe, *S. Rosa di Lima, opera sagra scenica* (Ronciglione, Francesco Leone: 1674); Meléndez, *Tesoros* vol. 2, 177–467.



FIGURE 3.1 *Rome, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Cappella Colonna.*

IMAGE © BIBLIOTHECA HERTZIANA – MAX-PLANCK-INSTITUT FÜR
KUNSTGESCHICHTE, ROME; PHOTO: ENRICO FONTOLAN.



FIGURE 3.2 *Lazzaro Baldi, The Apotheosis of Saint Rose of Lima (1668 and/or 1671). Fresco. Rome, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Cappella Colonna.*

IMAGE © BIBLIOTHECA HERTZIANA – MAX-PLANCK-INSTITUT FÜR KUNSTGESCHICHTE, ROME; PHOTO: ENRICO FONTOLAN.

started adorning as early as October 1670, when the Sacred Congregation of Rites decided on Rose's sanctification.¹⁴ Although little noticed today, Baldi's decoration [Fig. 3.1] counts amongst his finest works, as Antonella Pampalone's study of the many preparatory drawings confirms.¹⁵ An inscription informs us that the project was commissioned by González at the Order's expense, while the fifteenth-century chapel, the second on the right, was re-dedicated to the 'patron of all the Americas' and to Louis Bertrand, the Dominican missionary

14 Anonymous, *Relatione*; Parra, *Rosa laureada* 28. Fagiolo Dell'Arco M. – Carandini S., *L'effimero barocco: Strutture della festa nella Roma del '600*, 2 vols. (Rome: 1977–1978) vol. 1, 268–272, figs.; Fagiolo, *Festa* 490–491, figs.

15 Cf. Titi Filippo, *Studio di pittura, scultura, et architettura, nelle chiese di Roma* (Rome, Mancini: 1674) 168; Pampalone, *Disegni* 28–34.

to the New World, and put under the *giuspatronato* of the Colonna family, to be ready for the canonisation festivities of 1671.¹⁶

Starting at the top with the sail vault of the chapel [Fig. 3.2], the pendentives depict the personifications of Charity, Virginity, Penitence, and Love of God, all taken from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, and represent Rose's cornerstone virtues that buttress her sanctity.¹⁷ The oval of the flat dome, framed by a wreath of stucco roses, signifying the redeeming rosary, adapts to the oblique view from the nave and offers the heavenly vision of her sanctification in a glory of music-playing angels. With a gesture of humility, she kneels before the Resurrected, who instructs his Mother to crown Rose as his spouse and as the spiritual 'Queen of the Americas'. The golden crown echoes the bleeding metal diadem, which Rose hides in the shadow of her veil and which is allegedly extant in the Santuario de Santa Rosa, and it also alludes to the crowns of the Magi in the escutcheon of the saint's hometown Lima, also called La Ciudad de los Reyes.¹⁸

The architectural staging is largely inspired by Gian Lorenzo Bernini's (1598–1680) Cornaro Chapel, insofar as the visionary apparition of the saint in Baldi's altarpiece is imagined to happen within a semi-circular apse or niche behind the marble frame, receiving its light from the painted sky in the dome and mediated by a lunette, in which putti are weaving a wreath of palm leaves, lilies, and roses to celebrate Rose's victorious ascension to heaven, spurred not by martyrdom, but by loving self-denial.¹⁹

16 Forcella Vincenzo, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edifici di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri*, 14 vols. (Rome, Tipografia delle Scienze Matematiche e Fisiche: 1869–1884) vol. 1, 502. Cf. Gioia E.B. Di, "Un bronzetto della Santa Rosa da Lima di Melchiorre Caffà nel Museo di Roma", *Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma* n.s. 1 (1987) 39–53, at 46, no. 19; Gioia E.B. Di, *Le collezioni di scultura del Museo di Roma: Il Seicento*, Le grandi collezioni romane (Rome: 2002) 174, no. 6.

17 Ripa Cesare, *Iconologia*, ed. Castilini Giovanni Zaratino (Venice, Cristoforo Tomasin: 1645) 27, 85, 479, 670.

18 Cf. Ripa, *Iconologia* 267; Anonymous, *Relatione* no p. [3]; Echave y Assu Francisco de, *La estrella de Lima convertida en sol sobre sus tres coronas el b. Toribio Alfonso Mogrobexo, su segundo arzobispo: celebrado con epitalamios sacros, y solemnes cultos por su esposa la santa Iglesia Metropolitana de Lima* (Antwerp, Jan Baptist Verdussen: 1688); Mujica Pinilla R., "El ancla de Rosa de Lima: mística y política en torno a la patrona de América", in Flores Araoz J. et al. (eds.), *Santa Rosa de Lima y su tiempo* (Lima: 1999) 53–211, at 85, fig. 17.

19 Cf. Graziano F., *Wounds of Love: The Mystical Marriage of Saint Rose of Lima* (Oxford: 2004) 134.



FIGURE 3.3
*Hypothetical reconstruction
 of the display of Lazzaro
 Baldi's Saint Rose of Lima
 in the apse of the Basilica of
 Saint Peter's in 1668
 (author's reconstruction).*
 PHOTOMONTAGE: TRISTAN
 WEDDIGEN.

Colonial Devotion

While Baldi's altarpiece might have been used as a processional standard carried from the Vatican to the Minerva on both occasions, Bouillaud's *Relazione* suggests that it was first displayed at Saint Peter's in 1668 as a temporary altarpiece, directly under Bernini's *Cathedra Petri* [Fig. 3.3], which had recently been completed: the clouds that fill the canvas and on which Rose kneels are a continuation of Bernini's gilt plaster puffs; her coronation is repeated and sanctioned visually by the Holy See and the papal tiara, the Holy Spirit, and the Doctors of the Church, as Bouillaud himself notes; her mission in the New World follows Christ's apostolic charge to Peter to feed the sheep, the main theme of the apse's decoration; and the devout at Rose's feet curiously echo Bernini's four gilt bronze *Doctors*, particularly the black boy in a yellow garment.²⁰ When the temporary altarpiece and its four companions were unveiled after the *Te Deum*, all participants knelt down, thus reiterating the adoration performed by the peoples of Peru in respect to their patron, a title which had been extended from Lima and Peru in 1669 to the whole of the Americas and Indies

20 Anonymous, *Relatione*; Bouillaud, *Breve relatione della solennissima festa* 9–10. Cf. Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 19, 27, 44.



FIGURE 3.4 *Lazzaro Baldi, Saint Rose of Lima with the Child Jesus and Devotees (1668 and/or 1671). Oil on canvas. Rome, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Cappella Colonna.*
 IMAGE © BIBLIOTHECA HERTZIANA – MAX-PLANCK-INSTITUT FÜR
 KUNSTGESCHICHTE, ROME; PHOTO: ENRICO FONTOLAN.

in 1670.²¹ Under the altarpiece lay Cafà's sculpture, a constellation mirrored in a frontispiece of a 1688 panegyric for the blessed Turibius of Mogrovejo (1538–1606), the archbishop of Lima, who is said to have confirmed Rose.²²

Once in the chapel at the Minerva, the altarpiece [Fig. 3.4], whether incorporated, adapted, or perhaps repainted, received a renewed context, though one that still referred to its first Vatican installation. In the canvas, two angels, sustaining a wreath of roses, perform Rose's victorious canonisation, as if to replace spiritually her bleeding crown of thorns. In line with the decree of 1668, her head is surrounded by the vague halo attributed to the blessed, gleaming like the moon that dissipates the clouds of untruth—the moon to which Rose, enlightened by Christ, was compared panegyrically.²³ Her head was said to shine with the flames of divine love, illumining the night like a new star—indeed like the one guiding the Magi—and emitting a light onto Peru, brighter and truer than the glitter of its notorious gold and gems.²⁴ While the Infant rejoices at the foresight of the mystic wedding, Rose presents Jesus in her white scapular like the host in the corporal, as she particularly venerated the Eucharist and even defended it heroically against the threats of Dutch pirates in 1615.²⁵ Between her white tunic and black mantle and veil, her rosary can be spotted, which she hid and used ceaselessly, as well as her leather belt, which became a powerful relic too.²⁶ Overall, however, it seems that, in Rome, Rose's iconography was simplified and reduced mostly to the attributes of the rose, the crown, and the Infant, while in Peruvian imagery, from early on, she also held an anchor of hope and a model of the city of Lima.²⁷

At first glance, equal salvation seems to be accessible to all peoples venerating the New World saint. However, Baldi, probably expressing González's views, conveys a more precise message about Peruvian society under Rose's tutelage.

21 Bouillaud, *Breve relatione della solennissima festa* 11. Cf. Marchese, *Vita* 411. Leoni, *Breve ristretto della vita* 146; Parra, *Rosa laureada* 89; Mugaburu J. de – Mugaburu F. de, *Diario de Lima* (1640–1694): *Crónica de la época colonial*, ed. H.H. Urteaga H.H. – C.A. Romero, 2 vols., Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Perú 7–8 (Lima: 1917–1918) vol. 1, 179, 181.

22 Cf. Echave y Assu, *Estrella*.

23 Cf. e.g. Vergara Antonio de, “Oracion panegirica”, in Córdova y Castro, *Festivos*, no p.; Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 12: 12 February 1668.

24 Cf. Leoni, *Breve ristretto della vita* 112; Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 137; Anonymous, *Relatione* no p. [5].

25 Cf. Leoni, *Breve ristretto della vita* 176; Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 319, 334; Mujica Pinilla, *Rosa* 149.

26 Cf. Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 559; Leoni, *Breve ristretto della vita* 65.

27 Cf. Mujica Pinilla, *Rosa* 219.

On her left side, the altarpiece represents a genuflecting native Peruvian man, who is affirming his new faith hand on heart as he drops bow and arrow and grasps the metaphysical nature of the Infant by transcending the material picture plane with his left hand, pointing towards the Eucharist and the Crucified on the altar. Baldi stereotypes him with a colourful and feathered headband, earrings, a striped tunic (*uncu*), perhaps over a Spanish shirt, a mantle (*yacolla*), and sandals, corresponding to the 'nobleman from Cusco' described in Cesare Vecellio's (1521–1601) influential costume book.²⁸ Inspired by the same source, a native Peruvian woman behind him wishes to embrace the Infant corporally, imitating Rose's sublimated love. She is typified by her loose hair, a headband, naked arms, and a mantle (*lliclla*), whereas the third, elderly figure behind her with a white headscarf cannot be classified more precisely.

On Rose's right, the privileged side, a devout Afro-Peruvian mother recommends her well-dressed and obedient boy and girl to Rose's protection. She wears a richly laced headscarf, necklaces and earrings abounding with pearls, a cape with gold braids, a pleated rose chemise, and a somewhat laxly unbuttoned green jacket with slashed sleeves *à la mode*. The relatively high social status of the *negra ladina* is conveyed by the Spanish-colonial attire, for which Baldi must have received original instructions: in fact, it matches the middle-class dress of Rose's mother as represented in paintings traditionally attributed to the Italo-Peruvian Angelino Medoro (1567–1631), corresponds to Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala's (1534–1615) sketch of the ideal Afro-Peruvian devout, and parallels the depiction of black women in a detailed anonymous prospect of Lima's Plaza Mayor in 1680, now at Madrid's Museo de América.²⁹

Whereas the Afro-Peruvian's hybrid contemporary attire expresses a social ascent and 'whitening' in the flourishing colonial capital, the two descendants of the Incas embody an 'antique', rural population, which Rose, in reality, was not allowed to missionise directly as a woman. By imitating Rose's virtues, the

28 Vecellio Cesare, *De gli habiti antichi, et moderni di tutto il mondo. Di nuovo accresciuti di molte figure/ Vestitus antiquorum recentiorumque totius orbis*, trans. Gratilianus Sulstatius, 2nd ed. (Venice, Sessa: 1598; 1st ed., Venice, Zenaro: 1590) fols. 488v–489r and 491v–492r. Cf. Phipps E. – Hecht J. – Esteras Martín C. (eds.), *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530–1830*, exh. cat., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New Haven, CT – London: 2004) 11, fig. 11, 19–21.

29 See Mujica Pinilla, Rosa 162, fig. 58: *The Death of Saint Rose*; 188, fig. 71: *The Miracle of the Crib*; both in Lima, Santuario de Santa Rosa; Guamán Poma de Ayala Felipe, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 2232 4º: 1615–1616) fol. 703 [717]; Anon., *Plaza Mayor de Lima*, 1680, oil on canvas, Madrid, Museo de América, inv. MAM 2013/03/01.

former will shed her slavery to the senses, and the latter abandon idolatry.³⁰ Together, they stand for the numerous Americans of native and especially African descent, both adults and in particular children, who were blessed with one of Rose's post-mortem miraculous healings.³¹

The panegyrics construct Rose—whose parents, in fact, held servants and slaves—as a Pan-American patron who disregarded ethnic differences.³² Nonetheless, the fact that she proved her Catholic humility by commanding her indigenous servant to step on her body does not make things any better.³³ While it remains unclear whether Baldi's altarpiece in turn grants to *negros* a higher 'racial' status than to *índios*—an injustice lamented by Guamán Poma—it clearly sanctions the moral supremacy of the white *criollo* elite, personified by Rose, over Lima's and Peru's other ethnic groups, which constituted the majority of colonial society.

The chapel walls are lavishly encrusted with coloured marbles [Fig. 3.5]. A simulated continuous parapet fences the lower register of the chapel, as if it were Rose's small oratory in her *hortus conclusus*, in which she brought virtues to blossom and which was imitated with carpets in front of the altar in 1668, perhaps also of Peruvian origin.³⁴ The upper level is decorated with Third-Pompeian-Style wall panelling of marble inlays representing everlasting, petrified roses and lilies that symbolise eternal life in Paradise and the odour of sanctity and refer, the lilies specifically, to Christ's, Saint Catherine's, and Rose's virginity.³⁵ In contrast to the gilt rough stucco infills above them, which evoke nuggets of gold growing in the geological strata, the roses suggest the true natural resources of America: eternal flowers of virtue sprouting from the earth like veins of metal. Or as one eulogy reads, Peru 'disseminated gold from

30 Cf. e.g. Meneses y Arce Gonzalo Andrés de, *Ilustración de la Rosa del Perú* (Lima, Juan de Quevedo: 1670) 1.

31 Cf. e.g. Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 538, 540, 544–545, 552, 577, 591.

32 Cf. e.g. Leoni, *Breve ristretto della vita* 193.

33 Ibidem 18; Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 46.

34 Anonymous, *Relatione* no p. [7]. Cf. Mujica Pinilla, "El ancla de Rosa de Lima" 66–67.

35 See e.g. Vargas Muchaca, *Rosa* 25; Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 483; Bovio Carlo, "Academia de laudibus beatae Rosae virginis Peruane Tertii Ordinis Praedicatorum", in Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 37–64, at 54; Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 32, 45, 185; Anonymous, *Relatione* no p. [6–7]; Parra, *Rosa laureada* 162; Vergara, "Oración", no p. Cf. Barry F., *Painting in Stone: The Symbolism of Colored Marbles in the Visual Arts and Literature from Antiquity until the Enlightenment*, Ph.D. thesis (Columbia University: 2011) 220; Kämpf T., *Archäologie offenbart: Cäcilien römisches Kultbild im Blick einer Epoche*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions 185 (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2015) 324–325.



FIGURE 3.5 *Lazzaro Baldi, Saint Mary Waking Saint Rose of Lima (1668 and/or 1671). Oil on canvas. Rome, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Cappella Colonna.*

IMAGE © BIBLIOTHECA HERTZIANA – MAX-PLANCK-INSTITUT FÜR KUNSTGESCHICHTE, ROME; PHOTO: ENRICO FONTOLAN.

its quarries everywhere; but, not content with mining, it sent also flowers to Rome'.³⁶

Dreaming and Sculpting

In the chapel, Baldi's left lateral painting [Fig. 3.5] corresponds to one of the four large canvases and a medallion displayed at Saint Peter's and at the Minerva, and to a picture at San Giacomo degli Spagnoli, as described in the *relazioni*, all depicting the legend of the Mother of God who woke Rose to exhort her

³⁶ Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 123. Cf. Anonymous, *Relatione* no p. [3].



FIGURE 3.6 *Lazzaro Baldi, Christ Appearing to Saint Rose of Lima (1668 and/or 1671). Oil on canvas. Rome, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Cappella Colonna.*

IMAGE © BIBLIOTHECA HERTZIANA – MAX-PLANCK-INSTITUT FÜR KUNSTGESCHICHTE, ROME; PHOTO: ENRICO FONTOLAN.

to pray, even when she suffered terribly from sleep deprivation.³⁷ One night, however, the Virgin woke her twice, as Rose fell asleep again after dressing up. Baldi therefore shows Rose fully dressed, slumbering on a bed of planks and stones, the rosary in her hand, the night light kindled, while two female figures, lifting her veil and pulling her rosary, symbolise and repeat the two calls of the ‘*graziosissima svegliatrice*’, the ‘most gracious awaker’.³⁸

Baldi’s right lateral painting [Fig. 3.6], instead, illustrates one of Rose’s main visions, which prepared her to the final mystical marriage with Christ. She

37 Bouillaud, *Breve relatione della solennissima festa* 6–7, 9; Anonymous, *Relatione* no p. [4]; Feuillet, *Vie* 255–256; Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 43.

38 Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 209–210.

dreamed that her spouse had appeared to her, depending on her vita's edition, as a quarryman, stonecutter, sculptor, or architect, requesting her to shape and finish rough stones and various marbles during his absence. Upon his return, seeing that she had failed the task because her hands were only used to needles and threads, he showed her a workshop where numerous virgins, richly dressed as spouses, were diligently cutting, chiselling, and polishing large and dusty stones, whose obstinate hardness they softened with flows of tears while working hard on their virtues.³⁹ In Baldi's painting, Christ catches Rose by surprise, as she has dropped the hammer and left her piece *non finito*, and shows her how to accomplish the task. Although it featured in one of the four large pictures presented on the occasion of Rose's beatification at Saint Peter's and the Minerva, this iconography remained rare.⁴⁰

The image of Rose the sculptress ensues from a highly popular European iconography, developed by Otto van Veen (1556–1629) and others, of Divine Love painting and carving in the heart, building the temple of God, or modelling virtues, and stresses the laborious but long-lasting sculptural work of Love.⁴¹ Indeed, these were the models for Rose's own intimate emblematic collages of the torments of the heart.⁴² On a symbolic level, Rose carved her likeness

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- 39 Hansen, *Vita mirabilis et mors pretiosa* (1664) 81–82. Cf. Leoni, *Breve ristretto della vita* 50–53; Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 138–140, 356; Ferrer de Valdecebro, *Historia* 180–184; Marchese, *Vita* 34–43; Parra, *Rosa laureada* 303, 643; Meléndez, *Tesoros*, vol. 2, 276–277; Mujica Pinilla R., “Arte e identidad: las raíces culturales del barroco peruano”, in Mujica Pinilla R. et al. (eds.), *El barroco peruano*, Colección arte y tesoros del Perú, 2 vols. (Lima: 2002) vol. 1, 1–57, fig. 48; Mujica Pinilla, *Rosa* 155; Graziano, *Wounds* 156.
- 40 Bouillaud, *Breve relatione della solennissima festa* 9; Anonymous, *Relatione* no p. [4]; Feuillet, *Vie* 264; Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 9–10, 19, 29.
- 41 Veen Otto van, *Amoris divini emblemata* (Antwerp, Martinus Nutius and Ioannes Meursius: 1615) 78–79; Hugo Herman, *Pia desideria* (Antwerp, Hendrik Aertssen: 1624) 42. Cf. Leoni, *Breve ristretto della vita* 65; Bompiano Ignazio, “Vita beatae Rosae a S. Maria digesta actiones quibus epigrammata respondent”, in Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 65–115, at 86, no. 97; Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 137; Fane D. (ed.), *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America*, exh. cat. New York, The Brooklyn Museum et al. (New York: 1996) 250–251; Göttler C., *Last Things: Art and the Religious Imagination in the Age of Reform*, Proteus, Studies in Early Modern Identity Formation 2 (Turnhout: 2010) 178–192; Stratton-Pruitt S. (ed.), *The Virgin, Saints, and Angels: South American Paintings 1600–1825 from the Thoma Collection*, exh. cat., Stanford University, Cantor Arts Center et al. (Milan: 2007) 130–131, no. 17; Alcalá L.E. – Brown J. (eds.), *Painting in Latin America 1550–1820* (New Haven, CT – London: 2015) 37, fig. 16.
- 42 See Mujica Pinilla, “El ancla de Rosa de Lima” 96–107, figs. 32–33; Mujica Pinilla, *Rosa* 90–91, figs. 31–32.

into the South American continent, whose shape was said to resemble a heart.⁴³ In the *vitae* and panegyrics, the blind hearts of the heathen of America, who obstinately idolise rocks in the desert, are called hard, brute stones, which Rose forcefully softens and converts, from afar, with her tears and torments.⁴⁴ Rose, who symbolically inverts gender roles by becoming a *virgen varonil*, praises the stonemason's low craft, which at that time was mostly left to the indigenous, as if to underline her mission to convert them by their own means.⁴⁵ Moreover, her symbolic stonework implicitly disapproves of silver mining, which does not lead to the love of God, but of Mammon.⁴⁶ Rose, who was sometimes called the cement and stone that seals off the Gates of Hell and builds up heavenly Jerusalem, was seen as a medium for homogenising colonial society.⁴⁷

While the Spanish-colonial sources link her vision to stonemasonry and to the Huamanga stone in particular, which is easy to cut when wetted, the European and Italian texts instead include architecture and sculpture and refer to marble, which was unknown to the New World. Baldi, moreover, inscribes the legend into a contemporary *paragone* discourse on the visual arts: the virgins are sculpting architectural elements, perhaps inscriptions, and female figures, probably personifications of Strength and Temperance; Christ, quoting the *Apollo Belvedere*, presents himself as a classic, acheiropoietic sculptural model of virtue; and sleeping Saint Rose, on the opposite side of the chapel, cites Cafà's by now absent sculpture.⁴⁸

Baldi's three canvases comply with the Hispanic tenebrist taste, which spread to Spanish America too, where, for example, Francisco de Zurbarán's (1598–1664) paintings were collected.⁴⁹ Furthermore, they evoke a dark oneiric

43 Quaranta Orazio, "Componimenti varii in lode della beata Rosa di Santa Maria limana", in Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 145–184, at 177.

44 Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 339–340, 528–529; Oliva Giovanni Paolo, *Sermone in lode della b. Rosa di S. Maria* (Rome, Nicol'Angelo Tinassi: 1668) 4; Martinez Nicolas, *Oración panegírica de la b. Rosa de Santa María virgen de Lima. Dijola en la solemne fiesta que a su beatificación izo la nación española en su yglesia del apóstol Santiago de Roma de la Compañía de Iesus. En 10. de junio de este año 1668* (Rome, Nicol'Angelo Tinassi: 1668) 5. Cf. Mujica Pinilla, *Rosa* 155.

45 Parra, *Rosa laureada* 2, 17; Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 331, 343. Cf. Codex Florentinus fols. 10.16r and 10.17v.

46 Mujica Pinilla, *Rosa* 152.

47 Leoni, *Breve ristretto della vita* 180; Oliva Giovanni Paolo, *Quaranta sermoni detti in varii luoghi sacri di Roma* (Rome, Presso il Varese: 1670) 791.

48 Gioia, "Bronzetto" 50; Gioia, *Collezioni* 171.

49 Wuffarden L.E., "The Presence of Italian Painting, 1575–1610", in Alcalá – Brown, *Painting* 257–273, at 285–289.

and visionary space, which compensates for and bridges the remoteness of Rose's life, miracles, and relics from the Eternal City, resulting from the globalisation of the Catholic Church: on the left side of the chapel, the saint is asleep and about to be woken up by the physical apparition of Mary; on the right, we witness her seemingly simultaneous dream, in which she overcomes the trials of Love and foreknows her mystic marriage with Christ; in the centre, together with the peoples of America, we encounter her like a colonial processional wood sculpture or banner of faith; and, in the vault, her sanctification and visionary reunion with the Redeemer is accomplished.

Re-importing an Image of Virtue to Peru in 1665: Melchiorre Caffà's Sculpture of Saint Rose of Lima

Baldi's chapel decoration presents the iconological context for understanding Caffà's earlier sculpture [Fig. 3.7]. Born in around 1635 in Birgu (Vittoriosa), Malta, Caffà 'accomplished little, and lived shortly', as Lione Pascoli (1674–1744) notes, for he died in 1667 from an accident at work, just a decade after he had arrived in Rome to join Ercole Ferrata's (1610–1686) workshop and begin a stellar career in emulation of Bernini's.⁵⁰ While he fell into oblivion soon after his death, Filippo Baldinucci (1625–1697) praised one of his works, which was identified only two centuries later as the statue of blessed Rose of Saint Mary at the church of Santo Domingo in Lima by John Fleming, and then briefly discussed by Rudolf Preimesberger in 1969.⁵¹ The Carrara marble figure is authored, dated, and located [Fig. 3.8], as though for exportation purposes:

50 Pascoli Lione, *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti moderni*, 2 vols. (Rome, Antonio de' Rossi: 1730–1736), vol. 1, 256.

51 Baldinucci Filippo, *Notizie de' professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua*, 6 vols. (Florence, Tratini e Franchi: 1681–1728) vol. 6, 526; Fleming J., "A Note on Melchiorre Caffà", *The Burlington Magazine* 89, 529 (1947) 84–89; Preimesberger R., "Ein Bozzetto Melchiorre Cafas", *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 22 (1969) 178–183; Preimesberger R., "Caffà, Melchiorre", in Ghisalberti A.M. et al. (eds.), *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 16 (Rome: 1973) 230–235; Mujica Pinilla, "El ancla de Rosa de Lima" 156–157; Preimesberger R., "Caffa, Melchiorre", in Turner J. (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art*, 34 vols. (London: 1996) vol. 5, 376–378; Preimesberger R., "Ein Liebestod für die Christianisierung Amerikas? Zu Melchiorre Cafas Grabstatue der heiligen Rosa in San Domingo in Lima – ¿Una muerte por amor para la cristianización de América? La estatua funeraria de Santa Rosa de Lima: una imagen barroca de la primera santa católica en el Nuevo Mundo. Un ensayo desde una perspectiva histórica e histórico-artística", in Goethe Institut (ed.), *Humboldt*, 143 (2005). Cf. Gioia, "Bronzetto"; Bissell G., "Caffà, Melchiorre", in Meissner G. (ed.), *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*:



FIGURE 3.7 *Melchiorre Cafà, Blessed Rose of Saint Mary (1665). Marble, 82 × 147 cm. Lima, Convento Máximo de Nuestra Señora del Rosario, also called Convento de Santo Domingo.*

PHOTO: TRISTAN WEDDIGEN.

MELCHIOR Cafa Melitensis

FACIEBAT

ROMAE · A · DÑI · MDCLXV

In Rome, Cafà, whose brother Giuseppe was a Dominican, received several commissions from the milieu of the Order of Preachers. Most prominently, following the will of the nun Camilla Peretti (1519–1605), Cafà executed the altar relief of Santa Caterina in Magnanapoli, which perhaps included a side relief of Saint Rose, for which a wax *bozzetto* might have survived at the cathedral of

Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker (Munich: 1997) vol. 15, 493–495; Sciberras K. (ed.), *Melchiorre Cafà: Maltese Genius of the Roman Baroque* (Valletta: 2006); Anselmi A., “La Santa Rosa di Melchiorre Cafà. Iconografia e significato”, in Sciberras, *Melchiorre Cafà: Maltese Genius of the Roman Baroque* 89–96; Barberini M.G., “Melchiorre Cafà nella storia della critica”, in Sciberras, *Melchiorre Cafà: Maltese Genius of the Roman Baroque* 35–48; Gastel J. van, “Bodies Made Present: Sculptures over Saintly Tombs in Seventeenth-Century Rome”, in Eck C. van – Gastel J. van – Kessel E. van (eds.), *The Secret Lives of Artworks* (Leiden: 2014) 242–261, esp. 249–251; Kinew, “New Sources”.



FIGURE 3.8 Detail of Fig. 3.7: The angel's wings and the artist's signature.

Mdina: it stages the saint as if sprouting from a projecting bedrock and arising under the rays of the Holy Spirit.⁵² As Louise Rice has shown, Cafà also

52 Titi, *Studio* 314–325. Cf. Bissell G., “Melchiorre Cafà at S. Caterina a Magnanapoli”, in Sciberras, *Melchiorre Cafà: Maltese Genius of the Roman Baroque* 83–88; Montanari T., “Il Matrimonio mistico e la Visione delle rose di Santa Rosa da Lima: due rilievi di Cafà alle Descalzas Reales di Madrid”, in Sciberras, *Melchiorre Cafà: Maltese Genius of the Roman Baroque* 131–138; Guido T.S., “La Gloria di Santa Caterina da Siena di Melchiorre Cafà nella

designed a conceptually demanding thesis broadsheet, featuring the speaking sculpture of Memnon, for Giovanni Francesco Rota (1643–1706), who defended philosophical theses at the convent of San Tommaso d'Aquino at the Minerva in 1663 and dedicated the print to his patron, Cardinal Lorenzo Raggi (1615–1687), the commissioner of Bernini's epitaph to Maria Raggi (1552–1600) and the protector of the confraternity owning the chapel that was later dedicated to Saint Rose.⁵³ Cafà conceived another print in 1666 after a preparatory drawing that bears the signature of Giovanni Domenico Leoni, who published Rose's biography the year before and who, as Maestro del Sacro Palazzo, sanctioned all prints published in Rome.⁵⁴ The print, which promotes the canonisations of Rose and of Vicente Bernedo Albistur, Juan Macías, and Martín de Porres Velázquez, all missionising in the Viceroyalty of Peru, was ordered by their causes' advocate, González.⁵⁵

Thus, Cafà's sculpture is part of a visual pre-beatification propaganda coordinated by the American-Dominican pressure group, with the support of Spain. It might have been commissioned as early as 1663, when the papal committee for Rose's beatification was summoned.⁵⁶ When it was unveiled on the main altar of Saint Peter's Basilica in 1668 [Fig. 3.3] and subsequently shown at the Minerva, it received—like Giovanni Battista Foggini's (1652–1725) tomb for Saint Francis Xavier, which was displayed for two years in Florence before it was sent to Goa in 1697—a kind of farewell *finissage* as it was made to replace Rose's persona and imagery abroad.⁵⁷

chiesa a Magnanapoli a Roma. Uno studio preparatorio in cera", *I beni culturali. Tutela e valorizzazione. Rivista bimestrale a carattere scientifico-divulgativo* 14, 2 (2006) 55–64.

- 53 Rice L., "Cafà's Conclusion", in Sciberras, *Melchiorre Cafà: Maltese Genius of the Roman Baroque* 139–152. Cf. Montagu J., "The Graphic Work of Melchiorre Cafà", *Paragone Arte* 35, 413 (1984) 50–61, at 50–51.
- 54 Leoni, *Breve ristretto della vita*; Montagu, "Graphic" 52–53, fig. 62.
- 55 Montagu, "Graphic" 52–53, fig. 62; Gioia, "Bronzetto" 46.
- 56 Gioia, *Collezioni* 165; Giometti C., *Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia. Sculture in terracotta* (Rome: 2011) 60–61.
- 57 Conforti C., "Il Castrum Doloris (1689–1698) per san Francesco Saverio al Bom Jesus di Goa di Giovanbattista Foggini, dono di Cosimo III de' Medici, granduca di Toscana", in Großmann U. – Krutisch P. (eds.), *The Challenge of the Object: 33rd Congress of the International Committee of the History of Art. Congress Proceedings*, Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, Wissenschaftlicher Beiband (Nuremberg: 2013) vol. 32.4, 1436–1440.

Modelling

For this work, Cafà produced a series of small-scale models, namely, an auto-graphed clay *bozzetto* and several bronze casts—studied by Elena Bianca Di Gioia and others—which reveal the evolution of the *concetto* of the sculpture.⁵⁸ His first design in clay, which presents Rose reclining in ecstasy or agony on a cloudy armchair and now missing the angel, is a direct reception of Bernini's *Saint Teresa* of 1652; Cafà's *Blessed Rose*, in return, became the model for Bernini's *Blessed Ludovica Albertoni*, begun in 1671.⁵⁹ Next, a bronze cast shows how Cafà initially conceived Rose's death scene on a bed consisting of planks covered by a rough carpet, so as to keep her from falling asleep; here, the angel invests her with the crown of roses, thus heralding her sanctification.⁶⁰ A second version shows the bed uncovered and, in particular, Rose's habit floriated, probably as an allusion to the wedding dress she wore in her vision of Jesus the stonemason: the dying saint has finished carving and polishing her virtues, and espouses Christ.⁶¹

The last *bozzetti* show her laying on a bedrock, but still reclining on a big tasselled cushion instead of the usual stone. Whether the cushions have been subversively filled with splinters and sticks of wood or with wool packed so tightly as to become rock-hard, as the sources indicate, Cafà's 'portable *Saint Teresa*' would have effectively transformed hard stone into a soft cushion, and the latter into hard stone again—'to convert the very softness into hardness', as Rose's mother exclaimed—thus beating Bernini's marble mattresses and pillows.⁶² Indeed, *tenerezza* was a crucial moral and aesthetic concept for Bernini, whose chisel was praised for softening and bending marble—and

58 Gioia, *Collezioni* 165–175; Sciberras K., "Melchiorre Cafà: Maltese Genius of the Roman Baroque", in Sciberras, *Melchiorre Cafà: Maltese Genius of the Roman Baroque* 1–18, fig. on 262.

59 Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 242; Sciberras, *Melchiorre Cafà: Maltese Genius of the Roman Baroque* 258, fig.: terracotta, Rome, Museo di Palazzo Venezia, inv. PV 1210. Cf. Afflitto – Romei, *Teatri* 137–139.

60 Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 99–100; Sciberras, *Melchiorre Cafà: Maltese Genius of the Roman Baroque* 262, fig.: bronze, unknown collection.

61 Cf. Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 512; Sciberras, *Melchiorre Cafà: Maltese Genius of the Roman Baroque* 262, fig.: bronze, Rome, Museo di Roma, inv. MR 1098.

62 Leoni, *Breve ristretto della vita* 5, 38; Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 107: 'convertire l'istessa morbidezza in durezza'; Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 129, no. 11. Cf. Graziano, *Wounds* 124. Sciberras, *Melchiorre Cafà: Maltese Genius of the Roman Baroque* 262, fig.; Hampe Martínez T., *Santidad e identidad criolla. Estudio del proceso de canonización de Santa Rosa*, Cuadernos para la historia de la Evangelización en América Latina 20 (Cusco: 1998): 147 × 82 × 70 cm.

thus the soul—transforming stone into dough or wax and thus making sculpture look painterly, with figures seemingly growing out of themselves.⁶³ At least posthumously, Cafà's *Blessed Rose* was honoured by the *paragone* with Bernini's *Cathedra Petri*.

Catholic Cupid

If embarking on an iconological analysis of Cafà's sculpture, we may start with four erudite, footnoted sonnets in honour of the statue composed by Orazio Quaranta (1604–1682), poet and Consultor of the Index.⁶⁴ But these poems mostly reverberate the feverish production of panegyrics and biographies, and therefore remain rather conventional and unspecific. They describe the sculpture as representing a slumbering Rose about to be awoken by the angel, as she had been staged in 1668, and play on the concept of sleep as an image of death. We must therefore analyse the individual elements of the sculpture and take into account the entire textual and visual production around Rose's beatification and sanctification, a task for which Ramón Mujica Pinilla's studies offer an excellent basis.⁶⁵ It must be noted, however, that Cafà's sculpture itself, with Hansen's *Vita* of 1664, belongs to the earliest productions of the Dominican pre-canonisation propaganda.⁶⁶

To start with Rose's most prominent attribute, Cafà's sweet and decently draped angel—that 'heart of God'—personifies reciprocal divine love.⁶⁷ The devotedly kneeling little acolyte unveils and mirrors Rose's inner bliss of death with a compassionate smile. The softness of his skin, flesh, curls, and feathers epitomises the artist's alchemical ability to mollify and mould the marble, accentuated by the back of the fluffy wings, deliberately roughened up with a claw chisel [Fig. 3.8].⁶⁸ The lateral view of the artist's signature, which seemingly

63 Bernini Domenico, *Vita del Cavalier Gio. Lorenzo Bernino* (Rome, Rocco Bernabò: 1713) 42; Baldinucci Filippo, *Vita del Cavaliere Gio. Lorenzo Bernino scultore, architetto, e pittore* (Florence, Vincenzio Vangelisti: 1682) 131–132.

64 Quaranta, "Componimenti" 154–155, 160–161; Mujica Pinilla, "El ancla de Rosa de Lima" 156–157; Kinew, "New Sources".

65 Flores Araoz J. et al., *Santa Rosa de Lima y su tiempo* (Lima: 1999); Bernales Ballesteros J., "Iconografía de Santa Rosa de Lima", in *Homenaje al Prof. Dr. Hernández Díaz 1* (Sevilla: 1982) 283–324; Mujica Pinilla, *Rosa*.

66 Graziano, *Wounds* 104.

67 Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 212.

68 Cf. Colantuono A., *The Tender Infant: Invenzione and Figura in the Art of Poussin*, Ph.D. dissertation (Johns Hopkins University: 1986); Weddigen T., "Tapisserie und Poesie:



FIGURE 3.9 Detail of Fig. 3.7: The face of Blessed Rose of Saint Mary.

breaks off with the stone, intimates his identification with the young messenger: the artist-angel transforms the corrugated rock into the saint's headscarf, which reveals Rose's blossoming visage, as the beholder walks around the piece [Fig. 3.9] to aspire her last breath; the metamorphosis of Bernini's *Daphne* is here reversed towards life, but at the same time towards death—an aesthetic process mirroring the artist's Polykleitan *faciebat* and Plotinian sculptural self-improvement, which parallels the virgins' devoted stonework for Christ.⁶⁹ Indeed, lay piety like Rose's tried to unite active and contemplative life in the sense of *laborare est orare*, and thus honoured manual work.⁷⁰ Rose herself, as illustrated by Galle, went into ecstasy while embroidering the name of God and seeing the young *logos*, who is reading the *textus*. Thus, Cafà could easily understand his own labour, his tearful work on the stone to be honouring God,

Gianfrancesco Romanellis *Giochi di Putti für Urban VIII.*, in Imorde J. – Neumeyer F. – Weddigen T. (eds.), *Barocke Inszenierung* (Emsdetten: 1999) 72–103.

69 Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham – W.H.S. Jones – D.E. Eichholz, 10 vols. (London: 1949–1954) vol. 16, *Preface*, 26; Plotinus *On Beauty* (*Enneads* I 6, 9).

70 Mujica Pinilla, “El ancla de Rosa de Lima” 150.

especially since Fra Angelico (d. 1455), whose tomb is at the Minerva, had been rediscovered by Counter Reformation art theorists as the ideal *pittore devoto*.⁷¹

The Caravaggesque soles of the angel's feet visibly mark the verso of the sculpture and sanctify Rose's bedrock, which they do not touch, as a rustic altar [Fig. 3.8]. The angel counts among Rose's attributes, and her *vitae* dedicate a whole chapter to her guardian angel, with whom she maintained candid bonds: they conversed in her garden, he gave her hot chocolate, and she sent him off to protect others on their way to dangerous places such as Potosí.⁷² Rose supposedly composed a poem exhorting her messenger of love to call her heavenly spouse to her deathbed.⁷³ Cafà's *angelo custode* represents a hybrid between the New World cult of archangels and the Old World iconography of love.⁷⁴ The latter is epitomised by Veen's emblems of human and divine love, which Rose's hagiography itself mentions: on the one hand, Cafà's sculpture resembles a Christianised Cupid discovering Psyche, on the other, it refers to Veen's emblem of Divine Love saving Soul from death.⁷⁵

The angel delicately covers Rose's forehead and moves her arm by pulling the sleeve, to lay out her corpse as required by the conventions of public viewing. Rose's undulating Dominican habit, which she received in 1606, not only denotes her ecclesiastical affiliation, piety, and militancy beyond death, but also expresses the manifold movements of her soul. Finally, it eternises her clothes, which had to be replaced several times as the mourning Limeans tore them off her corpse to cherish them as relics.⁷⁶ In Rose's hagiography, following medieval models, textile crafts such as weaving, knitting, and embroidering are

71 Galle II, *Vita*. Cf. Paleotti Gabriele, *Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre e profane diviso in cinque libri*, in Barocchi Paola (ed.), *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento fra manierismo e controriforma*, 3 vols., Scrittori d'Italia 219, 221, 222, vol. 1 (Bari: 1961) 117–509 [1st ed., Bologna, Alessandro Benacci: 1582], at 166; Alberti Romano, *Trattato della nobiltà della pittura*, in Barocchi *Trattati*, vol. 3, 195–234 [1st ed., Rome: 1585], at 232; Mujica Pinilla, “El ancla de Rosa de Lima” 152; Mujica Pinilla, *Rosa* 150–151.

72 Hansen, *Vita mirabilis et mors pretiosa* (1664) 123, 212; Leoni, *Breve ristretto della vita* 79; Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 216, 218; Ferrer de Valdecebro, *Historia* 273–279; Bompiano, “Vita beatae Rosae a S. Maria” 90, no. 120; Galle II, *Vita* no p., *Seraphicis ardoribus colliquens*.

73 Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 213; Hansen, *Bienaventurada* 165.

74 Parra, *Rosa laureada* 586. Cf. Gioia, *Collezioni* 171.

75 Veen Otto van, *Amorum emblemata* (Antwerp, Otto van Veen: 1608) 148–149; Veen, *Amoris* 116–117.

76 Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 112, no. 127, 458.

recurring emblems of her female diligence and obedience.⁷⁷ Her textile work counterbalances the problem of implicit Catholic idolatry: like a Christian Arachne, she copied Veronica's sudarium, the paradigmatic textile image, one prayer per stitch, and dressed the statue of the Infant with clothes of prayers and penance—not, as Hispanic tradition required, with rich garments.⁷⁸

Rose in the Wilderness

Close to her veiled head, we see a rose. That the figure of Isabel Flores de Oliva, renamed Rosa de Santa María as a baby after her face blushed like a rose, should engender a programmatic botanical iconography seems only natural.⁷⁹ Rose, 'America's bud and fruit', made silk flowers and wreaths for statues, ate only the bitter parts of the passion flower, miraculously revived dried flowers with her tears, and planted a cruciform rosemary in her garden, in which she strolled with Christ—the Latin American new Eden the Dominicans helped to cultivate.⁸⁰ The rose is a symbol of mystical, painful love, here transplanted into a new geopolitical context: as several sources emphasise, brought from the Old World, it reclaims the land, transforms wilderness into an earthly paradise, and eradicates the thorny weeds of American idolatry with its sweet smell of

77 Leoni, *Breve ristretto della vita* 12, 17, 63, 175; Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 152; Bompiano, "Vita beatae Rosae a S. Maria" 100, no. 166; Parra, *Rosa laureada* 8, 28; Meneses y Arce, *Ilustración* 37. Cf. e.g. Wyss R.L., "Die Handarbeiten der Maria. Eine ikonographische Studie unter Berücksichtigung der textilen Techniken", in Stettler M. – Lemberg M. (eds.), *Artes minores. Dank an Werner Abegg* (Bern: 1973) 113–188; Baert B., "The Gendered Visage: Facets of the Vera Icon", *Jaarboek, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. Antwerp Royal Museum Annual* (2000) 10–43.

78 Leoni, *Breve ristretto della vita* 131; Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 266; Quaranta, "Componimenti" 180, 182; Parra, *Rosa laureada* 28. Cf. van Haeften Benedictus, *Schola cordis, sive Aversi a deo cordis, ad eundem reductio, et instructio* (Antwerp, Johann Meurs – Hieronymus Verdussen: 1635); *Pictura cordis ex sindone Veronicæ expressa*; Weddigen T., "Weaving the Face of Christ: On the Textile Origins of the Christian Image", in de Riedmatten H. et al. (eds.), *Senses of Sight: Towards a Multisensorial Approach of the Image. Essays in Honor of Victor I. Stoichita* (Rome: 2015) 83–110.

79 Leoni, *Breve ristretto della vita* 1; Bouillaud, *Breve relatione della solennissima festa* 5–6; Bovio, "Academia" 52; Radiguet M., *Souvenirs de l'Amérique espagnole. Chili—Pérou—Brésil* (Paris: 1856) 167.

80 Vargas Muchaca, *Rosa* 10, 44; Hansen, *Vita mirabilis et mors pretiosa* (1664) no p.; Leoni, *Breve ristretto della vita* 24, 149, 155, 199; Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 67, 297, 309, 333, 502; Anonymous, *Relatione* no p. [3]; Quaranta, "Componimenti" 164; Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 15.

sanctity.⁸¹ Similarly, Cafà's rose bush, sinuously paralleling the blessed, grows and blooms in the desert of the Peruvian coast, signifying her strong roots and her resurrection: 'a rose is born when a Rose dies', as one panegyric puts it.⁸² Because the roses in texts and images relating to the saint are not exclusively red, but can be white, the marble bush of roses still complies with the programmatic whiteness of the sculpture.⁸³

Against the monolithic conventions of sculpture, a separate, more naturalistic marble wreath of roses was added to the group [Fig. 3.10], made by Cafà or an immediate follower, if not by a late nineteenth-century neo-baroque sculptor.⁸⁴ Today, it is hanging inappropriately from a modern marble stand, like a funeral wreath, while it might have been placed originally in the cavity of the plinth below Rose's right hand, as if she had just received the crown of sanctity. It could have been made just before shipping, to add the new halo of sainthood to the blessed, who until then had to be content with the diaphanous aura of the gleaming marble. As a movable and seemingly ephemeral item that breaks the invisible aesthetic boundaries of the sculpted image, it certainly enlivens the group and might imitate antique votive crowns made of stone.⁸⁵ Like the silk flowers Rose used to craft and the marble crown of thorns she is wearing, the wreath of roses is a work of pure devotional art and a proof of the Berninesque art of drilling employed by the sculptor, who patiently and painfully perforates the stone so as to leave the petals and thorns. This sculptural dematerialisation of the marble could even be related to one emblem that compares Rose's mortification to the sublimation of the rose into perfume.⁸⁶ However, the marble wreath also alludes to the miracle when divine providence intervened at Rose's funerary: because the flowers for the traditional crowning of dead virgins could not be found, a crown of thorns was taken ad hoc from a sculpture of Saint Catherine and put around Rose's head, thereby transmogrifying the copy into a new original.⁸⁷

81 Bouillaud, *Breve relatione della solennissima festa* 5; Feuillet, *Vie* 251; Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 31; Preimesberger, "Ein Bozzetto Melchiorre Cafas" cf. *Song* 2:2,2; Graziano, *Wounds* 66–88.

82 Vargas Muchaca, *Rosa* no p. Cf. Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 438; Preimesberger, "Liebestod".

83 Cf. e.g. Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 43.

84 Gioia, *Collezioni* 175, n. 25.

85 Cf. the marble votive crown from Praeneste, Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano.

86 Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 45.

87 Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 96, cf. 124; Tomasi Carlo, *Immagini de' cinque santi clementini Gaetano Francesco Filippo Luigi Rosa spiegati encomiasticamente* (Rome, Ingatio de Lazari: 1671) 57–70; Graziano, *Wounds* 66–88.



FIGURE 3.10 *Anon. (sculptor), Wreath of Roses (maybe seventeenth century). Marble. Lima, Convento Máximo de Nuestra Señora del Rosario, also called Convento de Santo Domingo.*

PHOTO: TRISTAN WEDDIGEN.

From the roses to the rosary, which Virgin Mary allegedly gave to Saint Dominic: attached to her belt, Rose never ceased using it, day and night, her limp hand suggesting that she was praying until her very last breath. Similarly, the crucifix and the medal are just about to slide off the plinth, thus giving inanimate objects and a dying body the paradoxical power to enliven the marble. Sculpted with utmost precision, the rosary titillates our haptic senses, summoning us to recite the silent Litany of Our Fathers and Hail Marys for Rose *ad aeternum*.⁸⁸

88 Leoni, *Breve ristretto della vita* 17; Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 160.

Longing for Death

As to the vexed question whether Cafà represents Rose sleeping, raptured in ecstasy, or dying, we may start with the bed, which can be seen as one of her attributes too.⁸⁹ To prevent herself from sleeping in favour of praying and working, Rose built herself a most uncomfortable bed from planks and stones, and used rocks for a headrest, as we can see in Baldi's painting [Fig. 3.5].⁹⁰ This crib without straw served her as much for resting as for waking.⁹¹ Rose even lay on the floor during her terminal phase and asked to die on trunks of wood so as to be closer to the Crucified.⁹² Cafà's final version of the bed aims for extreme roughness too, as the naked slab of stone cannot even be said to lie indoors, in her hermitage; rather, it represents a fragment of landscape, of her native territory, as she is expiring, head in the dust.⁹³ The hardness of the ground, the most humble plinth, indeed—an anti-pedestal for a counter-pose—make the figure seem ever so softer and moving, thus reversing the fashionable relation of firm bodies to soft mattresses in contemporary Roman sculpture.⁹⁴ Cafà's artificial bedrock claims to be more than a plinth: it is a *pars pro toto Americae*, made in Rome and shipped to Peru.

As for Rose's real death, her funeral in 1617 was a public event that set off an overpowering cult of the *beata*, only slowed down by Urban VIII Barberini's (1623–1644) decree of 1634 that required fifty years to pass between a candidate's death and sanctification, and the suspension of any canonisation between 1629 and 1658.⁹⁵ Crowds gathered to her bier, hindering even her friend, the painter Medoro, to approach it; her feet and hands were fervently kissed, as Cafà's sculpture itself seems to remind us, and one of her fingers was even cut off or bitten off by a devout.⁹⁶ One arm was moved and appeared to be still as pliable as if Rose had just passed away.⁹⁷ Correspondingly, Cafà's angel, lifting

89 Cf. Preimesberger, "Ein Bozzetto Melchiorre Cafas"; Cellini A., *La scultura del Seicento*, Storia dell'arte in Italia (Turin: 1982) 97; Gioia, "Bronzetto" 41; Gioia, *Collezioni* 170.

90 Vargas Muchaca, *Rosa* 61; Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 107; Bompiano, "Vita beatae Rosae a S. Maria" 80, no. 67, 111, no. 223; Bovio, "Accademia" 48; Oliva, *Sermone* 28; Oliva, *Quaranta* 802.

91 Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 98.

92 Bompiano, "Vita beatae Rosae a S. Maria" 110, no. 216; Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 102, 466; Feuillet, *Vie* 191.

93 Bompiano, "Vita beatae Rosae a S. Maria" 113, no. 235, 110, no. 216; Gioia, *Collezioni* 171.

94 Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 103.

95 Cf. e.g. Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 45.

96 Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 83, 471; Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 11, 30, 481.

97 Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 479.

her arm easily, presents the bodily symptoms of her victory over death and, at the same time, signifies the sculptor's immortal triumph over the dead stone, which he releases from its eternal rigor mortis.

The sweetness of Rose's death lies in that she languishes for and dies of divine love.⁹⁸ One of the paintings displayed at the beatification ceremony represented her as she faints from this sufferance, while an angel takes her in his arms; its motto could be that of Cafà's *Blessed Rose*: '*cupio dissolvi*', 'I desire to die' (*Phil.* 1:23).⁹⁹ With the seemingly self-induced softening of the marble, Cafà expresses the paradox of Rose's determined will to self-dissolution. The sculptural moment of her trespassing is two-faced. On the one side, she is shown in her last hours, experiencing ecstasies of divine love, with fading eyes wide open and 'life between her lips', as if they were exhaling her last sentence: 'Jesus, Jesus, Jesus, stay with me forever'.¹⁰⁰ On the other side, we see the astonishing beauty of the thirty-one-year-old corpse, whose grace looks like sleep, amalgamating *morbidezza* with morbidity.¹⁰¹ Representing life as it turns to death, but also death as it metamorphoses into a higher life, was a most welcome *paragone* challenge for the sculptor, who had to translate into motionless stone, for example, that subtle difference between the tranquillity of sleep and that of death, which Rose described on her deathbed.¹⁰² As Rose's passing vanquishes mortality—or, as Giovanni Paolo Oliva (1600–1681), the Apostolic Preacher of the Palace, exclaimed in a sermon: 'I will be your death, O Death'—Cafà transubstantiates flesh into marble, and marble into spirit.¹⁰³ Indeed, the artist's task was to represent what Hansen had condensed in the elegant title of his hagiography *Vita mirabilis et mors pretiosa*: 'The glorious life and precious death' of Rose.¹⁰⁴

98 Martínez, *Oracion* 8; Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 10, 29, 43; Anonymous, *Relatione* no p. [4].

99 Bouillaud, *Breve relatione della solennissima festa* 8. Cf. Feuillet, *Vie* 259.

100 Leoni, *Breve ristretto della vita* 223; Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 466–467; Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 32; Bompiano, "Vita beatae Rosae a S. Maria" 113, no. 234.

101 Hansen, *Vita mirabilis et mors pretiosa* (1664) 203, 470, 476, 483; Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 10; Bompiano, "Vita beatae Rosae a S. Maria" 115, no. 241; Bovio, "Accademia" 53.

102 Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 453.

103 Oliva, *Sermone* 30; Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 45; Oliva, *Quaranta* 804.

104 Cf. Meneses y Arce, *Ilustración* 59; Gioia, "Bronzetto" 48.

Arriving in Lima

As Josephe de Mugaburu's (d. 1686) *Diary of Lima* records, when the news of the successful beatification reached Lima with great delay, various festivities were ordained, starting with the unveiling of a wooden sculpture of Rose, followed by processions and bullfights.¹⁰⁵ On 15 June 1670, Cafà's sculpture [Fig. 3.7] arrived from Rome at the port of Callao and was greeted by the viceroy and artillery salvos.¹⁰⁶ Five days later, in an outburst of popular devotion, the heavy case was shouldered by the citizens of Callao, who violently refused that the viceroy's mules or the members of the religious orders carry the sculpture, which was then first put up in the royal chapel of the Viceregal Palace. On 26 August, it was brought to the church of Santo Domingo in a procession that stopped by the cathedral.¹⁰⁷

Serving as a basis for an ivory statue of Rose, perhaps from the Spanish-ruled Philippines, a centre of Sino-Christian carving of African and Indian ivory, an urn of gemstones seems to have been displayed at Santa Maria sopra Minerva in 1668. Sent to Lima to hold her relics, the urn subsequently disappeared.¹⁰⁸ Equally, an antependium of coloured marbles with gold and silver reliefs made in Rome to adorn Rose's tomb and altar at Santo Domingo vanished.¹⁰⁹ The only other item to arrive in Lima from Rome, where small-scale, durable oil paintings on copper were in demand, is a partial, orientalisising copy in reverse of Baldi's altarpiece, today at Lima's Museo de los Descalzos, which forms a pendant to an *Immaculate Conception* that copies a print by Spierre after Pietro da Cortona's (1596–1669) altarpiece in San Filippo Neri, Perugia, of 1662.¹¹⁰ Although modernised later, the wooden reliquary of Saint Rose's skull at Santo Domingo [Fig. 3.11], clad with silver sheets and marble

105 Mugaburu – Mugaburu, *Diario* vol. 1, 172, 180–183, 185. Cf. Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 587; Meneses y Arce, *Ilustración* 92–107, 117–125, 153.

106 Mugaburu – Mugaburu, *Diario*, vol. 1, 198–199.

107 Ibidem vol. 1, 203.

108 Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 33. Cf. Flores Araoz et al., *Santa* 308: Filipino sculptor, *Saint Rose*, seventeenth century, ivory, Museo de América, Madrid, inv. MAM 06912.

109 Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 36. Cf. Parra, *Rosa laureada* 133; Meneses y Arce, *Ilustración* 107–110.

110 Mujica Pinilla, "Arte", fig. 49; Mujica Pinilla, *Rosa* 38, fig. 9: Italian artist, *Saint Rose Venerating the Infant Jesus*, Convento de los Descalzos, Lima. Cf. Alcalá L.E., "Painting in Latin America 1550–1820: A Historical and Theoretical Framework", in Alcalá – Brown, *Painting* 15–68, at 56–57.



FIGURE 3.11 *Anon. (artist), The reliquary of the skull of Saint Rose of Lima (seventeenth century with later changes). Lima, Convento Máximo de Nuestra Señora del Rosario, also called Convento de Santo Domingo.*

IMAGE © GERARDO ZAMORA.

and gemstone inlays, was probably manufactured locally at the time and confirms the exotic value of coloured marble in the colony.¹¹¹

In adorning the Roman celebrations, González employed considerable amounts of silver, such as six lavish chandeliers and an antependium, representing Peru's assets.¹¹² On the contrary, when Cafà's white slab of stone was laid out at Santo Domingo, conspicuously lacking both the colour of the local wooden statuary and the silver that presumably overgrew the altar, it might have produced an evocative, if not calculated contrast. Rose, who lived during the mining peak of Potosí, manufactured her martyr's crown from a thorny band of silver to exculpate Peru from its greed, and the panegyrics declared her virtues to surpass the nobility of any metal.¹¹³ Carrara marble came to Lima as a polished and urbane form of relinquishment.

After the sculpture's festive installation in Lima, sources about Cafà's *Blessed Rose* completely run dry for two centuries, indicating that there is simply no Latin American reception of the piece, comparable to the scarce European reception of antique sculpture outside Italy.¹¹⁴ On the contrary, in Italy, even Cafà's *bozzetti* were replicated in bronze. In Peru, she reappears only in Max Radiguet's (1816–1899) travel journal of 1843, in which he offers a poignant description of the piece, then erroneously attributed to the Bolognese Camillo Mazza: the French traveller eulogises it, especially in comparison to the local production of wooden polychrome devotional statues, which on one occasion he calls 'scarecrows'.¹¹⁵ It was in the chapel of Santo Domingo that he accidentally met Johann Moritz Rugendas (1802–1858), with whom he became friends. Rugendas showed him his drawing dated 1843, today at the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung in Munich [Fig. 3.12], in which he sketches Cafà's sculpture and a chest of fruit that the devout put down on her feet.¹¹⁶ A mid-twentieth-century stereoscopic photograph documents to what extent the view on the piece was impaired before the sculpture was recently moved out of the altar niche, cleaned, and now put on display in a showroom of the convent, like Snow White in her glass coffin. While this process of visibility replicates

111 Cf. Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 489.

112 Bouillaud, *Breve relatione della solennissima festa* 10.

113 See e.g. Leoni, *Breve ristretto della vita* 34, 219; Parra, *Rosa laureada* 44. Cf. Graziano, *Wounds* 136; Kämpf, *Archäologie* 337–338.

114 Cf. Wood C.S., *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago, IL – London: 2008) 89–92.

115 Radiguet, *Souvenirs* 155–158, 160–167, 178.

116 Flores Araoz J., *Juan Mauricio Rugendas. El Perú romántico del siglo XIX* (Lima: 1975) 132, fig. 50: Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, inv. 17175.



FIGURE 3.12 *Johann Moritz Rugendas after Melchiorre Cafà, Blessed Rose of Saint Mary (1843). Pencil on paper, 21.2 × 31.5 cm. Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung (inv. no. 17175 Z).*

IMAGE © STAATLICHE GRAPHISCHE SAMMLUNG, MUNICH.

that of modern Western musealisation, the early modern Euro-American image discourse was significantly more complex.

Faithful Imitation

In her self-fashioning as a *beata*, Rose was a fervent and painstaking emulator of Saint Catherine of Siena, whose example, as much as Christ's, she copied like a 'wise painter' in order to become a 'portrait' of them.¹¹⁷ Rose imitated Catherine's crown of thorns, predicted the founding of Lima's Monasterio de Santa Catalina, and venerated the statue of Saint Catherine, which engendered floral miracles and which she was in charge of dressing up for processions.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Leoni, *Breve ristretto della vita* 16. Cf. Hansen, *Vita mirabilis et mors pretiosa* (1664) 19, 115; Feuillet, *Vie* no p.; Anonymous, *Relatione* no p. [4]; Tomasi, *Immagini* 57–70; Genova Giuseppe da, *G'affetti della beata, e S. Rosa di Lima* (Rome, Giacomo Dragondelli: 1671) 18–23; Pampalone, *Disegni* 28–31, 139.

¹¹⁸ Hansen, *Vita mirabilis et mors pretiosa* (1664) 163, 215; Leoni, *Breve ristretto della vita* 157–162; Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 85, 95, 305; Bompiano, "Vita beatae Rosae a S. Maria" 97,

Although deprived from local saintly examples and tainted with heathen memories, Rose still grew like a 'root out of a thirsty ground' (*Isaiah* 53.2), as she looked across the Atlantic for better models originating from the Old and New Testament, which she copied with such diligence and fervour that she became their facsimile, equalling and even surpassing the most acclaimed originals of virtue, as Oliva, the Superior General of the Society of Jesus and a friend of Bernini's, affirmed in one of his sermons.¹¹⁹ In another, he stated that Rose copied all saints with such refined outlines, masterful brushstrokes, and lively poses that she became both a copy of the saints and an original for her contemporaries, in other words, an exemplar of saintly life.¹²⁰

The period between Rose's birth and canonisation is marked by ecclesiastical campaigns and visitations to extirpate indigenous paganism and idolatry.¹²¹ Thus, as the Roman panegyrics, allegories, and mottos attest, she was staged as a role model with respect to the Catholic cult of images and the catechisation of the natives.¹²² She is said to have followed the crucifix with her eyes like a sunflower, to have 'chiselled it in her heart', and to have vanquished idolatry by becoming Christ-like through her mortification and death.¹²³ Besides adorning a sculpture of the Infant, whose sunrays irradiated the *rosa peruana*, she was a fervent devotee of the Virgin of the Rosary [Fig. 3.13], the first protector of Peru, and venerated her regularly at Santo Domingo: the statue, attributed to the Flemish-Sevillian sculptor Roque Balduc (d. 1561), is believed to be one of the first effigies imported by the Spanish conquerors to help in the war against the indigenous and their idolatry, and became an important cult image of the New World.¹²⁴

In this regard, Cafà's piece intended to supersede this local worship. Rose's own notion of the cult image, on the contrary, was informed by the Hispanic tradition of polychrome sculptural naturalism mixed with indigenous colourism,

no. 154; Mujica Pinilla, "El ancla de Rosa de Lima" 74–89.

119 Oliva, *Quaranta* 785; Oliva, *Sermone* 5. Cf. Anonymous, *Relatione* no p. [8].

120 Oliva, *Sermone* 31.

121 Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 1; Quaranta, "Componimenti" 151; Wuffarden L.E. – Guibovich Pérez P., "Esplendor y religiosidad en el tiempo de Santa Rosa de Lima", in Flores Araoz et al., *Santa* 3–51; Graziano, *Wounds* 134; Mujica Pinilla, *Rosa* 138; Alcalá – Brown, *Painting* 26–33.

122 Córdova y Castro, *Festivos* 17; Mujica Pinilla, *Rosa* 136–171.

123 Leoni, *Breve ristretto della vita* 142, 144–145, 154, 283; Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 151, 302. Cf. Mujica Pinilla, *Rosa* 161.

124 Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 146, 280, 282; Bompiano, "Vita beatae Rosae a S. Maria" 96, nos. 127–128; Parra, *Rosa laureada* 213; Meneses y Arce, *Ilustración* 117–125; Mujica Pinilla, "El ancla de Rosa de Lima" 144, fig. 55; Graziano, *Wounds* 129.



FIGURE 3.13 *Roque Balduc (attributed), Nuestra Señora del Rosario (sixteenth century). Wood. Lima, Convento Máximo de Nuestra Señora del Rosario, also called Convento de Santo Domingo.*
PHOTO: TRISTAN WEDDIGEN.

which is also confirmed by her fascination for devotional paintings that transcend flatness and seem to come alive.¹²⁵ The construction of Rose's persona as an image and a copy of European saintly models and images converges in the remarkable production, veneration, and multiplication of her likeness immediately after her death and in the numerous miracles, including the resuscitation of a slave, performed by painted and engraved representations of the saint, the prints acting as a kind of contact relic.¹²⁶

Witness and Whiteness

It must be noted that, from its very beginning, the construction of Rose's persona and imagery was assisted by a half-local half-foreign painter, the Roman migrant Medoro. He was not only acquainted with Rose, whom he held for saintly and whose funerary he attended, but he was also one of the witnesses interviewed in 1618 by the ecclesiastic authorities during the very first beatification attempts, which explains why he figures in all the editions of her *Vita*.¹²⁷ The reason for his testimony was that relics of the saint had healed his wife and one of his journeymen, but he also invokes the miracle of a sudarium painted by him that started to sweat in Rose's presence and whose moisture he confirmed by touch and taste not to be caused by deficient technique or materials of his, but, as it were, by the transubstantial nature of colours.¹²⁸ Most importantly, he painted the first post-mortem portrait of Rose [Fig. 3.14], which seems to have been on display at her tomb and altar and generated a great number of copies and adaptations, for example by Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1618–1682), whose visualisations appear to rely on Medoro, who returned to

125 Leoni, *Breve ristretto della vita* 152; Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 295. Cf. Gisbert T., "La identidad étnica de los artistas del Virreinato del Perú", in Mujica Pinilla et al. *Barroco* vol. 1, 98–143, esp. 135–140.

126 Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 585; Ferrer de Valdecebro, *Historia* 494–504; Oliva, *Sermone* 30; Meléndez, *Tesoros* vol. 2, 473–484; Peterson J.F., "The Reproducibility of the Sacred: Simulacra of the Virgin of Guadalupe", in Pierce D. (ed.), *Exploring New World Imagery: Spanish Colonial Papers from the 2002 Mayer Center Symposium*, Latin American Studies, Art and Visual Studies (Austin, TX: 2005) 43–78.

127 Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 350, 407, 425; Echave y Assu, *Estrella* 73–74; Hampe Martínez, *Santidad* 129–131; Wuffarden, "Presence".

128 Leoni, *Breve ristretto della vita* 134–141; Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 269, 272; Bompiano, "Vita beatae Rosae a S. Maria" 95, no. 145; Feuillet, *Vie* 124; Genova, *Affetti* 23–27.



FIGURE 3.14 *Angelino Medoro (attributed), Dead Rose of Saint Mary (1617). Lima, Santuario de Santa Rosa de Lima.*

PHOTO: TRISTAN WEDDIGEN.

Sevilla in 1622.¹²⁹ Equally, Cafà appears to have had a copy of Medoro's *vera effigies* of Rosa at hand [Fig. 3.9]. Thus, confirming the European aesthetic

¹²⁹ Meneses y Arce, *Ilustración* 99–107, 118. Cf. Flores Araoz et al., *Santa* 217, fig. 4, 223, fig. 9, 292, fig. 57; Quiles García, *Caminos* 142–150.



FIGURE 3.15 *Anon. (European sculptor), Christ at the Column (seventeenth century). Marble. Lima, Convento Máximo de Nuestra Señora del Rosario, also called Convento de Santo Domingo.*

PHOTO: TRISTAN WEDDIGEN.



FIGURE 3.16 *Anon. (European sculptor), Madonna and Child (seventeenth century). Marble. Lima, Cathedral.*

PHOTO: © TRISTAN WEDDIGEN.

supremacy, Medoro was called in as a witness on the basis that he was not only an eyewitness, but a Roman artist.¹³⁰

White marble was foreign to South America, and the very few European marble sculptures that could be seen in Lima in early modern times must have appeared exotic: at the Convento de Santo Domingo, a *Christ at the Column* [Fig. 3.15] with yellow Siena marble veins and wounds, inspired by Michelangelo's *Cristo della Minerva*, and at the Cathedral, a *Virgin with the Child*, made of Carrara marble, damaged probably from an earthquake [Fig. 3.16]. Although Cafà's *Blessed Rose* was commissioned by the Limean González and financed by the Peruvian Dominicans, it speaks the language of Roman Counter Reformation art, aiming at a colonialist aesthetic catechisation.¹³¹ As Fabio Barry has shown, since antiquity, white marble was used as an aesthetic expression of imperial power that was also adopted by the Catholic Church—in the present case, to state the primacy of the Papal See over the globe.¹³² Sending a sculpture of white Carrara marble to Lima deliberately contradicted local Hispano-American expectations and conventions of visual piety. While, as Gabriela Siracusano has shown for indigenous and Spanish-colonial art executed by native Americans, the miraculous power of pigments could suggest idolatrous practices, especially if applied onto devotional sculptures.¹³³

Carrara marble, thanks to its pure whiteness and candidness, its ability to reflect and transmit light and bridge immanence and transcendence, and its relinquishment of colour as a demonstration of *humilitas*, was a predestined means to demonstrate how to avoid idolatry in the Catholic cult of images.¹³⁴ Besides the fact that *Rose's* recumbence inhibits the viewer's prostration and prohibits the sculpture's processional activation, thanks to her emblematic nature, as Preimesberger noted, she is also a 'narrative statue', and, as such, cannot fall under suspicion of stimulating idolatry.¹³⁵ Of course, the white marble could be perceived as a naturalistic rendering of Rose's pallor, her

130 Cf. Echave y Assu, *Estrella* 59–61, 70, 85, 107; Cummins T., "Images for a New World", in Stratton-Pruitt, *Virgin* 13–17.

131 Mujica Pinilla, "El ancla de Rosa de Lima" 137–157; Kinew, "New Sources" 348.

132 Barry, *Painting* 1–7.

133 Siracusano G., *Pigments and Power in the Andes: From the Material to the Symbolic in Andean Cultural Practices 1500–1800* (London: 2011) 128–149.

134 Barry, *Painting* 2–18. Cf. Meneses y Arce, *Ilustración* 25.

135 Preimesberger, "Ein Bozzetto Melchiorre Cafas"; Preimesberger, "Liebestod".

petrified contemplation, her white Dominican habit, or the tint of a white rose.¹³⁶ And it was certainly one of the sculpture's purposes to eternise the public and miraculous display of Rose's corpse in Lima, which inspired *tener-ezza* even in hearts of stone and moved many to tears and repentance, as the sources relate.¹³⁷ At best, due to the import of Filipino ivory sculpture, *Rose* could be perceived as carved from a giant animal's tusk. However, Cafà's marble sculpture is not only colourless divine *disegno*, but it also fights and defeats the inertia of the matter itself by seemingly mollifying and almost dematerialising it. Furthermore, the artist ostensibly cracks up Rose's plinth as if to counter the idea of the idol *ex uno lapide*, and even transforms the Carrara marble into another, slate-like variety of stone, which he furthermore treats with the claw chisel so as to give it a graphic kind of hatched shading. As an ideological 'drop sculpture' that aims to show how it transcends its own making, it must have left its American viewers puzzled.

Artful Failure

Cafà's *Blessed Rose* was a Roman trophy for the Dominicans, who controlled and channelled the anarchic power of the New World *beatas* in the interest of the Church. Although González was from Peru, he cunningly espoused the Roman aesthetic discourse and propaganda techniques and thus quickly and strategically invested in two emerging, but available artists, Cafà and Baldi. While the ideal and propagated power relation between the Old and the New World, between Rome and Lima, between the new and the old saint, and, we may add, between European and Latin American art, was that of the original to the copy, the notion of the latter was already ambiguous in the Italian seicento, when, for example, the collector Giulio Mancini (1558–1630) observed that a good copy contained twice the art than the original.¹³⁸

The back and forth of information, texts, images, gifts, and capital between Rome and Lima shows that the power relation had to be negotiated on different levels and that visual art was thought to be one of its most effective vehicles. Indeed, the long process of Rosa's canonisation, which required forty years, tens of thousands of escudos, hundreds of thousands of words, the international coordination of pressure groups and, not last, of artists, can be

¹³⁶ Cf. Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 43, 330.

¹³⁷ Bertolini, *La Rosa peruana* 522. Cf. Bernales Ballesteros, *Iconografía*.

¹³⁸ Mancini G., *Considerazioni sulla pittura*, ed. Marucchi A. – Salerno L., Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, fonti e documenti inediti per la storia dell'arte 1 (Rome: 1956–1957) 134.



FIGURE 3.17 *Anon. (Peruvian painter), Nuestra Señora del Rosario (mid-seventeenth century). Oil on canvas. Rome, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Cappella Colonna. IMAGE © BIBLIOTHECA HERTZIANA – MAX-PLANCK-INSTITUT FÜR KUNSTGESCHICHTE, ROME; PHOTO: ENRICO FONTOLAN.*

understood as one of the most visible expressions of a global market of symbolic venture capital, in which spiritual and financial transactions run parallel.¹³⁹

Rose, 'the eyes on the image, the soul in the original', venerated the Spanish statue of Saint Catherine and imitated the saint, whose body is encased at Santa Maria sopra Minerva in a sarcophagus with a sculpted lid representing the dead in a recumbent position; conversely, Rome sent an image of Rose to Lima, which both aesthetically and spiritually claimed to be closer to the saintly original than her local effigies; while the Italian and Flemish prints flooding the globe relied on authenticated information from Lima, they tried to define the iconography of Rose and to shape her image; and, conversely, a copy of the Virgin of the Rosary of Santo Domingo was sent to Santa Maria sopra Minerva by Juan Francisco de Valladolid, Postulator of Turibius's cause, probably to be identified with an archaic baroque painting from the Cusco School surviving at the Minerva [Fig. 3.17].¹⁴⁰

The propagandistic strategy, so successful in the Italian and European context, consisted of putting up an original masterwork of art to convert the religious taste of the urban elites, expecting that the model would multiply itself through artistic exemplarity and imitation. In Lima, on the contrary, where due to a very different visual and devotional culture Caf s *Blessed Rose* was never replicated and emulated in any artistic medium, but was quickly forgotten after its arrival to become an artistic dead end, this Roman strategy failed completely, abandoning the saint like a stranded foreign body.

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Mujica Pinilla R., *Rosa limensis: M stica, pol tica e iconograf a en torno a la patrona de Am rica*, 2nd ed. (Mexico City: 2004).

139 Cf. Burke P., *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: 1987) 48–62.

140 Martinez, *Oracion* 14; Parra, *Rosa laureada* 117; Piazza Carlo Bartolomeo, *Emerologio sagro di Roma cristiana, e gentile. Parte II* (Rome, Domenico Antonio Ercole: 1690) 211; Barry F., "Building History": The Baroque Remodelling of S. Anastasia al Palatino", *Storia dell'arte* 95 (1999) 45–102, at 63.

PART 2

Parables of Contact



Ut Pictura Lex: Jan David, S.J., on Natural Law and the Global Reach of Christian Images

Walter S. Melion

Jan David's (1546–1613) emblem book *Veridicus Christianus* (*The True Christian*), addressed to Jesuit scholastics and other Latinate readers, explores fully, both in word and image, the pivotal role that images played (and continue to play) in establishing the covenant of Christ and promulgating the doctrine of salvation everywhere on earth [Fig. 4.1].¹ The book was intended for a wide public,

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- 1 This essay is the offshoot of a book project on David, *Imago veridica: Visual Hermeneutics in the Latin Emblem Books of Joannes David, S.J.*, to be published by Brill in the series Art and Material Culture in Medieval and Renaissance Culture. On the four emblem books composed by David between 1601 and 1610—*Veridicus Christianus* (ed. prin., 1601), *Occasio arrepta, neglecta* (*Occasion Seized, Shirked*, ed. prin., 1605), *Paradisus sponsi et sponsae et Pancarpium Marianum* (*Paradise of the Bridegroom and Bride and Marian Garland*, ed. prin., 1607), and *Duodecim specula* (*The Twelve Mirrors*, ed. prin., 1610)—see Backer Aug. de – Backer Al. de – Sommervogel C., *Bibliothèque de la compagnie de Jésus*, 9 vols. (Brussels: 1890–1900; Paris: 1890–1932) vol. 2, cols. 1844–1853; Daly P.M. – Richard Dimler G., S.J., *The Jesuit Series, Part One (A–D)* (Montreal et al.: 1991) 147–162; and Imhof D., *Jan Moretus and the Continuation of the Plantin Press*, *Bibliotheca Bibliographica Neerlandica*, Series Major 3, 2 vols. (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2014) vol. 1, 221–223 (*Duodecim specula*) 224–227 (*Occasio*) 227–229 (*Paradisus et Pancarpium*) 229–234 (*Veridicus Christianus*). On David's place within the Dutch literary canon, see Porteman K. – Smits-Veldt M.B., *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur, 1560–1700* (Amsterdam: 2009) 134, 294–296, 484. On David as an exponent of Jesuit theories of the *imago*, see Dekoninck R., *Ad imaginem: Status, fonctions et usages de l'image dans la littérature spirituelle jésuite du XVII^e siècle* (Geneva: 2005) 194–196, 286–297, 312–324, 339–349. On David's emblematic theory and practice, see Dekoninck R. – Guiderdoni-Bruslé A. – Vaeck M. van et al., *Emblemata Sacra: Emblem Books from the Maurits Sabbe Library, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven*, exh. cat., Maurits Sabbe Bibliotheek, Leuven; Francis A. Drexel Library, Saint Joseph's University, Philadelphia (Philadelphia, PA: 2006) 29–31, 55–62; and Daly P.M., *The Emblem in Early Modern Europe: Contributions to the Theory of the Emblem* (Farnham, Surrey – Burlington, VT: 2014) 126, 192. The *Veridicus Christianus*, unlike the *Occasio*, *Paradisus*, and *Duodecim specula*, was first written in Dutch, then translated into Latin by David himself, who enriched the exegetical apparatus; on the *Christeliicken waerseggher* and its relation to the *Veridicus Christianus*, see Waterschoot W., “*Veridicus Christianus* and *Christeliicken Waerseggher* by Johannes David”, in Dekoninck R. – Guiderdoni-Bruslé A. (eds.), *Emblemata Sacra: Rhétorique et herméneutique*

but most of all for the students from whom the order's future members, its ministers, would mainly be drawn. In this sense, it is a *machina vocationis inveniendae* (instrument for finding one's vocation), aligned with the distinctive conception of vocation promulgated by Jerónimo Nadal, S.J. (1507–1580) and Pedro de Ribadeneyra, S.J. (1527–1611), for whom the 'grace of vocation' or, better, 'grace of the founder', entails visualising Ignatius of Loyola and his followers as living images of Christ.² Published by Jan Moretus (1543–1610) in 1601, the *Veridicus* consists of one hundred emblems, each comprising an engraved picture, motto, and epigrams—in Latin, Dutch, and French—followed by an extensive commentary that explains the relation amongst the emblem's three parts. David conceived it as a supplement to the *Tridentine Catechism*: the sequence of emblems is meant inexpugnably to impress the key principles of the Christian life and faith. Immensely popular, the *Veridicus Christianus* established a template for the proliferation of Jesuit emblem books that soon followed.

As David puts it in the dedicatory epistle to his good friend, the Right Reverend Petrus Simons (r. 1585–1605), Bishop of Ypres, the book's point of origin were the one hundred distichs he had written in Brussels for the use of catechists; the engraved images will allow their catechumens 'to apprehend what they have just read, as if they were seeing these points of doctrine placed

du discours sacré dans la littérature en images (Turnhout: 2007) 527–534; and Imhof, *Jan Moretus* vol. 1, 234–236. On the joint involvement of the publisher Jan Moretus and printmaker Philips Galle in the production of the *Veridicus Christianus*, see Sellink M., "Joannes David, *Veridicus christianus*", in Imhof D. (ed.), *The Illustration of Books Published by the Moretuses*, exh. cat., Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp (Antwerp: 1996) 88–89. On the three emblematic functions—*memoriale*, *intellektuelle*, and *voluntative*—operative throughout the *Veridicus Christianus*, see Lieb L., "Emblematische Experimente: Formen und Funktionen der frühen Jesuiten-Emblematik am Beispiel der Emblembücher Jan Davids", in Manning J. – Vaeck M. van (eds.), *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition*, Imago figurata 1a (Turnhout: 1999) 303–321, esp. 309–311. Lieb persuasively maintains that the meaning of David's emblems varies with the directionality of reading—from prose text to pictorial image, motto, and epigram, or alternatively, from pictorial image, motto, and epigram to prose text. I would contend, however, with regard to the emblems discussed here, that the verbal and visual modes of argumentation operate integratively: the *pictura* augments, enhances, and clarifies, rather than merely illustrating the commentary. This is especially true of emblems 1, 20, and 60, which focus on the theme of image-making.

- 2 On the Jesuit 'grace of vocation' and its equivalence to the 'grace of the founder', see O'Malley J.W., S.J., *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA – London: 1993) 65–68; and O'Malley, "To Travel to Any Part of the World: Jerónimo Nadal and the Jesuit Vocation", in idem, *Saints or Devils Incarnate? Studies in Jesuit History* (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2013) 147–64, at 152.



FIGURE 4.1 Theodoor Galle (engraver), Title page to Jan David, *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp, Ex officina Plantiniana, apud Ioannem Moretum: 1601). Engraving, 4°. Chicago, IL, The Newberry Library (Case W1025 .223).

IMAGE © THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY, CHICAGO, IL.

before their eyes'.³ Simons for his part, in a letter published as part of the book's front matter, astutely compares the *Veridicus Christianus* to Horace's *Epistula* 1.1 (especially the claims made in verses 33–40 for the restorative properties of poetry): he animadverts that David's Christian *cultura*, in its ability to quell carnal passion and provide a lenitive to human misery, trumps the pagan poet's self-proclaimed power to civilise even the most savage and wayward of men.⁴ In truth, David's hundred emblems narrate the clash between Christian *cultura* and the sinful passions, beginning with the opposition of *timor Dei* (fear of God) to godless obstinacy and ending with the opposition between constancy of faith and inconstancy, in the face of the four last things (death, judgement, hell, and heaven). The emblems take the form of meditative exercises that assist the user to transform himself spiritually by reflecting on the virtues and implanting them as an antidote to the vices. Largely based on Scripture and the Fathers, the moral commentaries make their case exegetically, but David also includes extensive paraphrases taken from a wide range of sources, including Thomas à Kempis's *Imitatio Christi*, Marcus Antonius Sabellicus's *Liber nonus exemplorum*, and Laurentius Surius's *De probatis Sanctorum historiis*.

Image Theory and the *Triplex Lex* in the *Veridicus Christianus*

David was deeply invested in exploring the nature of sacred images and in defending and understanding their use as evangelical instruments. His treatment of the religious image—what it is, what it can do, how it has changed over time, whether it is divinely sanctioned—becomes particularly sustained and systematic in the *Veridicus Christianus*, undoubtedly because the emblematic genre, which David converted into a Jesuit specialty, turns on the relation between image (verbal or pictorial) and text (captions, mottos, epigrams, and commentaries). Several of the emblems—1, 20, and 60, in particular—explore the distinction between images under the Old Dispensation, which are based in *timor servialis* (servile fear) and obscure the workings of the *lex naturalis* (natural law), and images under the New Dispensation, based in *timor reverentialis* (reverential fear) and expressive of, indeed discernible in natural law [Figs. 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4].

3 David Jan, *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp, *Ex officina Plantiniana, apud Ioannem Moretum*: 1601) fol. +2r: 'Ea ipsa deinde scholiis quibusdam, atque adeo centum in aes incisus iconibus illustrare visum est; ut, qui lecta intelligerent, eadem quasi subiecta oculis viderent'.

4 Ibidem fol. ++1r–v.



FIGURE 4.2 Theodoor Galle (engraver), Emblem 1, "Initium Sapientiae Timor Domini", in Jan David, Veridicus Christianus (Antwerp, Ex officina Plantiniana, apud Ioannem Moretum: 1601). Engraving, 4°. Chicago, IL, The Newberry Library (Case W 1025 .223).

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FIGURE 4.3 Theodoor Galle (engraver), Emblem 20, "De Charitate, et Triplice Lege", in Jan David, Veridicus Christianus (Antwerp, Ex officina Plantiniana, apud Ioannem Moretum: 1601). Engraving, 4°. Chicago, IL, The Newberry Library (Case W1025.223).

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FIGURE 4.4 Theodoor Galle (engraver), Emblem 60, "Perfectum Patientiae exemplar, Christus passus", in Jan David, *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp, Ex officina Plantiniana, apud Ioannem Moretum: 1601). Engraving, 4°. Chicago, IL, The Newberry Library (Case W1025.223).

IMAGE © THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY, CHICAGO, IL.

This Law, avers David, makes itself known neither by verbal nor by written means, but rather, visually and intrinsically, by means of images. The *imagines Legis Naturae* are potentially discernible in any reasonable human person, anywhere in the world, wheresoever the Jesuit goes to proselytise and evangelise. David's image-theory can thus be construed as a crucial component of the Jesuit assumption that the Word or, better, the Word's *imagines*, are global, in the sense of universally transmissible. Evangelical ministry makes these images distinguishable by bringing them to light, extricating them from the recesses of the soul, where they lie obscured by implicitness and latency. David develops this argument most fully in Emblem 20, "De Charitate, et Triplice Lege" (On Charity, and the Threefold Law) [Fig. 4.3]. The personification *Charitas* (Charity) dominates the *pictura*: she holds open a triptych, the right wing of which incorporates a simplified version of *pictura* 1, Moses receiving the tablets of the Law atop Mount Sinai. Letter 'A' correlates to text passage 'A' that identifies her as a 'divinely infused virtue' ('virtus divinitus infusa'); the letter's placement on her womb invites the inference that charity must be held deep within its recipient's heart, in the manner of a mother's embryonic child.⁵ Letter 'B' attaches to the flaming heart above Charity's brow: combined with her upturned face and eyes, the heart alludes to the Eucharistic prayer 'sursum corda', as text passage 'B' makes apparent. It describes Charity as the 'ardor of a heart set afire' ('ardor cordis inflammati') by divine love; 'sparked by God' in the man who 'believes and hopes', Charity impels him 'to love, honour, and worship the good Lord', and enables him 'to anticipate whatsoever will be pleasing to God', including love of one's neighbour.⁶

Charity, on this account, operates within the heart of the votary, and concomitantly, it is expressed by external works that give evidence of his longing for salvation, both of himself and of his fellow men ('sive nostram nostrique proximi salutem concernant'). Crucially, as the *pictura* and the emblematic epigram demonstrate in concert, one of the chief works of *ardor charitatis* is the internal production of sacred images having to do with God's love for humankind. This love is expressed by the so-called 'Triplex Lex' (Triple Law)—comprising the *Lex Dei per Moysem* (Law of God, conferred through Moses), the *Lex Naturae* (Law of Nature), the *Lex Ecclesiae* (Law of the Church)—that the picture in the picture, held open by Charity, invites us to visualise in the form of a triptych, in imitation of the boy and girl praying intently and staring

⁵ Ibidem 56.

⁶ Ibidem.

at this image of the three laws: 'Bring forth these things also, by which the fiery power of love breathes forth. What Nature, God, and Mother Church enjoin.'⁷

The command 'prome', 'bring forth' or, alternatively, 'bring into view', emphasises that the things we must produce are meditative images. Scene 'C' of Emblem 20 closely recalls scene 'A' of Emblem 1, but unlike the Israelites pictured there, in scene 'B', we are invited to visualise for ourselves the act of lawgiving, seeing it as a Mosaic *typus* (type, image) for the fulfilment of the Law through Christ [Figs. 2 and 3]. The pictorial status of this repetition of *pictura* 1—like the emblem book pictured there, it is an *imago in imagine*, more precisely, a recollected *imago imaginis*—serves to accentuate its character as an image of Moses generated mnemonically, as part of the meditative process incubated by the *Veridicus*. The revisualisation of *pictura* 1 within *pictura* 20 also signifies the process of internalisation that converts exterior Law into interior impulse. David, in his commentary on the triptych's Mosaic wing, marked 'C', rehearses by way of comparison the many scriptural passages—*Jeremiah* 31:33, *Ezekiel* 11:19–20, and *2 Corinthians* 3:2–3, amongst others—that represent spiritual enlightenment as the conversion of the Law's hard, stony tablets into malleable, tabular hearts made supple by the love of Christ:

We commonly call the Law of God, that which Moses received from him on two stone tablets upon Mount Sinai: which Christ thereafter, upon coming into the world, renewed, confirmed, and perfected. For as he said: 'I am come not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it'. He is come, moreover, to write it with his finger, that is, by grace of the Holy Spirit, upon faithful hearts, just as the prophet promised: 'I will give my law in their bowels, and in their hearts I shall write it'. Which Saint Paul explains according to the matter's worth, saying: 'You are the epistle of Christ, written not with ink, but with the spirit of the living God, not in tablets of stone, but in the fleshly tables of the heart'. According to the promise formerly made by God through Ezekiel: 'And I will take away the stony heart out of their flesh, and will give them a heart of flesh, that they may walk in my commandments'. By stony heart is meant a heart hard and resistant to the commandments of God; but by fleshly, neither carnal nor waxlike and easily moved to vice, but easy to command and compliant in doing good.⁸

7 Ibidem 56 and *pictura* 20: 'Haec quoque prome, quibus vis ignea spirat Amoris. / Quod Natura iubet; Deus; atque Ecclesia mater'.

8 Ibidem 56; see "Appendix 1".

The imagery of stone become flesh, of the finger of God writing in 'tables of the heart', corresponds to the recasting of the image of Moses, who is now subsumed into Charity's triptych, as if he were an image issuing directly from the votary's 'fleshly heart', as an expression of loving compliance.

Moses's gesture of reception in 'C', his arms and hands raised, is mirrored and, in this sense, fulfilled by Christ in 'D', which portrays his appearance to the disciples in Jerusalem after the Resurrection, as recounted in *Matthew* 18:17, *John* 20:21, and especially *Luke* 10:16, the text inscribed on the triptych's predella [Fig. 4.3]. David cites all three passages in his exposition of 'D': Jesus teaches the virtue of humility and counsels the disciples to flee the occasion of sin in *Matthew* 18:17; he blesses them and bestows the spiritual gift of peace in *John* 20:21; and he appoints seventy-two disciples to go into the world and preach, deputising them to act as his representatives in *Luke* 10:16. By enforcing their purity and modesty, reconciling them spiritually, and authorising them to evangelise, he founds the *Lex Ecclesiae* (Law of the Church). This Law, states David, works in tandem with the Ten Commandments, the meaning of which it is the Church's right and privilege to elucidate ('praeceptis Ecclesiae elucidantur ex parte mandata Dei').⁹ The radiance of Christ illuminates the disciples in 'D', thus showing that he casts his light upon the Church, and additionally, that this light shines brighter than that of the Mosaic Law. The position of 'D' at the heart of the altarpiece accentuates the centrality of the *Lex Ecclesiae* as mediator of the *Lex Dei*. Christ points at his heart, while turning to look across the frame at Moses, to demonstrate that the tablets received externally by his forebear must now be housed within the votary's loving and biddable heart. The open pathway leading to Christ, in contrast to the palisade blocking access to Sinai, invites the beholder to acknowledge that just as Jesus behaved toward his disciples like a loving father, so now, in them as in us, *timor servilis* must be supplanted by *timor filialis* or even *timor reverentialis*.¹⁰ It hardly needs repeating that these many analogies are transmitted visually, by means of verbal figures, such as the prophetic, evangelical image of hearts turned from stone to flesh, and by the pictorial image of Charity unfolding a tripartite allegory of the three laws. As a further matter, Jesus teaches in 'D' that the disciples, when they

9 Ibidem.

10 The distinction between the three types of *timor*, *timor servilis* being associated with the Law, *timor filialis* and *timor reverentialis* with Christ and his Church, derives from the commentary on Emblem 1, on which see Melion W.S., "The Jesuit Engagement with the Status and Functions of the Visual Image", in Boer W. de – Enenkel K.E. – Melion W.S., *Jesuit Image Theory*, Intersections 45 (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2016) 1–49, esp. 22–28.

preach in his name, also speak in his voice: 'He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me'. The disciples, on this account, are living images of the Lord, for they stand proxy for Christ, who speaks as the Word of God. The typological structure of the triptych, in which two *typi* (images) enframe and prefigure a Christian antitype, insists on the status of all three scenes—'C', 'D', and 'E'—as mutually signifying images.

The bulk of the commentary dwells not on 'C' or even 'D', however, but on 'E', the left wing of the triptych, which depicts the creation of Adam, more specifically, the infusion into Adam of the spirit of life. God raises his right hand in a benedictory gesture that echoes the similar gestures made by Moses and Christ. At the same time, God reaches down to touch Adam's head, presumably to enliven the future seat of his memory, imagination, and reason. The commentary to 'E' explains that God is conferring the *Lex Naturae* that consists in the capacity to distinguish right from wrong, along with the instinctive desire to pursue the former and eschew the latter:

The Law of Nature, that which encompasses all things, what men must flee, what they must do, is contained in these few words—'Avoid the bad and do the good'—to which all other precepts are related. On this Law, the Apostle says to the Romans: 'The Gentiles who have not the Law, do by nature those things that are of the Law'. By way of example, we can adduce what Saint Augustine says: 'Your Law, O Lord, punishes theft, as also does the Law written in human hearts'. Namely, the Law given by God through Moses, and the Law of Nature, implanted naturally into the human heart by God.¹¹

The Law of Nature, continues David, is manifest as a light bestowed interiorly ('interius infundendo lumen'), but equally, it is discernible in all created things, which are 'set before the eyes as the exterior signs, like unto traces, of divine wisdom' ('proponendo suae sapientiae signa exteriora velut quaedam Dei vestigia').¹²

David insists that this Law, whether transfused by means of divine *lumen* (the light of grace) or broadcast by means of *signa* (the signs of God in nature), is conveyed neither by word, as in 'D', nor by writing, as in 'C': 'Thus, from the start, this Natural Law was never at all delivered by verbal means, and nor was

¹¹ David, *Veridicus Christianus* 57; see "Appendix 2".

¹² *Ibidem*.

it mandated by written means, but rather, it is impressed in every human heart, where it may be ascertained.¹³ The point David broaches here and develops elsewhere in Emblem 20 is that the currency of the *Lex Naturae* is visual: it operates by means of images, such as the triptych analogising the three *leges* in *pictura* 20, but with this difference—its lineaments are inherent rather than adventitious: neither voiced nor scripted externally, they are instead indelibly imbued or ingrained, and await discovery by anyone attentive to this Law.¹⁴ In every person, therefore, the Law of Nature exists as the precondition that facilitates reception of the Laws of God and the Church. As such, its mode of transmission, which is visual, prepares us to visualise the other two Laws. This conception of natural law, in other words, construes it as the intrinsic moral prerequisite for the reception of the Word, both privately and publicly, individually and collectively, wheresoever Christ's representatives go to promulgate the *leges Dei et Ecclesiae*. The Jesuit order's fourth house, its global ministry, rests upon the presumption, set forth by David, that the God-given foundation of natural law is visual, indeed pictorial, and universal. This premise implicitly justifies the Jesuits' evangelical 'house of journeying'.¹⁵ The conviction that these images are intrinsic, potentially discoverable in every human person, and susceptible to the allied processes of evangelisation and proselytisation, correlates to what Christine Göttler describes as the Jesuit project of codifying a universally legible 'sichtbare Sprache'—an affective rhetoric of *actio*, *gestus*, and *vultus* (action, gesture, and countenance)—evinced by rhetors such as Cyprien Soarez, S.J. (1524–1593), Nicolas Caussin, S.J. (1583–1651), and Louis de Cressoles, S.J. (1568–1634).¹⁶ Another pertinent comparandum, discussed by Jeffrey Muller, would be the efforts of Guilielmus Steegius, S.J. (fl. 1640s), to devise a catechetical picture language for the benefit of illiterate speakers of Dutch, in *De Christelycke leeringhe verstaenelycker uyt-geleyt door*

13 Ibidem: 'Itaque neque usquam unquam ab initio vel verbo tradita, vel scripto mandata fuit Lex ista Naturalis, sed ita in cuiusque corde impressa reperitur'.

14 Whereas David, in *Veridicus Christianus* 58–59, compares the Law of Nature to an *imago manufacta* (hand-made image), and specifically to scripted, painted, impressed, or engraved images, he equates moral oblivion with manual defacement of such images; see "Appendix 3".

15 On the relation between the Jesuit fourth vow and the 'house of journeying', see O'Malley, "To Travel to Any Part of the World" 156–161.

16 Göttler C., "'Actio' in Peter Paul Rubens' Hochaltarbildern für die Jesuitenkirche in Antwerpen", in Imorde J. – Neumeyer F. – Weddingen T. (eds.), *Barocke Inszenierung* (Emsdetten – Zurich: 1999) 11–31, esp. 21–25.

eene beelden-sprake [...] (Antwerp, Weduwe Jan Cnobbaert, 1647) (*Christian Doctrine more Comprehensibly Explained through a Picture-Language* [...]).¹⁷

The second section of this essay argues that David's understanding of the *leges*, and of natural law in particular, derives from Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), whose definitions he modulates. The third section then examines a cluster of emblems that implicitly justifies the Jesuits' missionary activities, revealing how and why the inborn images of the natural law become occluded, thereby requiring that the order labour to restore them to view.

Jan David's *Lex Naturalis* and Its Relation to the Thomist Doctrine of Natural Law

David's notion of *lex naturalis* inflects the theory of natural law—*ius naturalis*—propounded by Thomas Aquinas in *Summa Theologiae* I–II qq. 90–97. The portrayal of *lex naturalis*, in scene 'E', as instilled at the creation of Adam, is rooted in Aquinas's account of the corollary relation between eternal law—*lex aeterna*—and natural law. Similarly, the collateral notions of *Lex Dei per Moysem* and *Lex Ecclesiae* derive from Aquinas's definition of divine law—*lex divina*—as the source of all revealed truth, comprising the Ten Commandments under the Old Dispensation and the redemptive mysteries of faith preserved and propagated by the Church under the New. Ignatius, as John O'Malley argues, had a predilection for the *Summa*, especially the *Pars secunda*, and his reliance on Thomas as the peerless source of scholastic doctrine was enshrined in chapter XIV, item 1, of the Jesuit *Constitutiones*, on the texts licensed for use at the order's colleges: '[...] with regard to theology, the Old and New Testaments will be read, and the scholastic doctrine of Saint Thomas'.¹⁸

17 Muller J., "Jesuit Uses of Art in the Province of Flanders", in O'Malley J.W., S.J. (ed.), *Art, Controversy, and the Jesuits: The Imago primi saeculi (1640)*, Early Modern Catholicism and the Visual Arts 12 (Philadelphia, PA: 2015) 89–126, esp. 91–93.

18 *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu, anno 1558 (Rom, in Aedibus Societatis Iesu: 1558)*, Reprinted from the Original Edition, with an Appendix, Containing a Translation and Several Important Documents (London: 1870) 56–57. On the Jesuit commitment to reconciling positive and scholastic theology, and on the enshrinement of the *Summa theologiae* in the order's schools, see O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* 146; idem, "Renaissance Humanism and the Religious Culture of the First Jesuits", in idem, *Saints of Devils Incarnate? Studies in Jesuit History* (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2013) 181–198, esp. 188–189; and McGinn B., *Thomas Aquinas's 'Summa theologiae': A Biography* (Princeton, NJ – Oxford: 2014) 154–155. For a list of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Jesuit commentaries on Thomas Aquinas's

Aquinas, in *Summa Theologiae* I–II q. 90 a. 4, defines *ius* or, alternatively, *lex* as any ‘reasonable ordinance or prescription which is promulgated, is for the common good, and comes from the one who has charge of the community’. He then identifies four kinds of law: eternal, natural, human or positive, and divine. The eternal law has its source in God, who promulgates the divine forms, ideas, or archetypes after which all created things are respectively patterned. Natural law, on the other hand, has its source in human nature, as created by God in his image and likeness; its rational form (*forma*) and essence (*essentia*) are dynamic and dispositional, in the sense that human reason, if it is flourishing, strives at all times to convert mere *potentia* (potentiality) into *actio* (act, action, or actuality). The process of conversion, to the extent that it tends naturally toward such an end, is considered intrinsically ‘desirable’ and ‘good’. Moreover, there are three kinds of dispositional properties constitutive of human nature: the impulse to preserve oneself; the inclination, held in common with all animals, to produce offspring; and the disposition, accordant with natural law, to know what is true about God and necessary for living sociably.¹⁹

Amongst the good ends that human reason, acting according to human nature, endeavours to bring to active completion, there are three that appear to take precedence in the *Summa*: first, *synderesis*, the natural capacity to discern basic moral principles and precepts, and concomitantly, to distinguish good from evil; second, the innate desire to know the truth about God, and collaterally, to live at peace with our fellow men; third, the proposition, instilled by God and explicitly sanctioned by Christ, that we should do unto others nothing we should not wish done unto ourselves. These examples make patently clear that natural law is fully compatible with the truths promulgated by Christ in the Gospels.

Human or positive law is composed of rules and regulations invented by men and imposed by just authority, as a complement to the precepts of natural law, which they must neither oppose nor contravene. Finally, divine law has its source in God-given revelation, whence it is bestowed for the purpose confirming and clarifying sacred mysteries, as well as those aspects of natural law that would otherwise be difficult to know or beyond our powers to comprehend.

Summa, see Körndle F., “Between Stage and Divine Service: Jesuits and Theatrical Music”, in O’Malley J.W., S.J. – Bailey G.A. – Harris S.J. – Kennedy T.F. (eds.), *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540–1773* (Toronto – Buffalo, NY – Boston, MA: 2006) 479–497, at 490.

19 *Summa Theologiae* 1a. 2ae, 94.a.2, as quoted in Lisska A.J., “The Philosophy of Law of Thomas Aquinas”, in Miller F.D., Jr. (ed.), *A History of the Philosophy of Law from the Ancient Greeks to the Scholastics*, A Treatise of Legal Philosophy and General Jurisprudence 6 (Dordrecht: 2007) 292–293; see “Appendix 4”.

The Ten Commandments, for instance, which we now know and accept through the application of human reason, would once have been impossible for men to fathom, let alone devise; this is why God himself conferred them on his chosen people, using Moses as mediator. As Aquinas further affirms, everything taught in the Old and New Testaments is corroborative of the natural law, and bears witness to it by divine warrant.

This brief review of Aquinas's doctrine of natural law, as it relates to its sister laws, will suffice to make evident that David's conception of *lex naturalis*—encapsulated in such statements as, 'Avoid the bad and do the good', and, 'The Gentiles who have not the Law, do by nature those things that are of the Law'—descends from the *Summa Theologiae*, in particular from its argument that the *ius naturalis* is inborn, knowable, and composed of self-evident moral precepts discernible to human nature, accessible to human reason, and coincident with the Ten Commandments and the rule of Christian charity. By picturing natural law in the form of God's bringing forth of Adam—more precisely, of his benedictory touch, whereby he infuses Adam's head, the seat of human reason, with intelligence—David underscores Aquinas's point that human nature, since it was created in the image of God, issued from the divine mind, as the particular expression of an archetypal form. This is to say that natural law, and our power to discern it, originate as expressions of the eternal law.

The other two laws, pictured by Moses's receipt of the tablets of the Law, and Christ's instruction of the twelve apostles (and, by implication, the seventy-two newly appointed disciples), can be seen as two versions of divine law—formerly revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai, and then, more fully revealed in the person of Christ. The coordination of God, Moses, and Christ through consonance of gesture and pose, aligns with Aquinas's conviction that natural law, imparted in tandem with the eternal law, operates complementarily with the teachings of the Old and New Testaments. Anthony Lisska, in his study of Aquinas's theory of natural law, summarises the integrative logic that undergirds this system of complementarity, as follows:

Put simply, Aquinas argues that the Ten Commandments are basically sound rational moral principles derivable from an analysis of human nature. However, since it is difficult to undertake this inquiry through reason alone, Aquinas suggests that it is in some way incumbent upon God to make knowledge of the moral system of the supernatural end part of revelation.²⁰

20 Lisska A.J., *Aquinas's Theory of Natural Law: An Analytic Reconstruction* (Oxford: 1996) 113.

Revealed by the divine law, natural law also acts in concert with the eternal law, as its epigonal emanation. In his monograph on the Thomist doctrine of natural law, D.J. O'Connor describes it as the human faculty that intuitively, rather than directly knowing, the eternal law:

What is the relation between the eternal law and the natural? St. Thomas explains that the natural law is 'nothing else but the rational creature's participation of the eternal law'. No one can know God as he is, and, therefore, the eternal law as it is, except those who have a direct vision of God. But men in this life, in so far as they know the truth, can know a 'kind of reflection and participation of the eternal law'. Thus natural law may be regarded as the eternal law in so far as it is intuitively and innately known and knowable.²¹

In *pictura* 20, the personification of *Charitas* presides over the triptych's unfolding, and thus enacts the principle of revelation that defines the operations of divine law. Furthermore, the dual meaning of Christian charity—God's love of us, our love of God—recalls the Thomist premise that just as the divine mind, in its benignity, brought forth human nature and endowed it with the *lex naturalis*, so human nature, stirred by divine revelation, proves desirous of knowing God and inclined to do his will. Lastly, the two young figures praying assiduously at left and right, in their diligent execution of spiritual exercises, display exemplary obedience to the dictates of positive law.

The quadripartite paradigm of *leges* supplied David with the Thomist armature that underlies his emblem of the *triplex lex*. It likewise provided a flexible basis for the assumption, implicit throughout the *Veridicus*, that all of humankind, anywhere in the world, stands to benefit from the process of Christian evangelisation, which clarifies, heightens, and particularises the otherwise general presence of the natural law to be found in every rational creature. Viewed through a Thomist lens, evangelisation has the power to activate or, better, actualise the potential impact of the *lex naturalis* upon human affairs. This can be understood in three ways. First, there is the matter of the practical contingencies that impinge upon the day-to-day workings of the natural law. Aquinas develops this point by drawing a parallel between natural law and practical reason, as O'Connor usefully points out:

21 O'Connor D.J., *Aquinas and Natural Law* (London – Melbourne – Toronto: 1967) 61–62. O'Connor quotes from *Summa Theologiae* 1a. 2ae, 91.2 and 1a. 2ae, 93.2.

The natural law is the same for all men, since all men are rational and 'it is proper to man to be inclined to act according to reason'. However, there is an important difference between the speculative and the practical intellects, one which we have already noted and which has considerable consequences for morals. Theoretical reasonings, since they are concerned with the necessary consequence of necessarily true propositions, lead inevitably to the truth, which is, as a result, the same for all men. But since practical reason concerns the complex contingencies of everyday affairs, 'in matters of action, truth or practical rectitude is not the same for all, as to matters of detail, but only as to the general principles'. [...] And [Aquinas] adds that even those who are equally correct in their judgment on some particular matter of morals may not be equally aware of the extent to which they are right. He appears to be saying here that there are two sources of uncertainty about making judgments on the basis of natural law: first, the complexity of the facts may make the decision objectively uncertain; and secondly, we may make the right decision without being fully aware of it.²²

Evangelisation, seen from this perspective, serves to certify what seems uncertain about complex data, and shores up the process of moral decision-making.

Second, there is the fact that natural law, though its first principles are fixed, can still be changed, in the sense of 'added to', with respect to the secondary precepts derivable from these first principles. An example would be the specific injunction against wilful murder that issues from the primary principle of treating others as one would wish to be treated. Evangelisation serves as the instrument whereby the secondary precepts of natural law are made fully discernible to reason.

Third, there is the issue of what counts as self-evident to human reason. Aquinas distinguishes between principles that are *prae se nota* (known through themselves) and those that are self-evident to us—*quoad nos* (with respect to ourselves)—only if we understand the meanings of the terms wherewith these principles are adduced.²³ Propositions such as the famous dictum that angels are not located in space, become apprehensible when the constituent terms 'angel' and 'space' have been properly defined by a teacher capable of explaining them. Whereas the first sort of principle is intuited, viz. known by

22 O'Connor, *Aquinas and Natural Law* 62–63. O'Connor quotes from *Summa Theologiae* 1a. 2ae, 94.4.

23 On the distinction between the two criteria of self-evidence—*per se notum* and *quoad nos*—see O'Connor, *Aquinas and Natural Law* 65–66.

intuition, the second sort is known by reference to or inference from the first. Evangelisation serves as the crucial source of information that converts obscure principles into self-evident precepts. Related to this function, is that of tempering the 'strong passions', 'evil persuasions', 'vicious customs and corrupt habits' that impede the conformation of particular actions to the principles of morality, primary or secondary.²⁴ Scene 'D' of Emblem 20 calls particular attention to the topic of evangelisation, for it portrays Christ licensing the dissemination of the Word by disciples whom he himself construes as living images of himself: 'He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me; and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me'.

For all his borrowings from the *Summa*, David differs from Aquinas in the emphasis he places on visual images—more exactly, on pictorial images—as the chief means through which the principles of natural law ingrained in human nature come fully to be known, cognised, and actualised. The typological structure of *pictura* 20, as we have seen, insists on the status of the *lex naturalis* as something known as an image, and more than this, it intimates that the truths transmitted by the *lex divina*, such as the Ten Commandments and the nature of clerical discipleship, were (and are) likewise promulgated visually. The typological triptych further implies that the Gospel of Christ—as exemplified by the scene from Luke 10—perfects what natural law and that part of the divine law bodied forth in the Ten Commandments adumbrate. The central antitype, in its relation to the two types, can thus be seen to actualise, as Aquinas might put it, what these types display *in potentia*. On this account, scene 'D', in its connection to 'E', is construable as a sacred image that signifies the perfection or, better, the 'actualisation' of the adjacent image of natural law. As type is to antitype, so scene 'E' showing how the natural law of God was conferred, and scene 'D' focusing on the conferral of the divine law of Christ, are to each other. Scenes 'C' and 'D', for their part, can be appreciated as two phases in the reception of the *lex divina*, the former preliminary to the latter.

Sin as Blindness to the Laws' Images, and Prophylactic Image-Making

David, in applying the Thomist theory of natural law, tacitly utilises it to justify the larger project of the *Veridicus*—the distillation of the key principles of Christian life and faith in the form of emblematic images constitutive of a true Christian's mind, heart, and spirit. The book purports to body forth the

24 On this tempering function, see *ibidem* 64.

true Christian, putting forward a *centum* of images to be assimilated thoroughly, as if emergent from within the exercitant. The emblematic apparatus is designed to assist him better to know these images and more fully to base his actions on them. They can be thought of, in Thomist terms, as particularising images illustrative of the secondary precepts of natural law, as complements to the scriptural images dispensed by Christ in the Gospels, and as instruments of the divine law.

Emblem 20, scene 'C', as previously noted, incorporates a reference to scene 'A' of Emblem 1, "Initium sapientiae, timor Domini" (Fear of the Lord, the Beginning of Wisdom), partially recapitulating it in the form of a doubled image, an image in the image [Figs. 2 and 3]. This visual quotation constitutes an allusion to the primary theme of the opening emblem—the different status of images under the old dispensation and the new, and specifically, the psychology of Christian as opposed to Mosaic image-making. By associating the argument of Emblem 1 with scene 'C' of Emblem 20, which corresponds to the Thomist category of divine law, David authorises the theory of images he is purveying, as if it were licensed by the force of divine revelation. That a personification of divine love unveils the image in the image, and that the triptych being displayed centres on an image of loving discipleship, serves to emphasise how thoroughly Christ sanctions the use of images under the New Law. The triptych's subject—the promulgation of the threefold law—and its relation to the Thomist doctrine of the *leges*, express the continuum of God's love for humankind, as certified by images of the divine law ('C' and 'D'), the natural law ('E'), and implicitly, the eternal law. The distillation of the three laws, or more accurately, of their tripartite conferral, in the form of a pictorial image—a triptych—implicitly argues that whatever the law with which we deal, images are the means whereby its precepts are mediated, made known, and disseminated.

What is it, we might ask, that obscures the inborn images of natural law and thereby blocks the further production of images associated with the other two laws, justifying indeed necessitating the worldwide evangelical missions of the Jesuits to benighted souls in Africa, Asia, and the Americas? David addresses this question in Emblems 3, 6, and 15, where he construes blindness to the laws' images as an expression of man's sinful condition, and conversely, defines the Christian vocation as the ability to picture Christ clearly, in one's words, thoughts, and deeds, as if portraying him after the life in the manner of a precise and fastidious painter [Figs. 4.5, 4.6, and 4.7]. Emblem 3 focuses on the causes of the failure to discern the moral criteria potentially discoverable within every person: in answer to the question, 'Which fool is it who snatches the palm of folly from his fellow fools?', the epigram states, 'He who prefers to



FIGURE 4.5 Theodoor Galle (engraver), Emblem 3, “Qui, spreto Deo, diabolo servit; desipit”, in Jan David, Veridicus Christianus (Antwerp, Ex officina Plantiniana, apud Ioannem Moretum: 1601). Engraving, 4°. Chicago, IL, The Newberry Library (Case W 1025.223).
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FIGURE 4.6 Theodoor Galle (engraver), Emblem 6, "Haeresis, peste perniciosior", in Jan David, Veridicus Christianus (Antwerp, Ex officina Plantiniana, apud Ioannem Moretum: 1601). Engraving, 4°. Chicago, IL, The Newberry Library (Case W 1025 .223).
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FIGURE 4.7 Theodoor Galle (engraver), Emblem 15, "Hominis vere Christiani descriptio", in Jan David, *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp, Ex officina Plantiniana, apud Ioannem Moretum: 1601). Engraving, 4°. Chicago, IL, The Newberry Library (Case W 1025 .223).

IMAGE © THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY, CHICAGO, IL.

exalt evil spirits over God the Thunderer' [Fig. 4.5].²⁵ The *pictura* analogises the rejection of what is patently good, to two instances of idolatry, epitomised by the well-dressed man who repudiates Christ ('C') and instead offers a votive candle to a triple-horned effigy ('A'), and then by Solomon who kneels before a statue of Mars ('B'). In the commentary, David accuses such sinners of preferring to live impiously: they indulge their bodily appetites ('bibones, epulones, iracundi, fastuosi, insatiatae libidinis et avaritiae') and affections ('sed affectui soli indulgens'), and as a result, they obscure the 'face of God' harboured within the soul, but in theirs all but buried.²⁶ That an allusion to the Holy Face ('Dei vultum in anima sua') stands proxy for the soul's deep-seated moral compass, not only characterises sinful excess as a kind of idolatry, but also insists on the fact that morality operates by means of internal images. Immorality, by the same token, results when such images are purposely obscured:

But what is that temerity compared to this, wherein a man most vile, considering neither divine majesty nor what is in his best interests, and solely indulging his affection[s], by the dregs of sin buries the face of God within his soul, and for foolish sport renders himself punishable by the inextinguishable fires of hell.²⁷

Emblem 6 develops the argument of Emblem 3, by way of Emblem 1's distinction between Mosaic and Christian image-making [Fig. 4.6]. David's topic, heresy, elaborates upon Emblem 3's imagery of sin as the idolatrous effacement of God's face ingrained deep within the soul. If sin contravenes the natural image of God to be found in every man, the sin of heresy forecloses upon two further species of divinely manufactured image: first, the anti-heretical image conferred by God through Moses in *Leviticus* 13:45; second, this image's antitype, bestowed by Christ in the form of a parable in *Matthew* 7:15, and paraphrased by Paul in *Acts* 20:28–29. Sin, in other words, and the grievous sin of heresy in particular, operates against the images respectively symptomatic of the three laws—natural, Mosaic, and Christian. The local context for this account of heresy, as Philippe de Alegambe, S.J. (1592–1652), states in the *Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Iesu*, was David's urgent desire to undo the effects of apostasy in the *Provincia Belgica*, jointly encompassing the Southern Netherlands and the United Provinces, newly constituted as the *Missio Hollandica*; he specifically

25 'Stultitiae palmam stultis quis praeipit ipsi? Daemona qui mavult Dominum, quam ferre Tonantem'.

26 David, *Veridicus Christianus* 12.

27 Ibidem, see "Appendix 5".

refers to David's renowned sermons, but this reference to preaching stands for the man's life-work: 'By the sermons he gave in Ghent, he caused to be restored in bronze (*aere*), both publicly and privately, the images of the saints that the iconoclasts had toppled everywhere'.²⁸ Since *aere* also signifies 'in copper', Alegambe's statement expands to encompass the copperplate images on which David's emblem books, promulgated as instruments of conversion, complementary to his preaching, centre. The restoration of the cognate cults of images and of the saints throughout the Low Countries thus takes pride of place amongst the manifestations of David's Jesuit vocation.²⁹

The relation between the Mosaic and Christian images is typological. In *Leviticus* 13, the Law is 'made manifest' or, better, bodied forth by means of the disease of leprosy, the image of which God enjoins Moses to invoke as a warning against apostasy.

God previously forewarned and fortified us solicitously by means of a marvellous example [designed to foster] greater detestation of this contagion and a surer flight [from it]: when by the law made manifest he decreed and admonished that whomsoever the disease of leprosy had defiled, should wear loose vestments, keep his head uncovered, cover his mouth with a cloth; and he must proclaim himself to be sordid and unclean, and must live alone outside the encampment. And all this they did to ensure that having been known and to the fullest extent seen, they might safely be shunned, and neither by their fetid breath nor too close proximity infect anyone.³⁰

28 Allegambe Philippe de, *Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Iesu* (Antwerp, Johannes Meursius: 1643) 234: 'Gandavi concionibus suis effecit, ut Imagines Sanctorum passim per urbem ab Iconomachis deturbatae, publico privatoque aere reponerentur'. On the Holland Mission, see Poncelet A., S.J., *Histoire de la compagnie de Jésus dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, 2 vols. (Brussels: 1927–1928) vol. 2, 423–445; Kooi C., "A Serpent in the Bosom of Our Dear Fatherland: Reformed Reaction to the Holland Mission in the Seventeenth Century", in Gelderblom A.-J. – Jong J.L. de – Vaeck M. van (eds.), *The Low Countries as a Crossroads of Religious Beliefs*, Intersections 3 (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2004) 165–176; and Begheyn P., S.J., *Jesuit Books in the Dutch Republic and Its Generality Lands 1567–1773*, Library of the Written Word 35 (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2014) 24–30.

29 A list of David's emblem books, starting with the *Veridicus Christianus*, functions as climax to the biography.

30 David, *Veridicus Christianus* 18; see "Appendix 6".

The phrases 'lege lata' (the law made manifest) and 'noti et ad cutem usque perspecti' (known and to the fullest extent seen) make clear that leprosy is functioning as a divinely mandated metaphorical image of heresy.³¹

Christ fulfils this type, intensifying its effect, when he promulgates the parabolic image of the wolf in sheep's clothing, equating heresy with predation:

Christ now renewed this warning against imminent danger, in a manner even more vivid, lively, and terrifying, and he openly exposed to view the hidden virus, when he said: 'Beware of false prophets, who come to you in the clothing of sheep, but inwardly they are ravening wolves'. The apostle likewise reminded the Ephesians to be attentive and to take flight, using nearly the same words: 'Take heed to yourselves, and to the whole flock: I know that, after my departure, ravening wolves will enter in amongst you, not sparing the flock'. For the purpose of zealous and exacting flight from heretics, what could be more efficaciously adduced than to put forward the rapacity and ferocity of wolves. Who would wish to have traffic with wolves? Nay rather, who would not think forthwith to take flight [when confronted] by that sight?³²

David adds to this fearsome parabolic image, the further scriptural image, taken from *Psalms* 5:11, of an apostate whose 'throat is an open sepulchre', and who 'deal[s] deceitfully with [his] tongue'.³³ *Pictura* 6, in dialogue with the epigram—'What deadly poison worse than the plague must I shun? Heresy, which the nest of Stygian Echidna has hatched'—is designed to complement these apotropaic images of flight.³⁴ Her septic mouth agape, in parallel to the mouth of hell whence she emerges ('D'), Heresy takes the form of the fury Alecto ('B'), her sudden appearance causing a terrified mob to flee. She bursts from hell's mouth to signal that heresy erupts hellishly into the world ('haeresim ex inferno in mundum prorumpere'³⁵). Her clutch of weapons alludes to the sectarian strife she foments ('qui per conspirationes a vobis conflatas, haereses ac sectas, etiam atque etiam augere conamini'), and to the carnage and

31 On the equation of sin and heresy, with specific reference to the Jesuits, see Boeckl C.M., "Plague Imagery as Metaphor for Heresy in Rubens' *The Miracles of Saint Francis Xavier*", *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 27, 4 (1996) 979–995.

32 David, *Veridicus Christianus* 18; see "Appendix 7".

33 Ibidem.

34 'Peius letiferi vitem quid peste veneni? Haeresin: Hanc Stygiae nidus confovit Echidnae'.

35 David, *Veridicus Christianus* 20.

devastation she unleashes ('hostes vitae, internecionis auctores'³⁶). The scene unfolds before two cognate scenes in the background: two couples cut and run from a plague house ('A'), and a ravening wolf chases after a flock of sheep, forcing it to disperse ('C'). Emblem 6 thus participates in the kind of image-making endorsed in Emblems 1 and 3: it incorporates the pestilential imagery of *Leviticus* 13, counterposes it to the parabolic imagery of *Matthew* 7, and allegorically amplifies upon Christ's figurative intensification of the Mosaic ban. Implicitly, it also demonstrates what sorts of image the 'true Christian' ('veridicus Christianus'), which is to say, the true minister, must deploy in his efforts to evangelise his flock, restoring them to health by means of Mosaic and Christian images marshalled in tandem.

Emblem 15 provides the conclusion to this subset of emblems dealing with the wages of sin and its effects upon the soul's naturally ingrained godly images, and with the visual countermeasures to be taken against the arch sin of heresy (implicitly connected by David to the sin of idolatry, the worship of false images) [Fig. 4.7]. *Pictura* 15 is a composite allegory made up of images drawn from various scriptural passages having to do with the essence of the Christian faith, as the accompanying epigram indicates: 'Come say: who is worthy to be named a worshipper of Christ? He who in word and deed fulfils the virtue of the name [he bears]'.³⁷ The commentary resolves the *pictura* into its scriptural parts. To begin, the eagle hovering over the tree of life that rises behind the paragon of Christian rectitude ('A') alludes to *Isaiah* 40:31, its outstretched wings promising renewal in the Lord: 'But they that hope in the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall take wings as eagles; they shall run and not be weary; they shall walk and not faint'. The vertical alignment of the man's head and the eagle's, tilted downward, their eyes locked on the book that stands for the Christian faith ('fidem Catholicam'³⁸) ('B'), hearkens back to *Ezekiel* 1:10: 'And as for the likeness of these faces [...] the face of an eagle over all the four'. The cross carried by the man ('C') certifies that he is a Christian in more than name: he not only fulfils the textbook definition codified in the *Tridentine Catechism*—a man baptised, who believes that Christ, true God and true man, is the source of salvation, and who adheres to the Roman Catholic Church—he also acts upon these beliefs, living in the manner of Christ and

36 Ibidem 21.

37 'Dic, age, Christicolae augusto quis nomine dignus? Qui Verbo Factoque sui vim nominis implet'.

38 David, *Veridicus Christianus* 44.

bearing the burdens he bore.³⁹ In conjunction with the eagle, the image of the cross also recalls *Psalms* 90:4: 'He will overshadow thee with his shoulders: and under his wings thou shalt trust'. The tree and adjacent vine ('E') refer to *John* 15:5: 'I am the vine; you are the branches. If you remain in me and I in you, you will bear much fruit; apart from me you can do nothing'. Like the eagle, the animals gathered around the man derive from David's conviction that true Christians may 'be signified by every good and useful species of animal and tree to be found in sacred Scripture'.⁴⁰ The sheep advert to the parable of the good shepherd who lays down his life for his sheep, in *John* 10:1–16, and also to the minister who, like Peter, in *John* 21:15, lovingly promises to nourish his congregants in the name of Christ: 'Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith to him: Feed my lambs'. The harts at left ('D') derive from *Psalms* 17:34: 'Who hath made my feet like the feet of harts'; *Psalms* 41:2: 'As the hart panteth after the fountains of water; so my soul panteth after thee, O God'; and *Habacuc* 13:19: 'The Sovereign Lord is my strength; he maketh my feet like the feet of a deer; he enableth me to tread on the heights'. The hens, along with the city in the background, evoke *Matthew* 23:37: 'Jerusalem [...] how often would I have gathered together thy children, as the hen doth gather her chicks under her wings, and thou wouldst not'. The pair of doves, together with the sheep, connotes *Matthew* 10:16: 'Behold, I send you out as sheep; so be shrewd as serpents, and innocent as doves'; and also *Psalms* 54:7: 'And I said: Who will give me wings like a dove, and I will fly and be at rest'. The shovel ('C') stands for the Christian vocation of service, as distilled prophetically in *Isaiah* 30:24: 'And thy oxen, and the ass colts that till the ground, shall eat mingled provender as it was winnowed in the floor with shovel and fork'.

However, *pictura* 15, though it purports to depict the *veridicus Christianus*, does not actually portray the bodily and spiritual process of image-making that allows the true Christian to constitute himself as a veridical image of Christ.

39 Ibidem: 'Itaque in hanc rem modo incumbamus, ut quantum instituti huius feret ratio, quid Christianus sit, quidque sit eius officij, edisseramus. In primis notandum, in Interrogatione, paulo, immo multo plus peti, quam quid sit Christianus: quaeritur enim quis dignus illo sit nomine: aut quis bonus sit Christianus. Christianus in genere ille dicitur, atque Catholicus: Qui Baptismatis Sacramento initiatus, Iesu Christi veri Dei atque hominis salutarem doctrinam in eius Ecclesia profitetur; neque sectis, vel opinionibus ullis ab Ecclesia Catholica alienis adhaeret: sicut ex professo in Catechismo traditur; sub qua descriptione etiam mali Christiani continentur'. David is quick to point out that the catechetical definition could easily apply to Christians in name only, who otherwise fail to act upon their faith by truly imitating every aspect of Christ's life.

40 Ibidem: 'Isti per omne genus utilium, bonorumque animalium, arborumque bonarum, in sacra Scriptura significantur'.

This process, argues David, is rigorously mimetic, and in this sense differs from the allegorical image that it enables and authorises. Whereas the allegorical *pictura*, as the caption 'description of a truly Christian man' indicates,⁴¹ aggregates the scriptural lineaments of a follower of Christ, combining images excerpted from both Testaments, to distil the nature of a genuine Christian, David leaves it to the commentary to elucidate how such a man discovers the paradigmatic image of Christ he must strive, as he is seen to do in *pictura* 15, to embody in thought, word, and deed. The authentic *imago Christi* emerges from close attention to Scripture unalloyed by the human inclination to dwell only on what seems pleasurable and to embrace only what appears alluring, beautiful, and delectable. David describes the imitation of Christ as a fully pictorial enterprise, asking his readers to represent themselves not simply as *Christi imitatores* but as *Christianos pictores*.⁴²

But in order more deeply to observe that indignity [of being Christian in words alone, not deeds], in so far as we are distinguished by the name of Christian, [it behooves us to] represent nothing less than that to which we attend: imagine that you are painters, no longer only as a figure of speech; for we are called Christians, and such we are, imitators of Christ, and yet not properly. And so picture [to yourselves] a large number of painters sitting at their panels, and gazing at Christ, in order to portray him in the appropriate colours: living religiously on earth, or praying in the garden, and then scourged, bearing the cross, or affixed to it. Meanwhile, in place of the things just now described, other painters have been painting Christ adored by the Magi, or changing water into wine, or multiplying the loaves, or entering triumphantly into Jerusalem, or radiant in the splendour of his glory on Mount Thabor, and other brilliant, lovely, and pleasing subjects of this kind; with respect to which, many are more inclined to imitate him, than in contempt, poverty, the disgrace of the Passion, and forbearance. What is far worse, others delineate Judas the betrayer, depicting him in place of Christ; yet others (I tremble to write this) do not blush to portray the devil himself in the tablet of their heart, even while contemplating the example of Christ, as painters are wont to inspect the living prototype of anyone whose image they set out to fashion. But whoever amongst them has best rendered Christ [as he

41 'Hominis vere Christiani descriptio'.

42 These terms appear in the marginal gloss that accompanies the long passage on the imitation of Christ as the exercise of painting him *ad vivum*; see David, *Veridicus Christianus* 45: 'Christiani, ut pictores, Christi imitatores'.

is], is he who must be esteemed the best painter of this kind, and the best Christian. Otherwise, he would deserve to be chastised by the severe judgement of Augustine, who says: 'You, Christian, doing other than you profess, are caught and exposed; faithful in name, showing something else in deed'. And so let us pay heed to the apostle's admonition: 'Looking on Jesus, the author and finisher of faith' [*Hebrews 12:2*], let us be faithful imitators of Jesus himself.⁴³

To dwell with a clear eye on the ministry and sufferings of Christ, painting them in the heart, enacting them bodily, is on this account an actual, not merely figurative, expression of mimetic engagement. Hence David's insertion of the prescriptive phrase 'no longer only as a figure of speech' ('non iam dici tantum'), in sentence two of the passage quoted above. The goal of the true Christian must be to become the spitting image of Christ—his perfect likeness—in heart, body, mind, and spirit, by first seeing clearly the many burdens he bore on the votary's behalf. This process, which I have called 'veridical' and 'evidentiary', complements, in the sense of underlying, the sequence of one hundred allegorical images comprised by the *Veridicus Christianus*. It is as if the non-figurative image must be visualised as the source discernible in all the allegories that issue from it, on the order of complementary and, for the most part, exegetical glosses.

Indeed, the final image in the *Veridicus* consists of an allegorical version of the non-figurative image of *pictores-imitatores Christi* promulgated in Emblem 15. This image serves as a combined title-page and frontispiece to the book's appendix, entitled *Orbita probitatis ad Christi imitationem Veridico Christiano subserviens* (*Path/Wheel of Probity, Serving as a Complement to the Veridicus Christianus, for the Imitation of Christ*) [Fig. 4.8]. The scenario presented in Emblem 15 as a mimetic paradigm of the *imitatio Christi* is now pictorially staged as an elaborate allegorical *mise en scène*. In the commentary to Emblem 15, David had asked us to visualise how some painters, capable of seeing clearly the difficult life and Passion of Christ, imitate him truly, whereas others fail to do so, preferring to eschew or equivocate rather than confront the more distressing events from his life. In their relation to Christ, these true *imitatores* function as the Lord's portrait painters, picturing him unflinchingly no matter his circumstances. So keen is David to claim the authority of this mimetic paradigm, that he refrains from *likening* these true Christians to painters: they *are* painters, not a mere simile thereof ('pictores nos esse puta, non iam dici tantum: quia Christiani dicimur, et sumus'). In the frontispiece on the other hand,

43 Ibidem 45; see "Appendix 8".



FIGURE 4.8 Theodoor Galle (engraver), "Aspicientes in auctorem fidei", in Jan David, *Orbita probitatis ad Christi imitationem Veridico Christiano subserviens* (Antwerp, Ex officina Plantiniana, apud Ioannem Moretum: 1601). Engraving, 4°. Chicago, IL, The Newberry Library (Case W 1025.223).

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all the kinds and degrees of divagating painter are now gathered round the one painter, vertically aligned with Christ carrying the cross, who paints him *ad vivum*, precisely as he sees him, burdened by the cross. Moreover, Christ is as if extracted from the *vita Christi*, placed on a hillock, where he models himself for a group of ten painters, nine of whom, even while intently looking at him, refuse to record what he gives them to see. Instead, they depict Christ amongst the doctors, the adoration of the Magi, the marriage feast at Cana, the triumphant entry into Jerusalem, and the Ascension. Others prefer to capture the likeness of Judas or the devil, and another, seated beside the true painter, portrays a seductress and two barking dogs, whom David had used as a simile for heretics in Emblem 13 of the *Veridicus*.⁴⁴

The caption excerpted from *Hebrews* 12:2, 'Looking on the author of faith' (likewise cited in the commentary to Emblem 15), along with the epigram quoted from Augustine's *De vita christiana*, 'They who least imitate Christ, bear the name Christian to no purpose', emphasises that the relation between seeing and picturing, on view in the title-page/frontispiece, signifies the *imitatio Christi*. The facing page displays an inscription taken from the famous conversion episode recounted in Book 8, chapter 12 of Augustine's *Confessions*: 'Take up and read; take up and read. [...] I seized, opened, and in silence read the chapter on which first my eyes were cast' [Fig. 4.9]. Here the passage applies to the *Veridicus* as a whole, and the adjacent *pictura* can thus be read as an instruction on how best to respond to its *centum* of allegorical images. Take up this book, David seems to command, and be converted by its texts and images, which will allow you better to see Christ truly. Allegory, on this view, attaches and leads to the veridical image of Christ beset by travails and sorrows. In spreading the faith worldwide, Jesuits must build on the godly images instilled by nature and on the Mosaic images that convey the commandments of God and presage the evangelical law of Christ. These images, as Emblem 20 has shown, are to be viewed in tandem, as a kind of visual inter-text. 'What Nature, God, and Mother Church [together] enjoin', that into which they finally resolve, is the true and unadulterated image of Christ and the cross, which the *Veridicus* teaches its users to discern and deploy as an instrument of faith.

44 Ibidem 38.

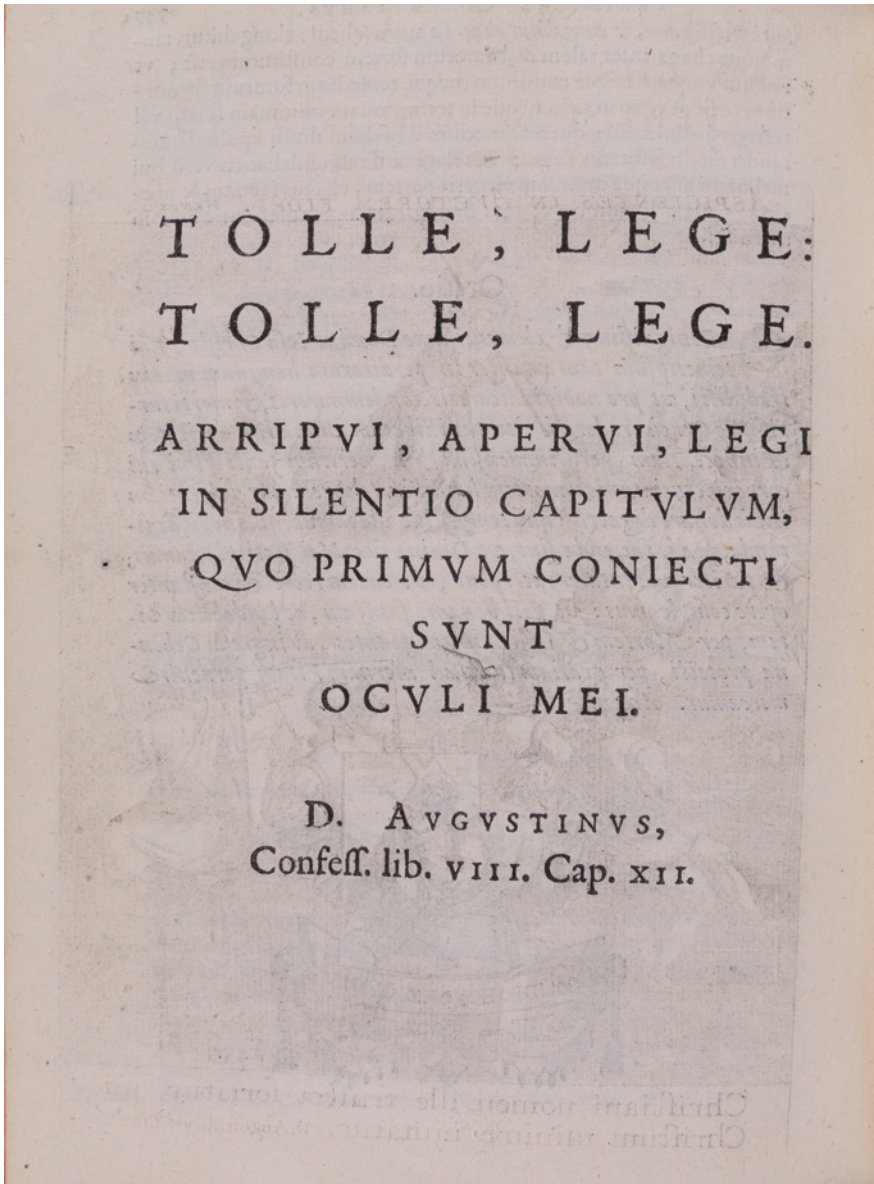


FIGURE 4.9 *Jan David, Facing page to title page of *Orbita probitatis ad Christi imitationem Veridico Christiano subserviens* (Antwerp, Ex officina Plantiniana, apud Ioannem Moretum: 1601). Engraving, 4°. Chicago, IL, The Newberry Library (Case W 1025 .223).*

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Appendix

1. David Jan, *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp, Ex officina Plantiniana, apud Ioannem Moretum: 1601) 56: ‘Dei Legem illam communiter vocamus, quam Moyses in monte Sinae, in duabus tabulis lapideis a Deo accepit: quam Christus etiam postmodum in mundum veniens renovavit, confirmavit, et perfecit. Dicebat enim: “Non veni solvere Legem, sed adimplere” [*Matthew* 5:17]. Venit, quod amplius est, scribere eam digito suo, hoc est, Spiritus sancti gratia, in cordibus Fidelium; sicut per Prophetam promiserat: “Dabo legem meam in visceribus eorum: et in corde eorum scribam eam” [*Jeremiah* 31:33]. Quod et D. Paulus enucleat pro rei dignitate, dum ait: “Epistola estis Christi, scripta non atramento, sed spiritu Dei vivi non in tabulis lapideis, sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus” [2 *Corinthians* 3:2–3]. Iuxta promissionem Dei olim per Ezechielem factam: “Auferam cor lapideum de carne eorum, et dabo eis cor carneum: ut in praeceptis meis ambulent” [*Ezechiel* 11:19–20]. Per cor lapideum, durum et ad mandata Dei inflexile intelligitur: per carneum vero, non carnale, nec cereum in vitia flecti, sed ad nutum facile, et obsequens in bonum’.

2. Ibidem 57: ‘Lex Naturae, ut quae omnia comprehendit, quae tum homini fugienda, tum facienda sunt, his paucis verbis continetur—“Declina a malo et fac bonum” [*Psalms* 36:27]—ad quae omnia reliqua praecepta referuntur. De hac lege, ita ad romanos Apostolus: “Gentes, quae legem non habent, naturaliter ea, quae legis sunt, faciunt” [*Romans* 2:14]. Exempli gratia hoc proferre possumus, quod D. Augustinus ait: Furtum punit lex tua, Domine: et lex scripta in cordibus hominum. Hoc est, Lex per Moysem a Deo data, et Lex Naturae, a Deo cordi humano naturaliter indita’.

3. Ibidem 58–59: ‘Non possit propterea homo praesentius remedium, et magis promptum speculum optare, in quo statim, quid sibi tali casu agendum sit, videat, praecipue erga proximum, hoc est, quemvis hominem, quam protinus cogitare: Quid mihi, si tali sim loco, factum velim. [...] Sine dubio, laboranti succurri optem. Quare, sic faciam huic proximo, ut mihi cuperem fieri. Quod, si ita actu ipso vere adimpleremus; id omne studium, omnem librorum lectionem, disputationem ac Philosophiam superaret. Nam quod legis, audis, aut etiam theorice specularis; elabitur facile, neque etiam volenti occurrit: at ista lex et lectio, semper in corde scripta viget; et conspicua est ad nutum volentis intueri, signatum est lumen istud super nos, quasi inextinguibile [*Psalms* 4:7]: estque homini ad manum, instar tabellae ac pugillarium memoriam refricans. Quid ergo dicturi sumus, quod Lex ista ita a cordibus hominum videtur evanuisse, aut erasa funditus; atque si nunquam eis tale quid inscriptum insculptumque fuisset?’

[‘No man could wish for a prompter remedy or more ready mirror in which forthwith to see what he must do, particularly with regard to his fellow man, whoever he may be, than at once to think: “What should I wish done for me, were I to find myself in such a situation”? [...] Without doubt, as one suffering, I should wish to be succoured. Wherefore, I ought to do for this neighbour, whatsoever I wish done for myself. Which [thought], were I truly to fulfil it in deed, would surpass every object of study, the reading of every book, every disputation, and every philosophy. For the things you read or hear, and also whatever you speculate theoretically, easily slip away, and nor do they present themselves, even to one desirous of finding them: but this Law, written upon the heart, along with the perusal of it, thrives eternally; visible to whoever wishes to behold it, this light is sealed upon us, as if inextinguishably. Ready to hand, like a painted panel or writing tablet it refreshes a man’s memory. What, then, shall I say about the fact that this Law seems to have vanished from the hearts of men, or to have been scratched out; as if it had never been inscribed or engraved within them?’]

4. *Summa Theologiae* 1a. 2ae, 94.a.2, as quoted in Lisska A.J., “The Philosophy of Law of Thomas Aquinas”, in Miller F.D., Jr., *A History of the Philosophy of Law from the Ancient Greeks to the Scholastics*, A Treatise of Legal Philosophy and General Jurisprudence 6 (Dordrecht: 2007) 285–310, at 292–293: ‘First, there is in human beings an inclination or disposition based upon the aspect of human nature which is shared with all living things; this is that everything according to its own nature tends to preserve its own being. [...]

Second, there are in human beings inclinations or dispositions towards more restricted goods which are based upon the fact that human nature has common properties with other animals. In accord with this inclination or disposition, those things are said to be in agreement with the natural law (which nature teaches all animals) among which are the sexual union of male and female, the care of children, and so forth.

Third, there is in human beings an inclination or disposition to those goods based upon the rational properties of human nature. [...] For example, human beings have a natural inclination or disposition to know the true propositions about God and concerning those necessities required for living in a human society. In accord with this inclination or disposition arise elements of the natural law. For example, human beings should avoid ignorance and should not offend those persons among whom he or she must live in social units, and so on’.

5. David, *Veridicus Christianus* 12: ‘Sed quid illa temeritas, ad eam, qua homo vilissimus, neque sua vilitate, neque divina maiestate considerata, sed affectui

soli indulgens, Dei vultum in anima sua, peccati faecibus obruit; et tam stulto ludo se inextinguibilibus gehennae ardoribus obnoxium reddit’?

6. Ibidem 18: ‘In maiorem huius contagij detestationem securioremque fugam, Deus non mirabili olim praemonuit, et solícite praemunivit exemplo: quando lege lata cavit praecepitque; ut quicumque maculatus esset lepra, haberet vestimenta dissuta, caput nudum, os veste contextum; ac contaminatum se ac sordidum ipse clamaret; solusque extra castra habitaret; quae omnia ad hoc faciebant, ut noti et ad cutem usque perspecti, tutius vitarentur, neque quemquam foetido suo halitu, nimiae vicinitate inficerent’.

7. Ibidem: ‘Hanc in tam praesenti periculo cautelam, propius vivaciorique adhuc terrendi modo Christus ipse renovavit, latensque virus aperte detexit, dicens: *Attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium; intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces*. Cuius attentionis et fugae etiam Apostolus Ephesios commonefecit iisdem fere verbis: *Attentite vobis, et universo gregi: Scio quod intrabunt lupi rapaces in vos, non parcentes gregi*. Quid posset ad diligentem accuratamque haereticorum fugam efficacius adhiberi; quam lupi rapacitatem ac ferociam obijcere? Quis cum lupo commercij aliquid habere velit? Immo quisnam eo conspecto non illico sibi fuga consulat’?

8. Ibidem 45: ‘Verum ut paulo penitius indignitatem istam intueamur, qua Christiani nomine insigniti, nihil minus quam quod audimus facimus: Pictores nos esse puta, non iam dici tantum: quia Christiani dicimur, et sumus; Christique imitatores, sed non recti. Effinge itaque pictores plurimos ad tabellas suas sedere, et in Christum oculos conijcere, ut debitis eum coloribus adumbrent; sive sancte in terris conversantem, sive orantem in horto, sive denique flagellatum, crucem gestantem, aut etiam Cruci affixum: interim, pictorum alij, loco iam dictorum, pingerent Christum vel adoratum a magis, vel aquam in vinum mutantem, vel multiplicantem panes, vel ingressu Hierosolymitano triumphantem, vel in monte Thabor splendore gloriae radiantem, et eiusmodi speciosa, grata, placentia; in quibus libentius multi eum, quam in contemptu, paupertate, et passionis opprobrio et patientia imitentur: alij, quod peius est, pro Christo Iudam proditorem delineent et effingant: alij (horreo scribens) etiam cacodaemonem in cordis sui tabella, pro Christo, depingere non erubescant, interim Christi exemplar contemplantes; ut pictores effigiem cuiuspiam efficturi, vivum solent prototypon inspicere. Qui vero horum omnium Christum optime expresserit, ille optimus eiusmodi pictor et Christianus censendus est. Alioqui, dignus sit, qui hac severa D. Augustini censura verberetur. Dum ait: Deprehenderis, et detegeris Christiane: quando aliud agis, et aliud profiteris: Fidelis in nomine, aliud demonstrans in opere. Itaque iuxta Apostoli monitum: *Aspicientes in auctorem fidei, et consummatorem Iesum*; fideles ipsius simus imitatores’.

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Translating the Sacred: The Peripatetic Print in the Florentine Codex, Mexico (1575–1577)

Jeanette Favrot Peterson

Printed images on paper by the thousands transported the look and practices of Christian devotions from Europe to the Spanish Americas in the post-contact period.¹ They were often cheap and always portable, the ultimate nomadic objects on long distance journeys. Single-sheet graphics and book illustrations of an international provenance played an indisputable role in providing models for colonial works and, more actively, functioned as didactic, devotional, and apotropaic objects. They were among the arsenal of goods in the ‘spiritual conquest’ of new lands, to assist in the spread of the universal Catholic Church promoted by the Counter Reformation and the Spanish monarchy. Printed images could be mined for their iconography and manipulated compositionally, inspiring new solutions that often deviated from their original intent and allowed for diverse readings by a multi-ethnic, polyglot audience. In the Americas, the central role of graphic images was part of the dialogical exercise that characterises all colonial representation and translation as fraught, improvisational, and multivocal. In this essay I explore the transnational impact of Christian prints on the illuminated manuscript known as the Florentine Codex, the final edition of the *General History of New Spain* (*Historia General de la Nueva España*) produced in 1575–1577.

With his collaborative team of indigenous writers and artists, the Franciscan Bernardino de Sahagún (1499–1590) sought to capture the sum of what was known after the Conquest about the Aztec world in concrete, pictorialised book form. The Florentine’s encyclopaedic twelve books record Aztec customs, belief systems, and their natural history using a formidable vocabulary

1 On the flexible use of the ‘printed image’, see Areford, D.S., *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe* (Farnham, Surrey: 2010). For two of several publications on prints in the New World, see Dean C., “The Renewal of Old World Images and the Creation of Colonial Peruvian Visual Culture”, in Fane D. (ed.), *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America*, exh. cat., Brooklyn Museum et al. (Brooklyn, NY: 1996) 171–182; Cummins T., “The Indulgent Image: Prints in the New World”, in Katzew, I. (ed.), *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World* (Los Angeles, CA – New Haven, CT: 2011) 202–225.

of Nahuatl words. Since the Aztec language of Nahuatl continued to be spoken into the colonial period, and is a living tongue today, we refer to the cultural heirs as the Nahuas.

I address the relationship of the Florentine Codex images not only to their print sources, but also to the Spanish and Nahuatl texts in which they are embedded. In charting the graphic influences visible in the Florentine Codex across several overlapping modes of translation, I move from the few direct quotations of extant Christian prototypes to the more numerous but subtle citations of European imagery from works published in centres ranging from Antwerp to Lyons and Venice. I am interested in the ways the Nahua painters used graphic images strategically, inspiring inventive, hybrid combinations and the inversion of meanings that occurred in the process. When read both within and against the bilingual texts, the Florentine Codex images reveal a desire by the Nahua artists to proclaim their Christian affiliation and at the same time to endorse, elevate, and sacralise their own traditional values and customs.

Creating the Florentine Codex

Over several decades, Bernardino de Sahagún and his team diligently recorded information that was collected orally from elderly indigenous informants who also consulted their pictorial manuscripts. The friar collated and revised his notes while working in several Franciscan monasteries in central Mexico.² These efforts culminated in the creation of the elaborate Florentine Codex in the Colegio de Santa Cruz of the monastery of Santiago Tlatelolco, Mexico City. The latter was produced under some duress, shipped to Spain then, via a circuitous process, was gifted to the Medici family and eventually housed with their collection in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence.³

2 The first of his illustrated manuscripts was his *Primeros Memoriales* (1558–1561). Bernardino de Sahagún initially worked in the Franciscan monastery of Tepepulco, then moved to monastic houses in and around the capital of Mexico City (the Mother House of San Francisco; subsequently, at Santiago Tlatelolco). In this study, I cite the facsimile edition of the Florentine Codex as Sahagún Bernardino de, *Códice florentino de fray Bernardino de Sahagún*, facsimile ed., 3 vols. (Florence – Mexico City: 1979) and the English translation of its Nahuatl text as: Sahagún Bernardino de, *Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain*, ed. and trans. A.J.O. Anderson – C.E. Dibble, 14 vols. (Santa Fe, NM – Salt Lake City, UT: 1950–1982).

3 The history of the *Historia General* (or the Florentine Codex) from the time of its completion to its incorporation into the Medici collection in Florence is summarised in Rao I.G., “Mediceo Palatino 218–220 of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana of Florence”, in Wolf G. –

In its layout the Florentine Codex is composed of two columns of text, with the column on the right first written in Nahuatl and transcribed into alphabetic text by indigenous trilingual authors [Fig. 5.1]. In the left column, Sahagún translated the Nahuatl into Spanish, sometimes amending, abbreviating, or even eliminating the textual information, thus leaving spaces for images. This format replicates in pen, ink, and colour washes the aesthetic of an illuminated manuscript, creating a work of art as well as an ethnographic document. Of its some 2,463 images, 1,862 are primary images, framed scenes with figures or narrative components; the remainder can be considered secondary or ornamental, consisting of floral, geometric, and ancillary figures.⁴ The Florentine images along with the bilingual writing systems can be thought of as the codex's 'three texts'; each requires a close reading for their complementary relationship, or for independent and even deviant interpretations that co-exist in tension. Images in the Florentine Codex perform or call into question the claims of the word-texts. Further issues of translation logically occur in the movement from the machine-made to the hand-made images, since manual copying is 'always to some degree a creative act'.⁵ In the production of the Florentine, the images were the last to be inserted.

Although Sahagún's final edition of his *General History* was officially initiated in 1575, the Franciscan increasingly worked with the fear that his manuscript would be confiscated as others of his writings had been. In the following year, a devastating plague broke out that decimated many among the Indian community of Mexico including the native scribes and artists in the monastic college. Both the manpower and the expensive pigments used to create the Codex were dramatically reduced or eliminated.⁶ In less than two years the

Connors J. (eds.), *Colors between Two Worlds: The Florentine Codex of Bernardino de Sahagún* (Florence: 2011) 27–45. It entered the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana library in 1587, the year in which Ferdinando de' Medici renounced his ecclesiastical duties as cardinal to become Duke of Florence.

4 Peterson J.F., "The Florentine Codex Imagery and the Colonial Tlacuilo", in Klor de Alva J.J. – Nicholson H.B. – Quiñones Keber E. (eds.), *The Work of Sahagún: Pioneer Ethnographer of Sixteenth-Century Aztec Mexico* (New York, NY: 1988) 274. Other counts of the primary images vary slightly, see Magaloni Kerpel D., "Painters of the New World: The Process of Making the Florentine Codex", in Wolf – Connors, *Colors between Two Worlds* 47; Quiñones Keber inventories ca. 1,855 primary images, in Quiñones Keber E., "Reading Images: The Making and Meaning of the Sahagúntine Illustrations", in Klor de Alva – Nicholson – Quiñones Keber, *The Work of Sahagún* 205–206.

5 Carpo M., *Architecture in the Age of Printing*, trans. S. Benson (Cambridge, MA: 2001) 11.

6 On the impact of the 1576–1577 epidemic, see Magaloni Kerpel, "Painters of the New World" 50–51.

delas yeruas medicinales

fo. 166

bebida ylla vándose con ella el enfermo, para este enfermedad nose ademo-
ler sino osarse enterala rrama con
la flor, llauar con el agua todo el cuer-
po. Tambien es prouechosa para los
que tienen camaras de materia: tiene
esta yerua rrayz sola y gruesa, con
algunas rrayzes pequenas que sale
della, pero no es prouechosa para na-
da. Tambien es prouechosa esta yerua
para los que tienen hinchada la barriga
bebiendola el agua cozida con ella como
arriba sedizo sana de esta el humor
dañoso: y purifica lo interior. Es tan-
bien buena esta yerua, contra unas
frieldades que metidas en el cuerpo,
dandolorozos en todo el cuerpo y gra-
angustia en el corazon. hase esta
yerua en las montañas entierrez te-
pladas: es rara.



maquin quaquauhiti: inxistia
peoa, yiollopan valaci: iuhquin
ma dlapoloti yessi, enoco telsti
quishpan moteca cocalli, iuhquin
toncohi icemiquiznequi: conij,
quijollali. Yoan maquin can
quipiqui, can non peoa in ma-
tzi colivi, internecaulivi, in ma-
tzi colivi, icxi quicacuetza: conij,
cequic malla: totongui, iamagu
inpatli: iniquac in, amomoteciz
injam adlapali: hoionij, yoa in
xobito, can aquiza inje malla.
yoan maquin haitli quihaga,
noconij, icpatli. Auh injelhoao
cace moqueza tomooac, cana mo
maxallotia: amotle meoca: can
novian inquacihla, in tepepan
intercalla, in iamanca hlapan:
can no hlaconesti. No yoan ma-
quin icitipicaca cocallia: conij,
icpatli: moic quiza in flein cal-
li, yoan hlapana intitit: yoa
maquin totongui, yoan itztili
tli quiza iniqui: inje quaquauh-
ti: intelpan, injititotla lleoao:
injuhuqui com mapiqui totollo
yoan intuxillan oalpeoa: om-
niji, quitopeoaz, icpolivi.

38

FIGURE 5.1 Anon. (Nahua artist), Medicinal herb (tlantlanquiac), in Bernardino de Sahagún, Códice Florentino, book 11, fol. 166r. Ink and watercolour on paper, 31 × 21 cm. Florence, The Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Med. Palat. 218–220).

IMAGE © THE BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA LAURENZIANA, REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF MIBACT.

manuscript of the Florentine Codex was handed over to sympathetic Spanish authorities with incomplete imagery; many illustrations were rendered only in black and white while others were simply eliminated for lack of time, leaving gaping lacunae in the textual columns.

The sequence of the Florentine Codex's twelve books aligns with the hierarchical organisation of classical and medieval compendia, progressing from the realms of the divine through the human to the earthly or mundane worlds.⁷ Although this ordering of the Florentine material follows European modes of collecting and recording knowledge, its Nahuatl words and pictures capture the inevitable transformations that occurred when Western conceptual models were applied to Amerindian worldviews. To decode these components, particular importance should be paid to the contributions of the Nahua authors and painters, Sahagún's intercultural brokers. The collaborative nature of the enterprise necessarily accommodated indigenous epistemologies.⁸ Ultimately, my interest is in the indigenous artists' motives and the intended meaning of their imagery as Christian models were appropriated and adapted in ways both overt and implicit.

In the well-stocked monastic library of the college in Santiago Tlatelolco, Sahagún and his team had access to volumes that made the transatlantic journey from printing houses in northern Europe, Spain, Italy, and France; almost 400 books remain of this library, ranging from theological tracts to books on Ptolemaic maps and treatises on classical rhetoric such as Tulio Cicerón (Cicero) and Quintilian.⁹ These were treasured objects intellectually and

7 Several encyclopaedic models for the Florentine Codex have been proposed, including Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum* (1220–1240); Thomas of Cantimpre, a thirteenth-century Dominican, *De natura rerum* (1224–1228); the *Historia naturalis* of Pliny, the Elder (Cayo Plinus, AD 23–79), one of the most emulated of the Classical encyclopaedists, and Isidore of Seville (580–636). For a summary, see Hernández de Leon-Portilla A., “La Historia General de Sahagún a la luz de la enciclopedias de la tradición Greco-romana”, in León-Portilla M. (ed.), *Bernardino de Sahagún: Quinientos Años de Presencia* (Mexico City: 2002) 41–59.

8 Peterson, “The Florentine Codex Imagery”; Boone E., “The Multilingual, Bivisual World of Sahagún's Mexico”, in Schwaller J.F. (ed.), *Sahagún at 500: Essays on the Quincentenary of the Birth of Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún* (Berkeley, CA: 2003) 137–166; Magaloni Kerpel, “Painters of the New World”.

9 These books are now in the Sutro Library (as the ‘Tlatelolco collection’) on the campus of San Francisco State. In 1889, Adolph Sutro (1830–1898), business man, politician, and bibliophile, purchased the entire stock of books from the Librería Abadiano in Mexico City (ca. 250,000 volumes). They were shipped to San Francisco and stored in warehouses; half of his book collection was destroyed in the 1906 earthquake. Fortunately, the books from

materially. The frequency of their use is branded on their stitched covers and stained folios, filled with scrawled annotations and darkened by the careless candle. Sahagún's team mined these books for their verbal and visual information. Although wherever possible I have tried to incorporate pictorial examples from the original Tlatelolco collection, it appears that most of the magnificent illustrated volumes were disposed of, sold, or stolen before the late nineteenth century. Nonetheless, elaborate frontispieces, graphic embellishments, and historiated capitals in these books can be shown to have inspired the Florentine artists [Fig. 5.2].¹⁰ This study relies on a wide variety of sixteenth-century images, primarily found in Bibles and devotional books, since single-sheet prints are notoriously ephemeral and rarely survive.

Sahagún's motives for recording the indigenous traditions in an encyclopaedic work were philological and proto-ethnographic, that is based on a desire to collect as much data as possible about the rapidly disappearing pre-contact Nahua culture. This is apparent in the detailed descriptions of Aztec life and worldview, data that were derived and compiled from interviews with Nahua elders who had direct experience with Aztec culture prior to the Conquest, as mentioned. Nonetheless, since Sahagún's overriding concern was to missionise, he also undertook the recording of indigenous beliefs in order to facilitate better strategies for eradicating idolatrous practices. For the Franciscan friar, the new cultural information was rooted in a known Euro-Christian framework. However much he admired Aztec civilisation, he could not restrain himself from editorialising and censoring certain practices. Sahagún was caught between a medieval mindset that defined knowledge as revealed by the grace of God and the ideas of modernity that credited the human intellect with the capability of producing knowledge.¹¹ These polar impulses, one more objective, reflecting a desire to contain and preserve the memory of things through words and images, and the other driven by missionary zeal, emerge in certain contradictions inherent in the Florentine. The multicultural nature of the texts is apparent in both Sahagún's bold, sermonising digressions as well as

Santiago Tlatelolco were not among them. These ca. 374 titles were ultimately given to State of California and housed in the Sutro Library in 1917. See Mathes M.W., *The America's First Academic Library, Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco* (Sacramento, CA: 1985). My thanks to the Sutro librarians, Angélica Illueca and Colyn Wohlmüt for their invaluable assistance.

10 Clearly illustrations in books were important to the friars, as evident in the hand-copied frontispiece that duplicated a printed one in two volumes of writings by Joanes Duns Scotus (1520) in the Tlatelolco collection, Sutro Library.

11 Browne W., *Sahagún and the Transition to Modernity* (Norman, OK: 2000) 9, 72, and passim.



FIGURE 5.2 Anon. (engraver), Title page to Johannes Herolt, *Sermones Discipuli de tempore et Sanctis quadragesimale eiusdem* [...] (Lyon, Jean de La Place in aedibus Jean Huguetan: 1514). Woodcut, 17 × 11.25 cm. San Francisco, CA, California State Library, Sutro Library, Tlatelolco Collection (BX 1756 H477 1514).

IMAGE © CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY, SUTRO LIBRARY, SAN FRANCISCO, CA.

his substitution of Catholic terms. For example, the words 'dios' for God and 'diablo' for devil (referencing an Aztec deity) are sprinkled throughout, found even in the Nahuatl text.

The Florentine Codex artists similarly walked a fine line between their adoption of the new religious tenets and the pride they sustained in their heritage. The anonymous painters were composed of the untutored as well as the more gifted and better-schooled artists. Between them the work they produced in the Florentine Codex was stylistically eclectic and of mixed quality, from the inept to the beautifully crafted.¹² The older artists, as heirs to the Nahua tradition of *tlacuilo* or scribe-painter, brought distinct skill sets to colonial painting as they were accustomed to deploying a pictorial medium to transmit ideas. They were literate in the pictographic writing of their codices that recorded their royal genealogy, ceremonial life and calendric knowledge, manuscripts that were still available to the Franciscan and his team.¹³ Moreover, indigenous writers and painters traditionally worked as ranked teams, a practice that was easily folded into the hierarchy of masters and apprentices in a Spanish workshop.

In Franciscan, as in other mendicant monasteries, Nahua students, some from childhood, were exposed to Catholic indoctrination and a Spanish-humanist curriculum (that included rhetoric and grammar, mathematics and music) using a variety of imported artworks and books. There they were taught, and handily mastered, perspective, chiaroscuro, and dynamic figural posturing, since pre contact painting styles diverged from the imported illusionistic pictorial tradition. Many Nahuas had training in the 'manual arts', that included painting on a multitude of surfaces, from small-scale manuscripts to

12 While I have suggested that between four and nine artists worked on any one book in the Florentine Codex (Peterson, "The Florentine Codex Imagery" 274), as many as twenty-two artists in all are cited by Magaloni Kerpel, "Painters of the New World" 52. Although the count of the painters working on the Florentine Codex varies, it may be that a core of seven experienced linguists and scribe/artists acted as the masters and oversaw the work of other "hands" in what was clearly a very diverse team in both ability and training.

13 That Aztec-style iconography was available is alluded to in the Florentine; a reference to "ancient paintings" occurs in the Prologue of Book 1, Sahagún *Florentine Codex*, Introductory Volume: 48. Elsewhere Sahagún states that although the Nahuas had "no letters" they did have "books [...] painted with figures and representations (*imágenes*) that although they were 'hidden', we [presumably, Sahagún and his scribes] have seen them" (Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, Book 10: 82).

monumental walls.¹⁴ Yet the need to record new types of knowledge may have confounded the Florentine Codex artists who had few precedents for visualising prayers, rhetoric, or genre narratives, all topics that formerly had been transmitted orally or through a stylised semiotic system.¹⁵ It was to meet these needs that the painters turned to imported European printed images. Given the freedom to select their models, the Nahua artists went beyond being mere copyists to produce a creative amalgamation of styles and iconographies that became the hallmark of Florentine Codex imagery.

A number of scholars have documented the European inspiration on the Florentine Codex, tracing influences from humanistic (such as historical accounts), theological, and biblical sources, but primarily analogising their formal traits and compositional formats.¹⁶ Beyond these parallels, I focus not just on the critical links between the images and their models but also on the understudied relationship between the imagery and the related Nahuatl and/or Spanish texts. Ultimately, these external and internal text–image relationships advance our understanding of the painters’ working methods, the intentionality of their choices and the ultimate meaning of the imagery within the bilingual, bicultural context of the Florentine Codex. The influence of Christian material on the manuscript’s images will be tracked across a detectable spectrum, from the few ‘Quotations’ with explicit references to Catholic iconography, to the more numerous ‘Citations’ with their nuanced evocations of familiar biblical narratives. The last mode of translation, called ‘Working in Reverse’, turns to those images that subvert their original Christian visual prototypes. In all three, selective imitation, piecemeal borrowings, and inventive digressions co-exist, underscoring the independent status of the Florentine Codex artists.

14 On the identity and mendicant training of sixteenth-century artists, see Peterson J.F., *The Paradise Garden Murals of Malinalco* (Austin, TX: 1992) 29–56.

15 On this, see also Quiñones Keber, “Reading Images” 207.

16 On the use of Christian sources for images, see Baird E.T., “Sahagún’s Primeros Memoriales and Codex Florentino: European Elements in the Illustrations”, in Josserand J.K. – Dakin K. (eds.), *Smoke and Mist: Mesoamerican Studies in Memory of Thelma D. Sullivan* (Manchester: 1988) 15–40; Escalante Gonzalbo P., “The Painters of Sahagún’s Manuscripts: Mediators between Two Worlds in Sahagún’s *Florentine Codex*”, in Schwaller, *Sahagún at 500* 167–191; Magaloni Kerpel D., “Visualizing the Nahua/Christian Dialogue: Images of the Conquest in Sahagún’s Florentine Codex and Their Sources”, in Schwaller, *Sahagún at 500* 193–221.

Quotations

A review of the almost 2,000 primary images in the Florentine Codex uncovers few with overt Christian themes. Indeed only five images incorporate recognisable Christian symbols and among these only one unique image replicates wholesale a biblical scene. In a section in Book 11 that inventories various Aztec buildings and their corresponding names, from the temple (*teocalli* or god's house) to the *tecpancalli* (palace), the reader is surprised to come upon the depiction of a colonial chapel sheltering a scene of the crucifixion [Fig. 5.3]. Any number of prototypes exists for this central Passion episode, but we can find one in a 1514 volume of sermons from the Tlatelolco collection. The crucifixion scene is in a lateral panel on the upper right of the frontispiece, demonstrating the artist's familiarity with the image of the crucified Christ with Mary, his mother, and John [Fig. 5.2]. Aside from the gloss of *hermita* (shrine) in the Florentine Codex, there is no Spanish text. The Nahuatl, on the other hand, describes the shrine as the *totecujo ichan* (literally, Our Lord, his home), a place where 'prayers are offered' and a house for the 'revered image of Our Lord'.¹⁷ It is interesting that the Nahuatl word used for 'revered image' (*ixiptlatzīn*) embraces a wide semantic field from material representation to something charged with divine essence.¹⁸ While this may also suggest a range of responses to Christianity's icons, from scepticism to true belief, there is no doubt that the image of a shrine plants the success of the evangelistic movement on Mexican soil.¹⁹ The classical style of the shrine, with its true arch and paired columns, markedly contrasts with the post-and-lintel construction of the other indigenous buildings depicted in this section on architecture. In addition, the scene as a whole mimics the form and decoration of corner shrines (*posas*) in the numerous sixteenth-century *convento* courtyards, many of which had murals of the Passion scenes painted above their altars. Thus the Florentine artist did not necessarily require a printed source, but may have reproduced what his eyes daily revealed.

17 'In vuncan onoc iixiptlatzīn totecuyo, anoço in vncan tlatlauhtilo [...]': Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, Book 11: 273; Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, Book 11: fol. 243.

18 A thorough analysis of *ixiptla* (representation, god-surrogate) and *teotl* (divinity, god) can be found in Bassett M.H., *The Fate of Earthly Things: Aztec Gods and God-Bodies* (Austin, TX: 2015).

19 Moreover, the scribe goes on to state in Nahuatl that 'in iuh mjtōa in temetztlā, in anoço in anaoac, vel ichan in totecujo' (in Temetztlā or Anauac [the basin of Mexico] there really are the houses of the Lord). Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, Book 11: 273.

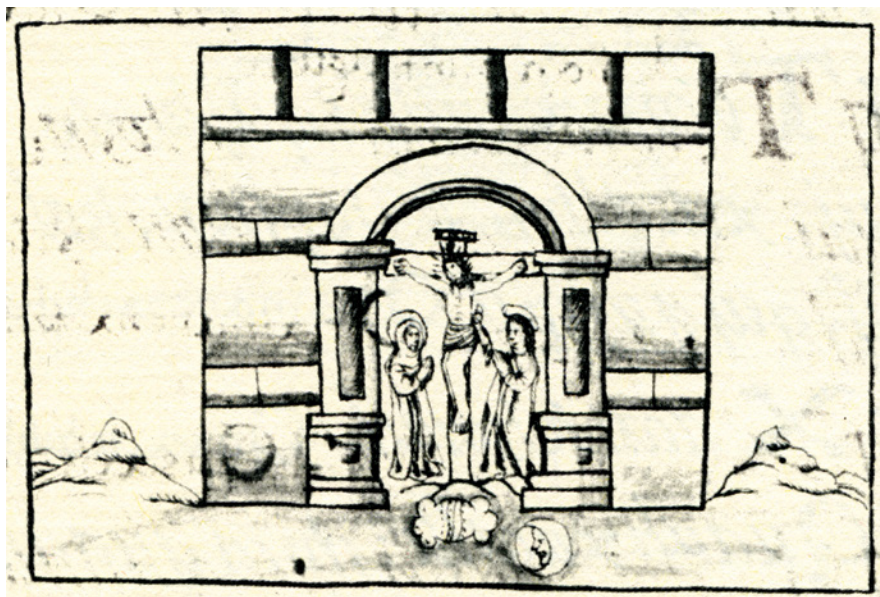


FIGURE 5.3 Anon. (Nahua artist), Detail of Hermita (Shrine) or "Our Lord, His Home" (totēcuyo ichan), in Bernardino de Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, book 11, fol. 243r. Ink and watercolour on paper, 8 × 5 cm. Florence, The Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Med. Palat. 218–220).

IMAGE © THE BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA LAURENZIANA, REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF MIBACT.

Although exposed to early-modern European traits, this artist was also influenced by the *tlacuilo* tradition and its ongoing use of native pictographs.²⁰ The space below the cross in Figure 5.3 contains two symbols, one a crescent moon that references the darkness that descended at the time of the crucifixion, the other a stylised emblem for stone or, in the Nahuatl *tetzli*, signalling the barren hill of Golgotha, named 'Place of the Skull' for its denuded and rocky nature. I am not arguing that the artist contradicts, but that he amends a one-dimensional perspective of this scene by adding symbols from his own semiotic system.

A bicultural explanation for this shrine coincides with two other Florentine Codex images with discrete Christian symbols, the first a few folios earlier in Book 11.²¹ While there are many scenes that mirror Flemish landscapes,

²⁰ Peterson, "The Florentine Codex Imagery"; Peterson J.F., "Crafting the Self: Identity and the Mimetic Tradition in the Florentine Codex", in Schwaller, *Sahagún at 500* 223–253.

²¹ Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, Book 11: fol. 237.



FIGURE 5.4 Anon. (Nahua artist), *Detail of Roads of Quality: "The Main Road" (uchpantli)*, in Bernardino de Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, book 11, fol. 237r. Ink and watercolour on paper, 9 × 8 cm. Florence, The Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Med. Palat. 218–220). IMAGE © THE BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA LAURENZIANA, REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF MIBACT.

only two include church steeples crowned with crosses [Fig. 5.4]. Titled the Main Road (*uchpantli*) this view is in a section that describes different roads and byways; it portrays farmers, porters, and merchants, their cargoes on tumplines, energetically traversing paths that zigzag their way across a series of interlocking hills. The accompanying Nahuatl text is very straightforward about the 'main road', with its broad, clean nature.²² Yet the roads converge

22 'Nuchpanquetza njcpatlaoa, [...] njcochpana, njctlacujcujlia, njciectia, [...]' (I travel the main road [...] I sweep the road [...] I improve it). Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, Book 11: 267.

in the distance on two clusters of buildings, one on each side with a peaked tower crested with a cross. The need to baptise the landscape only becomes apparent in the Spanish text where Sahagún digresses on the need to propagate the Catholic faith. The Franciscan writes, 'The roads by which the Church has come to arrive [...] where it now travels sowing the evangelical doctrine'.²³ While it is clear that the artist heeds Sahagún's words, converting the friar's metaphorical roads into real pathways leading to churches, yet the roads are peopled with Nahuas, barefoot, nude except for loincloths, and leaving behind footprints that were the distinct Mesoamerican signs for travel. As in the crucifixion image then, a familiar scene is recast, even disrupted, by non-European inhabitants and glyphic notations.

The coopting of Christian narratives for local purposes can also be derived from a careful reading of a second landscape marked by churches, this one found in the section of Book 9 on the specialised Aztec craft persons, the lapidaries of fine stone and the feather workers.²⁴ These esteemed artisans, patronised by the ruler and given a unique status in Aztec society, are often depicted within arched buildings topped by peaked roofs that suggest church architecture.²⁵ Assuming these are not random insertions, why Christianise these scenes? During the colonial period, the Church exploited the artistry of skilled native workers to fashion liturgical furnishings, textiles, and paintings. Missionary schools cultivated the arts and crafts, producing goods to ornament an ambitious building programme. There are biblical precedents for the crafting of exquisite liturgical furnishings, as described in *Exodus* 31:3–5. The Nahuatl text in Book 9 of the Florentine Codex similarly praises the incomparable talents of these artists, granting them wisdom and positive moral values.²⁶ The most skilled Nahua lapidaries worked with jade and turquoise, stones that were valued for their rarity, accruing the 'aura of distance' as did the bezoar stones discussed by Beate Fricke (this volume). Moreover, because of their luminosity, these materials were perceived as embodying innate and

23 Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, Book 11: fol. 237v: 'Los caminos por donde la yglesia [...] agora peregrina sembrando la doctrina evangelica'.

24 Of the five Florentine illustrations with overt Christian images, I am here illustrating only two. The remaining three images include a scene with a lapidary of the precious turquoise (*teuxihuitl* or divine turquoise) who is framed by two churches, one with a cross (Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, Book 9: fol. 56v) and two images of featherworkers who are using colonial designs for their work that feature male saints (Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, Book 9: fols. 63, 64).

25 Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, Book 9: fol. 56v; Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, Book 9: 82.

26 On the prerogatives of the Aztec artists in the *toltecayotl* tradition, see Peterson "Crafting the Self"; Peterson J.F., "In *iollotli*, in *tultecayotl*: 'The Heart, the Artisanry' of the Pre- and Postconquest Nahuas in Mexico", CIHA conference, Beijing, 2016 (forthcoming).

supernatural power.²⁷ The Florentine Codex artists may have intentionally showcased the workers of these precious stones in an ecclesiastical context, borrowing Christian symbolism to highlight the divine or privileged quality of these materials and the skills of their workers.²⁸

Citations

Where only a handful of Florentine images display an overt reliance on Christian iconography, such as the scene of Christ's crucifixion or steepled churches with crosses, a far greater number are suggestive, even subliminal, in their references to Christian pictorial models. These betray a range of visual citations from the thematically logical to those that reveal only the faintest echo of their prototypes. It is useful here to invoke Richard Krautheimer's canonical analysis of medieval architectural copies that selectively transferred parts from iconic buildings in Jerusalem rather than precisely imitating the prototypes *in toto*. Even partial reconstructions of familiar architectural *topoi* were potent enough to conjure the prototype, symbolically connoting the original even when elements were reshuffled and cited piecemeal.²⁹

Within a cluster of images for which the indigenous painters had no pictorial precedent, Christian narratives established a template that resonated with 'Aztec' scenes. In the Florentine's Book 6 on Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy, for example, a series of images depict a ruler, parent, or elder exhorting his subjects or children with wise pronouncements. When seated on an elaborate throne, the speaker resembles sixteenth-century biblical illustrations of the passages in Genesis and Judges where the king admonishes his subjects.³⁰ The mimetic talents of the Nahua artists also encouraged the borrowings and

27 See Saunders N.J., "Biographies of Brilliance: Pearls, Transformations of Matter and Being, c. AD 1492", *World Archaeology* 31, 2 (1999) 243–257. Both jade and turquoise (*teuxihuitl*) were also valued for their blue-green colour, associated with fertility, water, vegetation, and life itself. On the 'godly' or *teotl* properties of these stones, see Bassett, *The Fate of Earthly Things* 89–129.

28 Baird also makes a claim for the representation of Jerusalem in the background of some of the goldworkers' images, in Baird E.T., "Sahagún and the Representation of History", in Schwaller, *Sahagún at 500* 117–136.

29 Krautheimer R., "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture'", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942) 1–33. See also Carpo, *Architecture* 36–41.

30 As in Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, Book 6: fol. 70. Compare with illustrations in *Genesis*, chapters 37–38, in the *Biblia Sacra* (Lyon, Jean de Tournes: 1558) found in the Newberry Library, Chicago.

transpositions of Christian holy figures to render scenes of mothers, midwives, and newborns in the Florentine Codex. In thirteen scenes from Book 4, two or more adults hover over the nude baby lying on the ground between them just as Nativity representations feature Joseph and Mary gazing down on the bare-skinned, innocent Christ Child [Fig. 5.2].³¹

These visual parallels have even more significance when the ritual appears to converge with a Christian sacrament, as it does for the Aztec ceremony of washing the newborn before giving it a name according to the cyclical calendar, as illustrated in Books 4 and 6 of the Florentine Codex on the auguries and rhetoric surrounding this significant rite. The newborn's initiation began by raising the baby to heaven and offering him or her to the four directions. Water was then placed in the baby's mouth, on the breast, and poured over the crown of the head. Importantly, the purifying qualities of the water are described as cleaning the infant's heart, to 'wash away the filthiness', so that the baby can become clean, can be 'born again'.³² It is no surprise that the Spanish text labels this ceremony the 'Baptism of the Infant', one of the few pre-Conquest rituals that the friars eagerly claimed as comparable to their own.³³ Although water in both cases was perceived as cleansing or purificatory, the exact nature of the pollution (*tlazolli* or filth) involved in the Nahuatl rite was brought on by the parents' sexual activity and not from Adam and Eve's original sin.³⁴ The Florentine Codex artist relies on prints that portray the birth and bathing of either the Virgin Mary or Jesus [Fig. 5.5].³⁵ In the Florentine image in Book 6 [Fig. 5.6], a baby boy is being bathed in a similarly large tub. The emblems of his male destiny in Aztec society are laid out in the foreground: his miniature shield, a bow and four arrows (one for each direction), and a little breech clout and cape (*itilmaton*), two of the gender specific garments for a man. In spite of the striking pictorial similarities, the accompanying Nahuatl text underscores the stark differences between the two birthing scenes, as the Aztecs placed their ritual in a cosmic setting, emphasising a quadripartite universe, offering

31 Compare the images in Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, Book 4: fols. 19, 22, 24, 51v, 54, 57, and 64v with almost any Nativity graphic from the late fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth century. Baird, "Sahagún's Primeros Memoriales", makes this point.

32 On the bathing ceremony, see Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, Book 6: fols. 168v–177v.

33 'Del baptismo de la criatura [...]': Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, Book 6: fol. 170.

34 On the different understandings of pollution and sin, see Burkhart L.M., *The Slippery Earth: Nahuatl-Christian Moral Dialogues in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Tucson, AZ: 1989) 110–117.

35 Escalante Gonzalbo ("Painters of Sahagún's Manuscripts", 179–180) has also noted the parallels with the baptism of Christ by John the Baptist as seen in Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, Book 4: fol. 29v.



FIGURE 5.5 Hans Weiditz (engraver), Birth of Virgin Mary, in *Biblia Veteris Testamenti et Historiae: Novi Testamenti Iesu Christi historia effigiata* (Frankfurt am Main, Christian Egenolph Heirs: 1557). Engraving, 7 × 7.5 cm. University of California, Berkeley, The Bancroft Library (NE 1150.5 .B4 .B4 1557).

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the baby to the quarters of the cosmos, laying out four arrows, and addressing the water as Our Mother, Chalchiuhtlicue (Jade or Precious Skirt), one of the life-giving earth goddesses.

A similar transposition occurs when the Florentine Codex painter duplicates a Virgin and Child found in a 1530 print of the Adoration of the Magi from a publication in the Tlatelolco collection. The Virgin and Child motif is used to



FIGURE 5.6 Anon. (Nahua artist), *Detail of Bathing a new-born Aztec boy*, in Bernardino de Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, book 6, fol. 170r. Ink and watercolour on paper, 8 × 8.5 cm. Florence, The Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Med. Palat. 218–220). IMAGE © THE BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA LAURENZIANA, REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF MIBACT.

render the pose of an Aztec noblewoman, as she inclines her head toward the baby seated in her lap [Figs. 5.7, 5.8]. The woman in the Florentine Codex is depicted in Book 4 on The Soothsayers where she represents an individual who was born under the calendrical sign of One Deer (*ce maçatl*).³⁶ In the Nahuatl text describing her destiny, she is praised as an elite, a woman ‘who is esteemed as if a man; a comforter’.³⁷ In other words, by substituting the Virgin and Christ

36 In the Aztec ritual calendar, the *tonalpohualli* (count of days), one’s fate was determined by a 260-day count that combined twenty day signs with one of thirteen numbers. Book 4 in the Florentine Codex contains prognostications of each day sign that determined the fates of individuals.

37 Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, Book 4: fol. 8v.



FIGURE 5.7 Anon. (Nahua artist), *Detail of a noblewoman born under sign 'one deer', in Bernardino de Sahagún, Códice Florentino, book 4, fol. 8v. Ink and watercolour on paper, 8.5 × 8 cm. Florence, The Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Med. Palat. 218–220).*

IMAGE © THE BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA LAURENZIANA, REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF MIBACT.

Child motif for a Nahua noblewoman and her child, the indigenous artist is endorsing the highest tribute accorded a woman in Aztec society, at once valorising her valiant and nurturing nature and, at the same time, elevating the Nahua tradition.

Familiar Christian narratives also haunt several Florentine images with compositions or figural poses that have been lifted from the Life of Christ or the Virgin Mary. Again, I submit that the painters manage to sacralise what might otherwise be construed as a mundane episode in the Florentine Codex.



FIGURE 5.8

Anon. (engraver), Adoration of the Magi, in Ludolf of Saxony, *Vita Christi Cartuxano*, vol. 1 (Sevilla, Jacome Cromberger: 1543), first printed in 1530. Engraving, 9 × 6.75 cm. San Francisco, CA, California State Library, Sutro Library, Tlatelolco Collection (BT 300 L82 1543 v. 1).

IMAGE © CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY, SUTRO LIBRARY, SAN FRANCISCO, CA.

Patterned after a Pietà, or the Virgin Mary with her dead son lying across her lap, such a scene is injected into the section on healing herbs from the Florentine Book 11: Natural History [Fig. 5.1]. The healer (distinctly male in his attire, with his tied cape or *tilmatli*) is shown with a patient, head cradled in his lap and body stretched out in front of him. Although represented in a classical setting, including a column with its Corinthian capital, the artist attempts to localise the scene by placing the protagonists on a native woven mat floor. The medicinal plant featured in the framed unit above the figural scene is

tlantlanquaye (*iresine calca*), a herb that when boiled in water is a diaphoretic and diuretic given for multiple ills, including high fever and vomiting. The accompanying Nahuatl text describes the use of *tlantlanquaye* for a patient who is suffering from an ailment that when 'settled in his chest' affects his heart, as if 'he were about to die of it'.³⁸ At this point, the herbal potion is administered to quiet and rescue the patient from his near fatal illness. It appears that the artist draws on analogies with the Pietà to suggest this acute phase of the disease (and, notably, the patient is alive as his eyes are open), as well as to boast about the marvellous, even miraculous, workings of the indigenous pharmacopeia.³⁹ This example again demonstrates that the Florentine *tlacuilo*'s impulse to draw on Christian themes went beyond a desire simply to borrow compositional or iconographic solutions, but rather played a significant role in the message they wanted to convey.

A similarly evocative association of a Christian image occurs in the final Book 12 of the Florentine Codex on the Conquest, a Nahua retelling of the events that transpired in central Mexico between 1519 and 1521. Kevin Terraciano makes the point that, like most early indigenous accounts of the Conquest, the Nahuatl text in Book 12 stresses the Spanish greed and their ambition for power, thus making few overt references to Christianity.⁴⁰ However, there is one image that bears a strong resemblance to the lowering of the body of the crucified Christ in preparation for his burial in a cave-tomb. On folio 40v of the Florentine Codex there is a dramatic painting in colour of the Spanish soldiers throwing the corpses of the two rulers of Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco (Moctezuma and Itzquauhtzin) into lake Texcoco. Below this scene, in black and white, another scene depicts two men bearing the body of Moctezuma II between them. Even in death, the last king of the Aztec Empire, Moctezuma is shown wearing his full regalia, a distinctive crown and royal cloak. With strong parallels to the reverential treatment of Christ's body in a scene of his deposition, two men carry the lifeless Aztec ruler to Copulco to be cremated, according to custom.⁴¹

38 Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, Book 11: 174–175.

39 Other Florentine scenes that similarly suggest some reliance on the Pietà are those depicting midwives with women giving birth, as in Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, Book 6: fol. 128v.

40 Terraciano K., "Competing Memories of the Conquest of Mexico", in Katzew, *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World* 62.

41 In spite of the text's partisan bias toward Tlatelolco and against Tenochtitlan, it appears that even this king merited honorific treatment. Nonetheless, the Tlatelolcans still chafed at being under the thumb of the Tenochcas, and their ruler, Itzquauhtzin's body was burned 'with great honours'. See Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, Book 12: 65–66. Magaloni Kerpel ("Visualizing the Nahua/Christian Dialogue" 208–211, figs. 8 and 9) argues that



FIGURE 5.9 Anon. (Nahua artist), Top: Woodcarver making a deity image. Bottom: Venerating the 'god' (teotl), in Bernardino de Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, book 1, fol. 26r. Ink and watercolour on paper, 11.7 × 8.1 cm. Florence, The Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Med. Palat. 218–220).

IMAGE © THE BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA LAURENZIANA, REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF MIBACT.

Working in Reverse

It is telling that some adoptions of biblical narratives by the Florentine Codex artists worked in reverse, subverting the original Christian intent. The Arrival of the Three Magi at the time of Christ's birth was deployed as a stand-in for the presentation of religious offerings. In one example, this visual citation is appropriate as two male figures are shown bringing gifts to a newborn.⁴² However, in another image from Book 1: The Gods, the artist inserts the Christian three kings in a manner that verges on the sacrilegious [Fig. 5.9]. In two sequential episodes, the upper image shows the cutting down of the tree and a woodcarver who is using mallet and chisel on an anthropomorphised effigy that is referred to as *teixiptla*, a deity-representation in Nahuatl. This designation of a wooden image as surrogate shifts to 'his god' (*iteouh*) when the sculpture is ritually attired in the paper ornaments that define the merchant deity Yiacatecuhtli (Lord of the Nose).⁴³ In the lower image, the 'deity' is being ritually honoured and three devotees on the right are shown bringing baskets of food, comparable in their kneeling and standing postures to those assumed by the Three Magi in many printed images.⁴⁴ While both Latin and Nahuatl texts castigate the 'wretched idolater' who is petitioning and worshipping the completed 'idol', the artist has cleverly introduced a Christian motif that elevates the veneration of a pre-Christian god to a more acceptable level.

Such is also the case when a dragon-like grotesque in a historiated initial is made to serve as the omniscient Aztec deity, Tezcatlipoca [Fig. 5.10].⁴⁵ Tezcatlipoca, Lord of the Smoking Mirror, was a shape-shifting supernatural with power over people's destinies. His most common name invoked the mirror (*tezcatl*), a device associated with shamanic power and rulership that was used for 'seeing' beyond human comprehension or prognosticating the

these parallels between Moctezuma and Christ were part of the prophesy of the coming of Christianity after the Conquest.

42 Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, Book 4: fol. 62v.

43 Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, Book 1: 57. These texts are in an appendix in Book 1 that includes the Latin text from the Book of Wisdom (rather than the Spanish) on the left and a parallel Nahuatl text in the right column. See Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, Book 1: fol. 26.

44 For example, see the 'Adoration of the Magi' in the *Novi Testamenti Iesu Christi historia effigiata* (Frankfurt am Main, Christian Egenolph Heirs: 1557) in the Bancroft Library at University of California, Berkeley. On this, see also Escalante Gonzalbo "Painters of Sahagún's manuscripts", 178, fig. 8.

45 The dragon in a historiated capital is found in a Tlatelolco volume, *Vita Christi Cartuxano* by Ludolf (1543) published in Sevilla by Jacome Cromberger (Sutro Library #112).

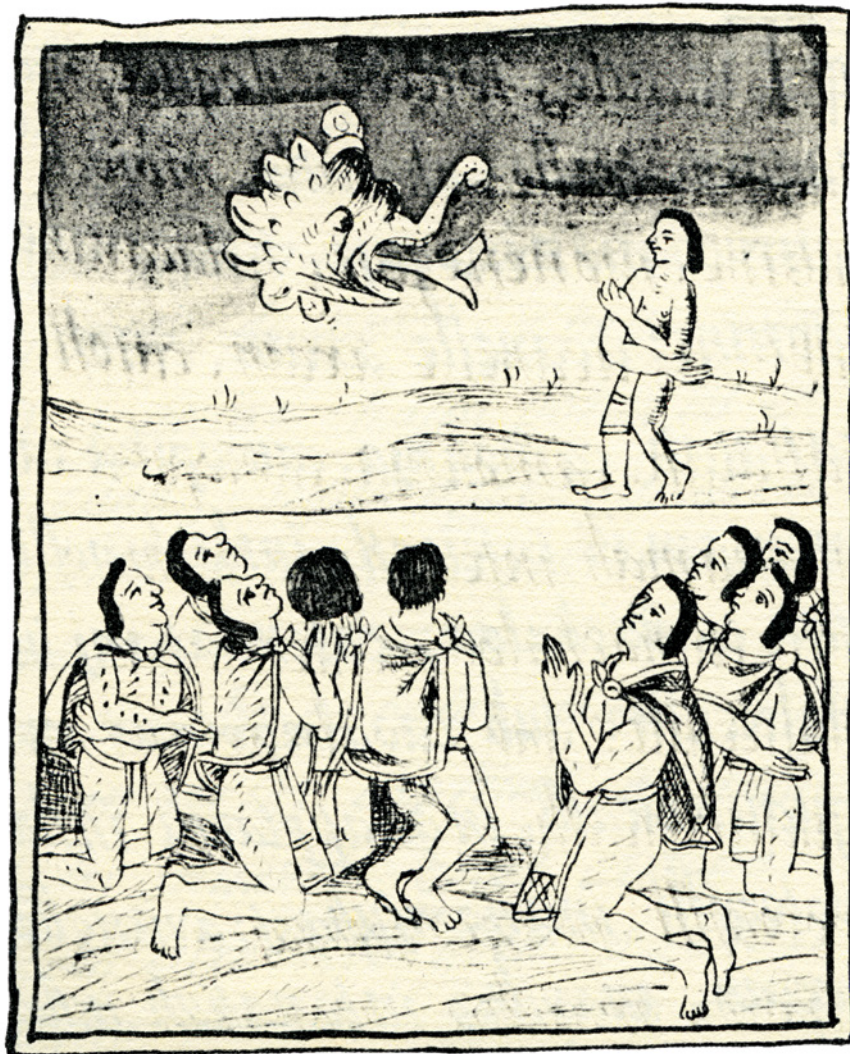


FIGURE 5.10 Anon. (Nahua artist), *Detail of Prayer to Tezcatlipoca*, in Bernardino de Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, book 6, fol. 8r. Ink and watercolour on paper, 10.5 × 8 cm. Florence, The Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Med. Palat. 218–220). IMAGE © THE BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA LAURENZIANA, REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF MIBACT.

future.⁴⁶ His many other titles, including 'Our Lord of the near, of the nigh (Tloque Nahuaque), the great Lord, invisible as the night, impalpable as the wind (*ehecatl*)',⁴⁷ emphasised his invisibility and omniscience and made Tezcatlipoca a perfect stand-in for the Christian god.⁴⁸ The tufted disembodied head floats in the sky, its beaked profile associating the supernatural being with the wind (*ehecatl*). Below this scene in a separate framed unit, a cluster of devotees kneel and pray or gesture with astonishment at the vision above, recalling any number of Christian scenes of either Christ's or Mary's Ascension or Assumption [Fig. 5.11]. There are some curious, perhaps unintended, similarities in this comparison. Both throngs of worshippers are in awe of a disarticulated deity, one a bodiless head and the other the lower extremities of the Christ that leave behind only an indexical presence, his footprint-relics. Like the uneasy conjunction of the Three Magi motif into the scene of the venerated wooden idol-deity discussed above, the artist here has translated the Nahua sacred into a Christian idiom by positioning the adoring devotees below Tezcatlipoca's grotesque head. The iconographic slippage evident in the reception of globe-trotting prints resonates with the dissemination and regeneration of Marian pilgrim images, as addressed by Ralph Dekoninck (this volume).

With the Sahagún-authored Spanish text and a European viewership in mind, the Christian interpolations in the Florentine Codex are readily explainable. Although the Florentine was, first and foremost, a compendium of Nahuatl vocabulary annotating pre-Conquest traditions, Sahagún's evangelistic drive could not be suppressed. The team of native scribes and artists were just as aware as the Franciscan of the Spanish mandate to establish a universal Church, a refrain surely heard from the pulpit and classroom podium at Santiago Tlatelolco. With its steepled churches and overt visual quotations lifted, wholly or in part, from European printed sources and overlaid on some of its images, the Florentine locates Mexico within a Catholic trajectory.⁴⁹

46 Mirror in Nahuatl is *tezcatl*, explaining the deity's name. Pre-Conquest mirrors were generally of obsidian, the reflective volcanic glass; among other metaphorical meanings, they connoted knowledge and power. For the most authoritative book on Tezcatlipoca, see Olivier G., *Mockeries and Metamorphoses of an Aztec God: Tezcatlipoca, 'Lord of the Smoking Mirror'* (Boulder, CO: 2003).

47 Sullivan T.D., *A Scattering of Jades*, ed. T.J. Knab (New York, NY – London: 1994) 127.

48 The very act of enunciating his titles and names 'conferred a power', according to Olivier, and activated the presence of the divinity. See Olivier, *Mockeries and Metamorphoses* 13.

49 Baird, "Sahagún and the Representation of History".



FIGURE 5.11 Anon. (engraver), Assumption of Christ, in Ulrich Pinder, *Speculum passionis Domini Nostri Ihesu Christi* (Nuremberg, no publ.: 1507). Woodcut, 23.5 × 16.2 cm. University of California, Berkeley, The Bancroft Library (BT 430 .P57 1507). IMAGE © UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY, THE BANCROFT LIBRARY.

The Florentine Codex painters, however, had double vision, viewing their world through both a Christian and a Nahua lens. Given the independence to select their pictorial sources, they often adapted well-known Christian narratives to fit and elevate their past. We can acknowledge this past by interpreting the Florentine images within the Nahuatl text and context, including reconstructing traces of an older, but still visible, signifying system and worldview. Several decades after the Conquest, the outcome was a Nahua Christianity, one in which 'native structures and functions imposed themselves upon Christian content'.⁵⁰

The Florentine Codex indexes the advanced degree of hispanisation in New Spanish society by the third quarter of the sixteenth century. The many hands involved in the manuscript compound the complexity of its intertwined text–image relationship beyond that of earlier manuscripts such as the 1542 Codex Mendoza. In the latter, indigenous and European features are juxtaposed and can be readily identified.⁵¹ Instead, the signifiatory systems of the Florentine overlap and collapse into one another. The Florentine Codex images are particularly quixotic, moving from wholesale imitation to the use of fragments that are reassembled in inventive new ways. In every case, the processes of translation result in interpretative shifts.⁵²

Even as the pre-Christian past and Christian present became entangled, a bicultural tension in the use, translation, and transformation of printed images is palpable. Tom Cummins rightly notes that the global circulation of printed material promoted a shared visual language that helped create an 'imagined community of citizens'.⁵³ This collective imaginary, however, while based on familiarity with a corpus of classical and biblical narratives, was neither seamless nor uncontested. The ruptures in form and meaning witnessed in the Florentine Codex images ultimately tested the truth-value of black and white printed images as they migrated across time, space, and cultural valences.

⁵⁰ Burkhart, *Slippery Earth* 187.

⁵¹ On issues of translation in the Codex Mendoza and its afterlife, see Bleichmar D., "History in Pictures: Translating the Codex Mendoza", *Art History* 38 (2015) 682–701.

⁵² See Cronin M., *Translation and Globalization* (London – New York, NY: 2003) 38, passim.

⁵³ Cummins, "Indulgent Image", 204.

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The Value of *Misinterpretation* in Cultural Exchange: The Transfer of Christian Prints from the West to Japan

Yoriko Kobayashi-Sato

A visual object moving between countries can sometimes function as a kind of meta-language, which enables the people concerned to exchange a message without any verbal intervention. This is what Satake Shozan (1718–1785), the Lord of Akita and an accomplished painter in the western style in his own right, suggested in his unpublished manuscript on western painting.¹ However, this kind of happy encounter happens only when an object in itself and its meaning are related in a single way, or both of the people bringing it into the country and its recipients share the same cultural backgrounds, or a certain mediator bridges a gap between the two sides. In other cases, it would rarely be understood in its originally designed meaning, which could often be lost in the process of transferring it beyond cultural borders. Christian missionaries departing for the East, and bringing with them objects related to Christianity, during the period of global expansion experienced both cases, depending on the religious and cultural associations, as well as the political and social systems of the recipients. This paper focuses on the latter cases, which could often result in *misinterpretation* of the original intent bound up in nomadic objects. This *misinterpretation*, however, contains by no means a negative connotation, because it can ‘pave the way for understanding cultural exchange, possibly bringing us much closer to what really happened’, as Mochizuki indicates, referring to Kaufmann and Burke.² This aspect of cultural exchange will be

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- 1 Satake Shozan, *Gahō Kōryō* (*A Theory of Western Painting*) (unpublished ms.: 1778), Akita, Akita City Museum of Senshū: ‘画圖ノ用ハ文字ニコトナリ象形賦彩遠近生動稚兒痴人モ圖ヲ以テ観ハ煥然ノ其物ニ對スルガ如シココヲ以テ書画ノ徳鬼哭通神’. NB. Japanese names in the text and captions have been written in the Japanese style of family name followed by first name.
 - 2 Mochizuki M.M., “The Movable Center: The Netherlandish Map in Japan”, in North M. (ed.), *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400–1900* (Farnham, Surrey: 2010) 131–132; Kaufmann T.D., *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago, IL: 2004) 205, 225, passim; Burke P., *The Renaissance* (Basingstoke: 1987) 28, passim.

discussed through the study of some nomadic Christian objects exported to Japan and the reactions to them from several Japanese artists, including Shiba Kōkan (1747–1818), active during the Edo period, when the policy of a ban on Christianity rather limited their knowledge of the religion. What then happened to nomadic Christian objects in Japan when Christianity functioned simply as a silent bystander?

Nomadic Religious Objects Accepted in Their Proper Meaning

Before examining the main point, we first see visual images accepted and appreciated according to their inherent intent in order to understand the framework for a straightforward transfer of their original meaning.

When Christianity moved beyond Europe during an age of global exploration, Christian missionaries never overlooked the auxiliary role that could be played by visual objects to propagate the faith. Thus they made, sent, and brought with them prints and paintings representing canonical religious subjects such as Christ, the Crucifixion, and the Virgin Mary. Protestant merchants, too, sometimes carried Christian images to offer as gifts or merchandise in Asian countries.

Especially in Persian and Indian courts, Flemish religious prints were welcomed and were cleverly replicated by indigenous artists, including the prominent Persian painter Muhammad Zaman (active ca. 1680–1700), who was active under the reign of Shah Suleiman I (r. 1666–1694) and who repeatedly copied western models for his royal patrons [Fig. 6.1].³ As Muslims, the Persians regarded Jesus as one of many prophets, rather than the only son of God, so differences certainly existed. But as a Judaeo-Christian religion, Islam shared the same prophets found in Christianity, such as Abraham, Ishmael, and Isaac.⁴ The Persians, therefore, had a comparable and related religious framework

3 Zaman's model is an engraving, by Egbert van Panderen after Pieter de Jode, "Sacrifice of Isaak by Abraham" (ca. 1590–1637), 30.1 × 20.4 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet (inv. no. RP-P-1889=A-14342). The life of Muhammad Zaman before assuming a position at the court of Shah Suleiman I is not well known. See Landau A., "Man, Mode, and Myth: Muhammad Zaman ibn Haji Yusuf", in Landau A. (ed.), *Pearls on a String: Artists, Patrons, and Poets at the Great Islamic Courts*, exh. cat., Walters Art Museum (Baltimore, MD: 2015–2016) 167–203; and Schwartz G., "Terms of Reception: Europeans and Persians and Each Other's Art", in Kaufmann T.D. – North M. (eds.), *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia* (Amsterdam: 2014) 25–63, at 48–49.

4 Landau A., "Reconfiguring the Northern European Print to Depict Sacred History at the Persian Court", in Kaufmann – North (eds.), *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia* 65–82, at 64–74.



FIGURE 6.1 *Muhammad Zaman, Sacrifice of Isaak by Abraham (1684–1685). Watercolour on paper, 17.7 × 24.9 cm. St. Petersburg, Russian Academy of Science, Library of the Institute of Oriental Studies (inv. no. E-14, fol. 89).*

IMAGE © LIBRARY OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES, RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, ST. PETERSBURG.

within which Christian images coming from the West could be mediated with moderate changes and without losing their originally designed meaning.

Zaman's activity was encouraged by the fact that Shah Suleiman I was strongly interested in western art. The Shah followed his predecessors' favour of European painters and their output. Dutch painter Philips Angel (1616–1683), for example, was highly appreciated by Shah Abbas II (r. 1642–1666) and offered a high annual salary of 4,000 guilders, along with a reward of 6,000 guilders and a robe for four paintings he produced for his highness. When, in 1655, he left Persia for Batavia, the headquarters of the Dutch East India Company, he was given some drawings produced by the Shah, who had taken lessons with him. Furthermore, it is reported that European-style paintings of the 1650s to 1670s covered the walls of the Chihil Sutun Pavilion in Isfahan, constructed around the middle of the seventeenth century.⁵ Interestingly, this preference for western art in Persia completely disappeared with the death of Shah Suleiman I in 1694. A powerholder's artistic taste was indispensable for developing cultural exchange.

Christianity as a Cultural Stowaway

Christian missionaries, who were active in Japan from their first arrival in 1549 onward, also exported a lot of religious objects to the country, which first contributed greatly to their mission in Japan, and were sometimes imitated, though awkwardly.⁶ Their success, however, didn't last long. The Tokugawa shōgunate, which ruled Japan during the Edo period (1603–1868), decided to prohibit westerners from propagating Christianity in 1612, and expelled them finally in 1639, with the exception of the Dutch, who took an oath to observe its anti-Christian policy strictly. For the coming 250 years, Christianity, and all that related to it, disappeared from Japan. The single unusual exception were copper reliefs of Christian subjects, which were employed during the Edo period as the notorious *fumié* upon which Japanese people were forced to tread before officials to prove their rejection of Christianity.⁷ Thus nomadic

5 Schwartz, "Terms of Reception" 34–35, 48.

6 Louis Frois (1532–1597) requested a thousand Christian images be sent to Japan, which unfortunately never arrived. Naruse F., *Edo-jidai Yōfuga-shi (The History of Westernized Paintings during the Edo Period)* (Tōkyō: 2004) 6.

7 About *fumié*, see Kaufmann T.D., *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago, IL: 2004) 303–340; and Mochizuki M.M., "The Diaspora of a Jesuit Press: Mimetic Imitation on the World

Christian objects allowed to remain in Japan were ironically used to counter the Christian religion.

It is generally believed that this ban on Christianity led to its complete exclusion from Japan until around the beginning of the Meiji era (1868–1912). In actuality, however, Christian books illustrated with engraved pictures continued to creep into Japan even after the introduction of a ban of Christian books in 1630. Interestingly, government officials were not so much on the alert for western books, as few Japanese at the time could read and understand western languages.⁸ Instead, the watchful eyes of the authorities were focused on Chinese books translated from western books, which were linguistically more accessible to the Japanese.⁹ Even when a partial relaxation of the ban on the import of foreign books was carried out in 1720 by Tokugawa Yoshimune, the eighth Tokugawa shōgun, it purported to make the importation of Chinese non-Christian books easier, but not western books.¹⁰

This is probably how several western editions of the Old and New Testaments came into the hands of Japanese who were interested in *rangaku*, that is Dutch

Stage", in Dietz F. – Morton A. – Roggen L. (eds.), *Illustrated Religious Texts in the North of Europe, 1500–1800* (Farnham, Surrey: 2014) 113–134, at 132.

- 8 Hendrick Doeff, a Dutch director in the Deshima factory (1803–1817), wrote in *Herinneringen uit Japan (Recollections from Japan)* (Haarlem: 1833) 54: 'Dus worden de Kapteinen der jaarlijkes op Japan komende schepen verplicht, alle de boeken, die over de Godsdienst handelen, en alle uitwendige eeretekenen, zoo als rozenkransen, kruisbeelden of afbeeldingen van Heiligen en wat dies meer is, in een vat te doen [...] Doch hieronder zijn gene Bijbels of Psalmboeken begrepen. Ik had er voor mijn zelve op Decima verscheidene; de Japanneezen weten dit, en zullen er nimmer aanmerking op maken' ('all the successive Dutch directors were forced to store on board things brought to Japan by the crew and related to Christianity, such as Christian books, rosaries, images of Crucifixion and the Virgin Mary etc. in the containers, which were sealed by Japanese prosecutors [...]. However we were allowed to hold books like the Old and New Testament and Book of Psalms. I actually owned several copies of them and the Japanese knew it'). This report shows that the Dutch on Deshima were allowed to have some Christian books.
- 9 When the ban on Christian books was introduced, Japanese Confucian scholars were mainly appointed to the director of the office responsible for the censorship, or *Shomotsu Aratame-yaku*. See Ōba O., *Edo-jidai niokeru Tōsen Motiwatari-sho no Kenkyū (A Study of Books Carried to Japan by Chinese Ships during the Edo Period)* (Ōsaka: 1967) 47.
- 10 In 1630, Li Zhizao (1565–1630) edited *Tian Xue Chu Han (The First Set of Books about Heaven Learning)*, written by a Christian missionary, Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), which had been banned from import to Japan. Because it included not only Christian writings, but also some scientific ones, Yoshimune, with his relaxation of the ban in 1720, allowed the importation of some non-Christian volumes from this set of books, and others like it. Ōba, *Edo-jidai niokeru Tōsen Motiwatari-sho no Kenkyū* 123–124.

studies.¹¹ For example, Yamagata Shigeyoshi (1764–1836), a successful merchant and *rangaku* connoisseur, owned a copy of *Het Nieuwe Testament* (*The New Testament*) published by J. Ratelband around 1769.¹² Tsuji Ranshitsu (1756–1836), a *rangaku* scholar, inserted the title page of a copy of one of the Dutch editions of the Lutheran Bible (1671) into the manuscript of his unpublished Dutch–Japanese dictionary, although the Bible itself is now lost.¹³ The Matsura Museum in Hirado, Kyūshū, houses many western books collected by Matsura Sēzan (1760–1841), Lord of Hirado and a *rangaku* connoisseur, among which are found some volumes of Henry Matthew's *Letterlyke en practicale verclaring over den geheelen Byble of het Oude en Nieuwe Testament* (*A Literal and Practical Explanation of the Whole Bible, or the Old and New Testament*) published in 1741 in Delft.¹⁴ And yet another *rangaku* scholar, Watanabe Kazan (1793–1841), was recorded in a document dated 1840 as having borrowed three copies of a certain edition of the Old Testament, no longer extant, from Hatazaki Kanae (1807–1842), another *rangaku* scholar and a dignitary serving the Lord of Mito.¹⁵

The most interesting western object carried to Japan in this context was a print by Arnold Houbraken (1660–1719), “The Adoration of the Shepherds”, an illustration to *Taferelen der voornaamste geschiedenissen van het Oude en Nieuwe Testament, en andere boeken, bij de Heilige Schrift gevoegt* (*Images of the Foremost Stories of the Old and New Testament, and Other Books Added to Holy Scripture*) published in 1728 in The Hague.¹⁶ As the Japanese art historian Oka Yasumasa has reported, the composition of the print was used by Yasuda Raishū (d. 1858) when he painted “The Revenge of the Akō Retainers”

11 *Rangaku* was actually equivalent to Western Studies, because the Dutch, the only western people that most Japanese would encounter, embodied the West at this time for them. *Rangaku* scholars tried to learn what was going on in the West in terms of civilisation and culture through the Dutch working at the Dutch factory in Deshima and the books they offered them.

12 The book has been donated to and is owned by the Aijitsu Elementary School in Ōsaka. See *Bridge between Japan and the Netherlands through the Eyes of the ‘Oranda-Tsūji’ or the Japanese Interpreters for the Dutch*, exh. cat., Kōbe City Museum (Kōbe: 1998) 206, no. 167.

13 Matsuda K., *Yōgaku no Shoshi-teki Kenkyū* (*The Bibliographical Research on Western Studies*) (Kyōto: 2008) 373–374.

14 Ibidem 473–477; See also Matsuda K., *Blog Rangaku*, available from <http://d.hatena.ne.jp/tonsa/200905> (accessed: 01.09.2015).

15 Matsuda, *Blog Rangaku*, available from <http://d.hatena.ne.jp/tonsa/20050509/1241816243> (accessed: 25.12.2015). The completion of this essay owes much to the website.

16 It was co-published by Gerard Hoet, Jacobus Houbraken, and Bernard Picart.

[Figs. 6.2–6.3].¹⁷ Raishū modified traditional Christian iconography extremely cleverly to produce a painting of a samurai story taken from *kabuki*, Japanese popular dance theatre, where retainers take a brief rest in the darkness after a dangerous assault at night. The basic compositional framework, the effects of chiaroscuro, and the positions and gestures of the persons depicted in Houbraken's print were kept. Raishū simply exchanged Mary with the Infant in her arms for the leader of the retainers cradling the head of the foe. Japanese clothing was substituted for western dress. A lantern used as a main source of the light for the scene was switched to a *chōchin*, a Japanese paper lantern, and the interior scene was moved into the open air environment with the full moon in the sky.¹⁸

The owners of these Christian books and prints might not have comprehended their exact contents due to their lack of knowledge of the Dutch language. But even if they had understood the language, the stories of the Old Testament would have been considered foreign and profane, but not necessarily with all the specific implications of Christian Scripture. In this manner, two images printed on the front page of the Bible owned by Ranshitsu mentioned above, “Moses Receiving the Ten Commandments” and “The Baptism of Christ”, could be understood as secular landscape scenes with a man sitting atop a mountain or men bathing in a river.¹⁹ Likewise, Raishū could understand Houbraken's “The Adoration of the Shepherds” as a secular night scene with a mother and her infant child surrounded by people [Fig. 6.3]. Following

17 Oka Y., “Yasuda Raishū no *Akō Rōshi Hōshū-zu* Genzu wo megutte” (The Compositional Model for *The Revenge of the Akō Retainers* by Yasuda Raishū), *Kokka* 1342 (2007) 5–17. In the article, Oka acknowledges a Dutch engraver, Ad Stijman, who did research to identify the original composition of Raishū's work at Oka's request.

18 The *kabuki* story of the *Akō* retainers was based on an actual historical event that was extremely popular among Japanese audiences: in 1701 the Lord of *Akō* was sentenced to *harakiri*, or self-inflicted suicide, having been accused of *lèse-majesté* against a high dignitary called Kira. The forty-seven retainers of the Lord were unsatisfied with this sentence and tried to seek revenge against Kira in 1703.

19 An Italian Jesuit, Giovanni Battista Sidotti (1668–1714), conveyed the rough content of Christianity to a Japanese scholar and bureaucrat, Arai Hakuseki (1657–1725), already in 1709. Sidotti snuck into Japan to propagate Christianity, was arrested and interrogated by Arai, who put together what he knew from the interrogation of Sidotti in a manuscript of three volumes called *Sēyō Kibun* (*What Was Learned about the West from an Interrogation*). The first two volumes introduce the geographical and political state of the world, while the third concerns Christianity. Although the manuscript was not officially published until 1882, some examples copied by hand had been circulated among intellectuals from the beginning of the eighteenth century.



FIGURE 6.2 *Yasuda Raishū* after *Arnold Houbraken*, *The Revenge of the Akō Retainers* (nineteenth century). Watercolour on paper, 140.5 × 79.5 cm. Yamagata, Homma Art Museum.

IMAGE © HOMMA ART MUSEUM, YAMAGATA.



FIGURE 6.3 Arnold Houbraken (engraver), The Adoration of the Shepherds, in Gerard Hoet – Arnold Houbraken – Bernard Picard, *Taferelen der voornaamste geschiedenissen van het nieuwe testament* (The Hague, Pieter de Hondt: 1728). Engraving, 35.5 × 22.3 cm. Heidelberg, University Library (201 G 43 RES:3).

institution of the ban on Christianity by the Tokugawa shōgunate, nomadic Christian pictures were mediated and misinterpreted by non-Christians and lost their original meaning due to the interpreters' lack of biblical knowledge.

Books published in early modern Europe were usually composed on the basis of a Christian understanding of the world. This was true not only of religious books, but also of history books and of books with moral lessons. Although the Tokugawa shōgunate might not have overlooked overtly Christian books, the Christian foundation of other kinds of books was not always clear. Copies of the first volume of the Dutch edition of Johann Ludwig Gottfried's *Historische Chronick* (*Historical Chronicle*) (Frankfurt am Main, Philipp Heinrich Hutter: 1642), were thus once in the possession of Matsura Sēzan and Yoshio Kōgyū (1824–1800), an official Dutch–Japanese interpreter, both of whom were strongly interested in *rangaku*. Sēzan secured the first Dutch edition printed in Amsterdam in 1660 and noted a picture of the Holy Cross in the book. Comparison with a complete copy reveals that pages illustrated with “The Nativity of Jesus” and “The Passion of Christ” had been torn out Sēzan's copy, now owned by the Matsura Museum.²⁰ The copy acquired by Kōgyū (Leiden, Pieter van der Aa: 1698–1700), now in the Library of Kyōto University, is missing as many as 305 pages from its total of 561 pages. Almost all of these missing pages were illustrated with one or two pictures, sometimes with a certain Christian theme, at other times with a secular one.²¹ Although the owners became aware of the Christian quality of the book, albeit vaguely, painters who associated with them seemingly couldn't resist the temptation to adapt some of the illustrations printed in the book, probably unaware of their Christian content.

Ishikawa Tairō (1765–1818) copied “Adam and Eve in Paradise” from the book [Figs. 6.4–6.5].²² In borrowing its composition, Tairō modified the original

20 See Matsuda, *Blog Rangaku*, 21 March, 2009, available from <http://d.hatena.ne.jp/tonsa/200903> (accessed: 02.09.2015).

21 For details such as what pages were torn out of and what remarks were added to the copies now owned by the Matsura Museum and Kyōto University, see Matsuda, *Yōgaku no Shoshi-teki Kenkyū* 457–468.

22 A light-coloured ink painting (ca. 1800) on paper, 61.2 × 121.7 cm, private collection. The work, now deposited with the Ōsaka Museum of History, was discovered, folded up, among wastepaper. Kumakura I., *A Very Unique Collection of Historical Significance: The Kapitain (the Dutch Chief) Collection from the Edo Period. The Dutch Fascination with Japan*, exh. cat., Edo Tōkyō Museum (Tōkyō: 2000) 80, 240; and Katsumori N. (ed.), *Nihon Kaiga no Himitsu* (*A Secret of Japanese Paintings*), exh. cat., Kōbe City Museum (Kōbe: 2011–2012) 76, no. 46, 136. A *rangaku* connoisseur, Yamagata Shigeyoshi, collected a painting of the same subject by the same painter, which must have been another version,



FIGURE 6.4 *Ishikawa Tairō*, A Scene of the Creation of the Heaven and Earth (1800) after an engraving in Johann Lodewijk Gottfried, *Historische Kronyk: Vervattende een nauwkeurige en volkomene beschrijvingh der aldergedenckwaerdigste geschiedenissen des weerlds, van den aenvangh der scheppingh tot op 't jaer Christi 1576* (Leiden: Pieter van der Aa, 1698–1700). Ink on paper, 61.2 × 121.7 cm. IMAGE © PRIVATE COLLECTION.

aspect ratio to a further elongated one, which, though small in size, reminds us of the format of a Japanese screen, or *byōbu*. The tree above Adam and Eve on the left side were made more dominant and similar to trees painted in the manner of the Kanō School, the traditional Japanese painting school. He also enlarged the size of several animals, including an elephant in the middle ground, so that the fore- and the middle grounds were as emphasised as in *byōbu* paintings, compared to the European source, where compositional stress was placed on the continuous recession of space. Tairō thus bridged two cultures. He also copied the Hebrew letters, 'יהוה' (Yahweh), inscribed at the upper edge of the original print, probably not knowing the meaning of the word. The Japanese title traditionally given to the picture, "Tenchi Kaibyaku no Zu" (A Scene of the Beginning of Heaven and Earth) recalls Japanese mythology and furthers the sense that the theme of the original print was understood as a neutral, profane

because it was described as being 'large' in the list of Yamagata's collection. For the list of Yamagata's collection, see Arisaka T., "Gōshō Masuya Hēmon Yamagata Shigeyoshi no Zōsho Shūshū-hin nitsuite" (Books and Items Collected by Masuya Hēmon Yamagata Shigeyoshi), *Shisen* 33 (1966) 95–107; 34 (1967) 45–71; 35–36 (1967) 168–196, while the painting by Ishikawa is listed in 34 (1967) 67, no. 866. Its whereabouts are unknown.



FIGURE 6.5 Anon. (engraver), Adam and Eve in Paradise, in Johann Lodewijk Gottfried, *Historische Kronyk: Vervattende een nauwkeurige en volkomene beschrijvingh der aldergedenckwaerdighste geschiedenissen des weerelds, van den aenvangh der scheppingh tot op 't jaer Christi 1576* (Leiden: Pieter van der Aa, 1698–1700). Engraving and ink on paper. Kyōto, Library of Kyōto University (inv. no. 5-0 / H3 / 貴), formerly owned by Yoshio Kōgyū.

IMAGE © LIBRARY OF KYŌTO UNIVERSITY.

prehistory. A nomadic object could therefore often be *misinterpreted* and infiltrate a foreign culture simply by losing its original meaning.

Jan Luyken's *Het Menselyke Bedryf* (*The Trade Book*)

This was also the case for the emblem book, *Het Menselyke Bedryf*, referred to a number of times by Shiba Kōkan. Written and edited by a Dutch Pietistic writer and artist, Jan Luyken (1649–1712), and published in 1694 in Amsterdam, the book presents a sampling of a hundred professional trades, each provided with a title, an image, a motto relating the vignette to Christianity, and a poem paraphrasing the meaning hinted at by the motto. It was repeatedly reprinted, sometimes with the title *Spiegel van 't Menselyk Bedryf*, other times adding trades not included in the earlier editions. One reprint was published in the

same year as the first edition, while, already in the next year, two pirated editions appeared. With four further Dutch editions published in the eighteenth century alone, the book enjoyed great popularity in Holland.²³

The book's attraction to the Dutch can be found above all in the Christian moralising of the trades found in its emblematic mottos and poems. The motto of "The Baker" producing bread, a Eucharistic symbol for the body of Christ in Christian iconography, is: 'What fosters the body of human beings also fosters his soul' ('Die 't lichaam voed, Is voor 't gemoed').²⁴ A baker is allegorically compared to the divine saviour of souls. Even trades not usually associated with Christian meanings are also interpreted as such. In the motto of "The Pole and Mast Maker", for example, the need to defend oneself against flooding is related to the importance of protecting the Christian soul, while the poem paraphrased the hidden Christian meaning of the trade:

The man who labours with poles
Makes surely trip after trip to the West,
And in this way attempts to get to the East:
So does a soul, that seeks the best;
It turns from wealth and pleasure,
Thus to reach the source of wealth.²⁵

A properly controlled sail pole and mast are paralleled with Christian moral alignment in an attempt to navigate properly on earth.

23 For the detailed discussion, see Kobayashi-Sato Y. (ed.), *Jan Luyken Sēyō Shokunin-zu-shū* (*Jan Luyken's Book of Trades*) (Tōkyō: 2001) 217–244, esp. 219–221. For the various editions of the book, see Klaversma N. – Hannema K. *Jan en Casper Luyken te boek gesteld* (Hilversum: 1999) 363–365.

24 For the English translation of the mottos and poems quoted in this paper, I have referred to those by Josephine V. Brown, available from <http://www.pitts.emory.edu/dia/booklist.cfm?ID=4617> (accessed: 01.01.2016). The poem attached to "The Baker" is: 'O Creator of precious bread, / As food for the temporary life, / How your generosity has invited us / To give ourselves as bread to you! / O Bread, that fell from Heaven, / Satisfy then our soul' ('O Shepper van het lieve brood / Tot voedsel van het tyd'lyk leven, / Hoe heeft uw mildheid ons genood, / Om ons u zelfs tot brood te geven! / O Brood, dat uit den Hemel viel, / Verzadig gy dan onze ziel').

25 'De man die werkzaam is met boomen, / Die maakt vast gang op gang naar 't west, / En tracht naar door in 't oost te komen / Zo doet een ziel, die staat na 't best; / Die keert van weelden en vermaaken, / Om zoo aan weeldens bron te raaken'. The motto is: 'Does flood force thee down, Defend thyself' ('Dryft vloed u neer, Stelt u te weer').

Each trade in *Het Menselyke Bedryf* is placed by Luyken in a Christian context, and thereby the readers are induced to understand the profession metaphorically and to learn a moral lesson from it. It is nowadays unanimously accepted that Dutch genre paintings often present the viewer with a layer of meaning hidden under their visible surface.²⁶ Undoubtedly, Luyken not only follows the tradition of *emblemata*, but also adopted this genre painters' device. His book, which allegorically interpreted each trade in an unexpected way, succeeded in drawing the interest of Dutch general readers as well as of the Pietists, the very group of persons to which he belonged.

Het Menselyke Bedryf and Kōkan

Navigators and sailors for the Dutch East India Company, among others, must have enjoyed turning the pages of Jan Luyken's *Het Menselyke Bedryf* to find trades directly related to their work. It is consequently natural to infer that some of them would have carried a copy of the book in their travelling bag, perhaps killing time by reading it during the long voyage to Japan, only to offer it for profit or as a gift to someone interested in *rangaku*. At least one copy must have reached Shiba Kōkan's hands in this manner.

Kōkan, clearly intrigued by the western painting style, repeatedly copied and transformed images taken from various western books.²⁷ One of them must have been a trade book mentioned as being owned by Kōkan and used as a source by Tsuji Ranshitsu, who collected Dutch words to edit his unpublished Dutch–Japanese dictionary, *Rango-Hassen*.²⁸ Analysis of the works made by Kōkan, apparently after western pictures, suggests this trade book was none other than a copy of *Het Menselyke Bedryf*, which is unfortunately now lost. Although it is not known exactly when and how the copy was handed down to

26 Eddy de Jongh has contributed the most to this aspect. Although much has been discussed about his iconological theory, his starting point that Dutch genre paintings often contain many layers of meaning has usually been accepted. See the collection of his important articles, *Questions of Meaning: Theme and Motif in Dutch Seventeenth-Century Painting* (Leiden: 1995).

27 Among the 305 images published in the most comprehensive monograph of Kōkan compiled by Naruse F., *Shiba Kōkan—Shōgai to Gagyō* (*Shiba Kōkan: His Life and Works*) (Tōkyō: 1995), forty-one are copies after the prints illustrating some eleven Western books, two of which are Luyken's *Het Menselyke Bedryf* and Gottfried's *Historische Chronyk*, mentioned earlier in this essay.

28 Naruse, *Shiba Kōkan* vol. 1, 130. Unfortunately, I was unable to find any note of Tsuji related to the ownership of the book by Kōkan. See also note 13 above.



FIGURE 6.6 Shiba Kōkan after Jan Luyken, *The Sailor* (1785). Ink on silk, 25 × 26.3 cm.

Private collection.

IMAGE © YASAKA SHOBŌ, TŌKYŌ.

Kōkan, it would have been around 1785, the date inscribed on “The Sailor”, supposedly his first work after one of the engraved scenes found in *Het Menselyke Bedryf* (no. 94) [Figs. 6.6–6.7].²⁹ From then on, this book undoubtedly became one of his main reference books to introduce the West to the public, though always in his own way.

Kōkan, who had started his career as a painter of Japanese style, decided to move to western-style painting around 1779, and began to associate with *ranga*

29 According to Naruse, *Shiba Kōkan* vol. 1, 130, Kōkan imitated the original prints literally at first, as in “The Sailor”, and then gradually more freely.



FIGURE 6.7 *Jan Luyken, The Sailor, in Jan and Caspar Luyken, Spiegel van 't Menselyke Bedryf* (Amsterdam, Kornelis vander Sys: 1718). Engraving, 7.8 × 8.8 cm. Private collection.

IMAGE © YORIKO KOBAYASHI-SATO.

(Dutch-style painting) painters and *rangaku* scholars.³⁰ His strong interest in *rangaku* even led him to manage to meet Isaac Titsingh (1745–1812), one of the directors of the Dutch Deshima Factory, during his visits to Edo for an audience with the Shōgun in 1780 and 1782. Kōkan's artistic production at this time suggests he made good use of these opportunities, as well as of a visit to Nagasaki in 1788 when he was allowed to enter the closed island of Deshima that housed

30 See note 11.

the Dutch factory, to gather knowledge directly from westerners.³¹ Already in 1783, Kōkan had produced a copper plate print, “Mimeguri no Kē”, for the first time in Japan, the suggestion of a deep spatial recession in which strongly implies Kōkan’s knowledge of western pictorial manners.³² By 1785, when he copied “The Sailor”, after Luyken’s print, he was significantly acquainted with the western manner of painting.

The extraordinary interest that Kōkan had in *Het Menselyke Bedryf* can be inferred from the fact that he appropriated eleven images from it and produced sixteen copies based on them throughout his life: the frontispiece, as well as “The Basket Maker”, “The Tin Founder”, “The Sail Maker”, “The Cooper”, “The Candlestick Maker”, “The Tanner”, “The Mason”, “The Peat Cutter”, “The Sailor”, and “The Fisherman” (nos. 10, 26, 39, 40, 42, 59, 70, 74, 94, and 95 in *Het Menselyke Bedryf*). Initially, Kōkan replicated the original compositions quite literally [Figs. 6.6–6.7]. But gradually he began to modify some details and create a hybrid composition based on his own ideas. A copy of “The Fisherman” (no. 95), which was produced in his later phase, and Kōkan’s last copy after Luyken according to Naruse—one of the best Kōkan researchers—is especially fascinating, because he almost correctly transcribes the title, “De Visser”, and the motto from the original print onto the upper edge of his copy [Figs. 6.8–6.9]:³³

All thou, who swim in the world’s streams,
The large fishnet thou canst not escape.³⁴

The large fishnet mentioned in the motto suggests the divine will of God. This is why a cross on a hill and a church at its foot can be seen in the far background of the original engraving. The fisherman drawing the fishnet ashore in the middle ground could then symbolise missionaries saving people from the earthly world. A western audience of the time would have immediately been reminded of the biblical story of Christ in Galilee, where Christ encountered the four ‘fishers of men’: Simon, Andrew, James, and John.³⁵ Kōkan, who grew up in a Japan where Christianity had long been strictly prohibited, was naturally unfamiliar with this religious account. So it makes sense that he did not

31 Shiba Kōkan, *Kōkan Saiyū Nikki 4* (*Kōkan’s Diary during His Trip to Western Japan*) (unpublished ms., 1815), in Asakura H. et al. (eds.), *Shiba Kōkan Zenshū*, vol. 1 (Tōkyō: 1992) 296–324, esp. 316–323.

32 Naruse, *Shiba Kōkan* vol. 1, 109–120.

33 Naruse, *Shiba Kōkan* vol. 2, 321.

34 ‘Dy al, die zwemd, in ’s waerelds stroomen, / ’t Groot visnet kunt gy niet ontkomen’.

35 *Matthew* 4:18–22.



FIGURE 6.8 *Shiba Kōkan after Jan Luyken, The Fisherman (ca. 1810). Ink on silk, 24.6 × 22.5 cm. Private Collection.*

IMAGE © YASAKA SHOBŌ, TŌKYŌ.

take the Christian motifs in the middle- and background into consideration, instead choosing to make the fishnet scene rather unremarkable and delete the cross and the church. Through Kōkan's mediation, the original scene's religious intimations were transformed into a secular Japanese landscape, with the fisherman wearing Japanese cloth and sitting in the foreground against gently sloping mountains far afield without a single dramatic shadowed cloud in the sky.³⁶

Kōkan was not unfamiliar with the word *emblemata*, because in his writings including *Shunparō Hikki* (*A Collection of Writings by Kōkan*) (1811), he

36 Kōkan's knowledge about Christianity must have been collected from *rangaku* scholars around him. Not knowing it in detail, he regarded it as just a means to educate people, and must not have noticed its exclusive monotheistic theory. See Naruse, *Shiba Kōkan* vol. 1, 327–335.



FIGURE 6.9 *Jan Luyken, The Fisherman, in Jan and Caspar Luyken, Spiegel van 't Menselyke Bedryf* (Amsterdam, Kornelis vander Sys: 1718). Engraving, 7.8 × 8.8 cm. Private collection.

IMAGE © YORIKO KOBAYASHI-SATO.

repeatedly referred to the Dutch word, 'zinnebeel' [*sic*], or 'emblem', and commented on it as follows: 'in Holland books exist that offer a moral lesson through a metaphor or parable, which is hardly understood by the Japanese'.³⁷

37 Asakura H. et al. (eds.), *Shiba Kōkan Zenshū*, vol. 2 (Tōkyō: 1992) 31–113, at 91 and 98: 'シンネベールとて、彼の国の譬えを以て教としたる書あり、是は一向に解しがたし'. A Dutch–Japanese dictionary (completed in 1816) edited by a Dutch director at Deshima, Hendrick Doeff (1803–1817), includes the word 'zinnebeeld', which is

He even wrote a book, *Kunmō Gakai-shū* (*A Collection of Illustrations and Their Interpretations to Enlighten the Ignorant*) (1814), which relies upon several Chinese moralising books, and illustrated it with his own woodblock prints.³⁸ The book is deceptively like an emblem book, but Kōkan interpreted each image as merely simple worldly wisdom without deep religious significance. He must have sought his model in *Isoho-monogatari*, a Japanese translation of Aesop's *Fables*, which is cited by him as 'zinnebeel' [sic].³⁹ The *Fables* of Aesop was introduced to Japan by Christian missionaries and translated and published in Japan in 1593. Although this missionary version was banned after dispelling Christianity from Japan, the *Fables* continued to enjoy popularity among Japanese readers throughout the Edo period, with the Japanese title, *Isoho-monogatari*, though greatly modified to appear as Japanese moral tales.⁴⁰

It was therefore natural for Kōkan not to expect to find Christian teachings in the images of the hundred trades in *Het Menselyke Bedryf*. His lack of understanding of the Dutch language perhaps kept him from reading it in detail, luckily or unluckily. This assumption is supported by his citation and translation of the motto for "The Lawyer" (no. 89) [Fig. 6.10] in one of his writings, *Shunparō Hikki*:

Among western pictures is found that of a lawyer, which is the name given to scholars. The text attached to it is as follows:

The dust and mud on the earth are not worth being entangled in.

The translation is: various tools and furniture one seeks to get throughout his life, and what one tries to obtain through contending for interest, these are all just dust, soil, and mud.⁴¹

paraphrased as 'Mono nazoraje Koshiraetaru Zō' (an image compared to something). I refer to a digitalised version of a copy of the dictionary, available from http://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/ho10/ho10_01749/ho10_01749_0008/ho10_01749_0008_p0306.jpg (accessed: 25.08.2016).

38 Asakura et al., *Shiba Kōkan Zenshū*, vol. 2, 169–330.

39 Ibidem 90–91.

40 Hamada S., "Isoho-monogatari to Edo-Jidai niokeru sono Juyō nitsuite" (Isono-Stories and Its Acceptance during the Edo Period), *Bulletin of the Graduate School of Bukkyō University, Institute of Literature* 38 (2010) 57–71.

41 '西洋の画にアドボカートと云う者、是は窮理学者の号なり。Het Stof Slik ard, en is Den Zwit niet weard 人一生涯衣食住のために求め得る処の諸器具諸家具、己に得んとて利を争ひて求め得る処の物は皆塵なり、土や泥などにてあり。 See Asakura et al., *Shiba Kōkan Zenshū*, vol. 2, 90.



FIGURE 6.10 *Jan Luyken, The Lawyer, in Jan and Caspar Luyken, Spiegel van 't Menselyke Bedryf (Amsterdam, Kornelis vander Sys: 1718). Engraving, 9.6 × 15.6 cm. Private collection.*

IMAGE © YORIKO KOBAYASHI-SATO.

Compared to Kōkan's long translation, the original Dutch motto is brief and simple: earthly things are not worth appreciation.⁴² Kōkan's translation extends its meaning with his own moralising interpretation, now shed of its Christian connotations. The free translation of 'The dust and mud on the earth' ('Het Stof Slik ard') as various tools and furniture as trivial as dust and mud, which one seeks to get throughout his life, would hint at the existence of a scholar helping him to interpret the text, like Ōtsuki Gentaku (1757–1827), a mentor of the group of scholars and painters who were interested in *rangaku*.

Kōkan's misunderstanding of the meaning of this motto allowed him *safely* to miss the name of 'Jesus Christ' in the poem for "The Lawyer".

If Jesus Christ would be rightly honoured
By those who profess him with the mouth,
About refraining, wanting, and avoiding,
According to the judgment of the highest Court,
Jurisprudence would be in a bad state.⁴³

This kind of message, highly appreciating Christianity, would not, under the policy of the ban, have been introduced to Japan, while the written text means nothing for someone who can't read it. Kōkan, like almost all other Japanese of the time, undoubtedly looked at the illustration and understood the depicted belongings of the lawyer, such as the tools and furniture in the room, as that in which the people were vainly entangled, without thinking of the metaphorical meaning disguised by Luyken. An image can promote mutual understanding between viewers without verbal intervention, but sometimes it can lead to interpretations different to the object's original meaning.

The whereabouts of the copy of *Het Menselyke Bedryf* owned by Kōkan is unknown, so it cannot be asserted with certainty whether it was in a complete state. Nothing can therefore be said about whether Kōkan studied Luyken's pictures *with* or *without* the poems paraphrasing the Christian message lurking in each trade. Yet, what is certain is that Kōkan compared the images of trades illustrating *Het Menselyke Bedryf* to those found in the Japanese pictorial tradition. In Japan, professional trades and artisans had long been—at least since the thirteenth century—the subject matter of scroll paintings which

42 The original Dutch text cited by Kōkan is: 'Het stof en slyk der aard, En is den twist niet waard'.

43 'Weird Jesus Christus recht geëerd / Van die hem met de mond belyden, / En welbetracht het geen hy leerd, / Van laaten, derven, ende myden, / Naar willekeur van 't hoogste Recht, / De Rechtsgeleerdheid had het slecht'.

were called *shokunin uta-awase-zu* (imaginary pairs of artisans competing on the quality of their *uta*).⁴⁴ These kinds of images were usually composed of pairs of artisans, in which each artisan competed with his/her partner for the superiority of his/her poem (*uta*) composed on a specific subject like love or the moon.⁴⁵ The number of artisans chosen was first just ten (five pairs), but gradually increased, and at last amounted to as many as 142 (seventy-one pairs). From around the sixteenth century onward, painters also depicted artisans outside the *uta-awase* tradition, sometimes in city views inside and outside Kyōto. These were called *rakuchū rakugai-zu*.⁴⁶ The economic prosperity at the time directed people's attention to the layers of labour that supported their rich lifestyles. By the time Kōkan was active as a painter, artisans were one of the favoured pictorial themes. Seeing some of the trades represented by Luyken, he must have noticed that some occupations, such as carpenter, cooper, fisherman, artist, and musician, to name just a few, existed both in Japan and the West. From the perspective of the Japanese tradition, he would not have expected any additional Christian allegorical meaning embedded in Luyken's prints. Japanese *ranga* painters, like Kōkan, active at the dawn of a period of global contact, interpreted visual objects that had just arrived from beyond their borders but within a context familiar to them, and were consequently led to create an amalgam of Japanese and western pictorial traditions.

Conclusion

By moving beyond a cultural border, nomadic religious objects changed their forms and/or meanings, depending on whom they interested and how they were accommodated within a new cultural framework. Changes were therefore never uniform: as mentioned at the outset of this paper, Mughal culture could more easily accommodate Christian ideas, due to a shared familiarity with the

44 *Uta*, also called *waka*, is a short form of poem traditionally produced in Japan. It consists of only thirty-one letters, being divided into five groups, each of which consists of five, seven, five, seven, and seven letters.

45 A famous example of scroll painting with *uta-awase* as its pictorial theme, *Tōhoku-in Shokunin Uta-awase* (*The Waka Contests by Artisans in Tōhoku-in Temple*), produced in the fourteenth century and owned by the National Museum, Tōkyō, is available in digital form from: http://www.emuseum.jp/detail/100272?d_lang=ja&s_lang=ja&word=&class=1&title=&c_e=®ion=&era=&cptype=&owner=&pos=97&num=5&mode=detail¢ury= (accessed: 03.07.2016).

46 For Japanese paintings depicting artisans, see Ishida H. (ed.), *Shokunin Zukushi-e* (*Artisans Depicted*) (Tōkyō: 1977).

figures of Christianity, strong patronage from the Shah, and Netherlandish artists active at their courts. The Persian artists, thus, could more easily accommodate western style and materials, as well as Christian subjects, while firmly maintaining their own tradition, which placed priority on a flatly patterned composition and a decorative framework. “A Man Serving the Safavid Court”, for example, could display a masterly integration of the Mughal style in the foreground with the western style of the background landscape.⁴⁷ Some of Muhammad Zaman’s works, which almost literally copy western models, also presented a very happy unification of the two different cultures [Fig. 6.1].

The cultural mediations between East and West experienced by Japanese artists proceeded quite differently. *Ranga* painters, who had a chance to see only a limited number of western pictures shipped to Japan, found in these pictures a world and a painting manner entirely unknown to them, and realised that the western way of seeing the outside world and the past differed quite radically from their own. They tried to understand it by relating it to something familiar. Nevertheless, it was still impossible for them to distinguish Old Testament narratives or moralising subjects with Christian undertones from profane stories. They could do nothing but take them at face value and cast them in roles known from their own tradition to produce a new object. From such pictorial attempts was born a group of Japanese western-style paintings which has traditionally been termed *yōfūga*.⁴⁸ Usually *yōfūga* is regarded as marginal within canonical Japanese art history, such that the works discussed here by Raishū, Tairō, and Kōkan have sometimes been left out in the cold [Figs. 6.2, 6.4, 6.6, 6.8]. However, as Kaufmann has argued, art is never completed in a specific time span and area of space. Rather, it is always crossing other currents of art, especially since the age of global expansion, when religious nomadic objects moved extensively.⁴⁹ In order to reconsider the conventional model of art history and invent a new framework more suitable to our global period, the *misinterpretations* created by *ranga* painters in terms of nomadic objects must be studied as well as the more successful reception of messages.

47 St. Petersburg, Library of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences (inv. no. D-181, fol. 43r.).

48 For more on *yōfūga*, see Katsumori N., *Kinsē Ikoku-shumi no Shi-teki Kenkyū* (*A Study of the Exoticism in Japanese Early Modern Art*) (Kyōto: 2011); and Naruse, *Edo-jidai Yōfūga-shi*.

49 Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*.

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Propagatio Imaginum: The Translated Images of Our Lady of Foy

Ralph Dekoninck

In 1657, the German Jesuit Wilhelm Gumpfenberg published the first edition of his *Atlas Marianus*,¹ a huge work recording the principal miraculous images of the Virgin all over the world. Without going into the complex history of the development of this sacred topography, we may note that one of its essential principles consists in giving an account of the vast web woven by Marian devotion throughout the entire Christian world. As Gumpfenberg writes, the ‘idea is to show how much the world owes to Mary and how much it may expect from her’.² And he makes clear, in the address to the reader, that ‘by means of miraculous images, this Marian atlas will teach with what power the Mother of God preserves the World’.³ To do this, he brings together a wide variety of available information on Marian cults, whatever their historical origin or geographical location. In drawing up such an inventory in this way, Gumpfenberg is taking part in the movement of universalisation of the particular (each localised cult of the Virgin) and of particularisation of the universal (the Virgin Mary in all these imaged instances).

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- 1 Gumpfenberg Wilhelm, *Atlas Marianus sive de imaginibus Deiparae per Orbem Christianum miraculosis* (Ingolstadt, Georg Haenlin: 1657). Gumpfenberg Wilhelm, *Marianischer Atlas: das ist wunderthätige Mariabilder so in aller christlichen Welt mit Wunderzeichen berhuembt durch Guilielmm Gumpfenberg* (Ingolstadt, Georg Haenlin: 1657). Gumpfenberg Wilhelm, *Atlas Marianus quo Sanctae Dei Genitricis Mariae Imaginum Miraculosarum origines duodecim historiarum centuriis explicantur* (Munich, Johann Jäcklin: 1672). See the French translation of the German edition of 1658 (Munich: Johann Jäcklin): *L’Atlas Marianus de Wilhelm Gumpfenberg*, ed. and trans. O. Christin – N. Balzamo – F. Flückiger (Neuchâtel: 2015). See also Christin O. – Flückiger F. – Ghermani N. (eds.), *Marie mondialisée: L’Atlas Marianus de Wilhelm Gumpfenberg et les topographies sacrées de l’époque moderne* (Neuchâtel: 2014).
 - 2 ‘Mens [...] est mihi, ostendere quantum Mariae mundus debeat, et quantum ab ea expectare possit’. Gumpfenberg Wilhelm, *Idea Atlantis Mariani* (Trento, Caroli Zanetti: 1655) 7.
 - 3 ‘Endtlich, mit was Krafft die Mutter Gottes die Welt erhalte, wird diser marianische Altasz lehren mittels der wunderthaetigen Mariabilder’. Gumpfenberg, *Marianischer Atlas* (1658) 21; Gumpfenberg, *L’Atlas Marianus* 54.

The Displacement of the Same into the Other

This idea of the dissemination of a unique figure through multiple images finds one of its most eloquent expressions in the frontispiece to the 1672 edition [Fig. 7.1].⁴ Mary appears there enthroned on the very top of the Holy House of Loreto, which floats between the celestial orb and the terrestrial orb. While at first sight we might recognise a fairly traditional representation of the Virgin of Loreto, *Mediatrice caeli et terrae* as we read below the image, the way in which the House of Loreto is represented is in fact rather original: it serves as it were as a prism through which the images of Mary, inscribed on the celestial globe, like Christianised signs of the zodiac, are diffracted over the earth by first being reproduced on the roof and floor of the House. This introductory engraving, which is also programmatic for the entire volume, seems then to send the following message: the Holy House, likened in metonymical fashion to the Virgin herself, is understood not only as the location of the Incarnation of the Word but also as the matrix from which all the images of the Virgin and her Son are generated, in a kind of iconic parthenogenesis or Marian iconogenesis.

This imaged theory of the diffusion of Marian images stands in deliberate opposition to the many Protestant criticisms which, since the sixteenth century, had denounced this gangrenous proliferation of an illusory sacred through the multiplication of images reputed to be miraculous, infecting, like cancerous cells, the Catholic Church to the very limits of the Christianised world. Thus they questioned the power of images to incarnate too materially the sacred, which cannot be deemed immanent of objects and therefore cannot be fragmented in order to be scattered. For here lies another sticking point between the opposed denominations: how can the same image seen as sacred by virtue of its miracles and ancient lineage, or even by virtue of its paternity (as, for example, when attributed to Saint Luke himself), 'beget' in turn new images that are just as efficacious as their iconic prototype whereas these new images do not enjoy the same pedigree? In other words, in a universe such as that of early modernity, which started to promote the value of authenticity and originality, how can one justify the transfer of the aura of the unique to the multiple? What we are going to examine here is therefore not so much the displacement of objects as their 'replication' (a word to be understood in its biological sense), giving the illusion of or founding the belief in a sacral ubiquity—in the present case, the universal presence of the Virgin through all her

4 Christin O. – Leutrat E., "Une théologie de l'image en images: Les frontispices de l'*Atlas Marianus*", in Christin – Flückiger – Ghermani, *Marie mondialisée* 181–183.



FIGURE 7.1 Melchior Haffner, title page to Wilhelm Gumpfenberg, *Atlas Marianus* (Munich, J. Jaecklin: 1672). Engraving, in-fol. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (ESlg/2 V.ss. 51).

IMAGE © BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, MUNICH.

material incarnations—that is to say, of a form of displacement, in space and in time, of the same into the other, a displacement whose methods and stakes we need to understand.

Rather than the idea of a reproducibility of the sacred leading to its fragmentation, as denounced by the Protestants, Catholic apologists defended the idea of the miraculous dissemination of a force that removes the contradiction between multiplicity and unity, in the same way that it seeks to avoid any confusion between the image and its model. Hence Gumpfenberg goes so far as to develop a theory on the ‘magnetism’ of Marian images that resonates with his frontispiece and its way of visually giving an account of the same energy diffusing like the rays of the sun. This contagious force affecting the whole world and moving across all geographical and social borders is also transmitted to replicas of images:

The magnet transmits its power to the iron ring in such a way that the ring may transmit it to another ring, in the manner of a chain. It is certain that the miraculous force that resides in the image of Mary comes from Mary herself and true believers know through long experience that this power also extends to images that have had contact with the original image. In this case, for what reasons may not images created on the model of the original, even outside the will of the master, exercise a greater efficacy than other images in a faithful heart?⁵

Such a power of emanation from the original image clearly finds its source in the Virgin herself, this origin thus guaranteeing the orthodoxy of a theory that is, one might say, magical, even if it seeks to base itself on the pseudo-scientific idea of magnetism theorised at the same moment by another Jesuit,

5 ‘Der Magnetstain gibt ein Krafft dem eysenen Ring auff solche Weisz, dasz ers einem andern und also fort in Form einer Ketten mag mithailen. Gewisz ists, dasz die wunderthaetige Krafft, so sich in dem Mariabild befindet, von Maria herkombt, unnd ist der Rechtglaubigen bestaendige Erfahrunsz, dasz underweilen solche Krafft auch in diejenige Bilder sich erstrecke, von welchen das erste beruehrt worden. Warumb wolten dann nit auch diejenige Bilder, so den Originalen gantz nachgemacht, auc wider den Willen desz Maisters in einem glaubigen Hertzen mehr dann andere vermogen?’ Gumpfenberg, *Marianischer Atlas* (1658) 17–18; Gumpfenberg, *L’Atlas Marianus* 53. See Christin O. – Flückiger F., ‘Introduction: *L’Atlas Marianus* de Wilhelm Gumpfenberg: une topographie sacrée à l’âge de la science classique’, in Christin – Flückiger – Ghermani, *Marie mondialisée* 9–23, at 19; Deschamp M., ‘Von wunderthätigen Mariae-Bilder: De la défense et de l’illustration des saintes images de Marie’, in Christin – Flückiger – Ghermani, *Marie mondialisée* 195–210, at 198–200.

Athanasius Kircher, who defined the *virtus magnetica* as a force capable of attracting all similar bodies.⁶

Furthermore, this quotation seems to effect a slippage from the idea of the image as contact relic towards that of simple copy whose efficacy seems to depend on the faith of the believer, at least in theory; because this move from an object-based to a reception-based notion of copying founded on the resemblance between the copy and the model or on the preservation of the same designation hides a more complex mix of indexical and iconic (in the sense of Charles S. Peirce) logics, the first being founded on the idea of contact and the second on the idea of similitude. More precisely, the authenticity and efficacy of the replicated images depend on a formal, material, and institutional association between them and their iconic prototype.

The Nomadic Tropism of the Miraculous Image

Let's now look at the way Gumpfenberg gives a concrete account of this diffusion of power through specific images. The frontispiece of the *Atlas Marianus*, which in a certain way illustrates this theory of the image, relates to the Holy House of Loreto—a choice that is in no way random. This was none other than the main Marian cult of Europe from the sixteenth century and the paragon of all sacred nomadic objects.⁷ And it is to the Virgin of Loreto, whose image is the 'first among all Marian images'—just as its House is first among all churches—that the *Atlas Marianus* is dedicated. In the 1672 edition, Gumpfenberg relates that on 14 June 1643, when he had just arrived in Regensburg, the Virgin appeared to him to ask him to erect a replica of the Holy House of Loreto on the banks of the Danube.⁸ His undertaking was thus born out of an invitation to duplicate this matrix of images that is the Santa

6 Kircher Athanasius, *Magnes sive de arte magnetica opus tripartitum* (Rome, Biagio Deversini and Zenobio Masotti: 1654). See Baldwin M., "Kircher's Magnetic Investigations", in Stolzenberg D. (ed.), *The Great Art of Knowing: The Baroque Encyclopedia of Athanasius Kircher* (Stanford, CA: 2001) 27–36; Saussy H., "Magnetic Language: Athanasius Kircher and Communication", in Findlen P. (ed.), *Athanasius Kircher: The Last Man Who Knew Everything* (New York, NY – London: 2004) 263–281.

7 See Bercé Y.-M., *Lorette aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles: Histoire du plus grand pèlerinage des Temps modernes* (Paris: 2011).

8 Gumpfenberg, *Atlas Marianus* (1672) 928. Most of the European and non-European copies seek to reproduce faithfully the smallest details of the Holy House whether in the external form or the internal appearance.

Casa, likened by Gumpfenberg to a ship whose mast is the Cross of Christ and whose sail is the cloak of Mary: 'Moved on four occasions, this Holy House could never be located far from the sea, because it is a ship'.⁹ If the cult of Loreto was able to occupy such a position in European and world Catholicism it is precisely because it symbolised the nomadic nature of the miraculous image—and here in particular the building that sheltered it, but which stands metonymically for the image itself¹⁰—as well as the pilgrim condition of every Christian, perpetually on the move in the endless search for the sacred.¹¹

Furthermore, the exemplary case of Loreto reminds us that one of the constitutive dimensions of every miraculous image is its *translatio*. In the *Peritia* accompanying the *Atlas Marianus* from the 1672 edition on, and which presents itself as a genuine Marian iconology,¹² Gumpfenberg devotes one of the twelve chapters to this question of the movement of the image. The transfer of the image from one place to another, we read, 'always gives rise to a beginning or increase of veneration'.¹³ This transfer may be either supernatural or natural, and is either pious (as when for example it consists in saving the image from danger) or impious (as when for example the image is moved from a sacred to a profane place), and will therefore be followed by a reward or by a punishment. Supernatural conveyance monopolises Gumpfenberg's attention. He considers successively what is transferred (the materials of the place of worship, the place of worship in its entirety as with the Holy House, etc.), the places of origin and arrival (from one church to another, from a well to an altar, on a mountain, near a road, etc.), who performs the transfer (the Virgin herself, angels, an invisible power, etc.), and finally, the nature of the journey (long, wonderful, etc.).¹⁴ The *translatio* thus appears to be one of the foundational

9 Gumpfenberg, *Marianischer Atlas* (1658) 7; Gumpfenberg, *L'Atlas Marianus* 58.

10 Dekoninck R., "Figuring the Threshold of Incarnation: Caravaggio's Incarnate Image of the Madonna of Loreto", in Melion W.S. – Palmer Wandel L. (eds), *Image and Incarnation: The Early Modern Doctrine of the Pictorial Image*, Intersections 39 (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2015) 341–370.

11 See for example Richeome Louis, *Le Pelerin de Lorete accomplissant son vœu faict a la glorieuse Vierge Marie mere de Dieu* (Arras, Guillaume de la Riviere: 1604).

12 See Dekoninck R., 'Une science expérimentale des images mariales: La *Peritia* de l'*Atlas Marianus* de Wilhelm Gumpfenberg', *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 232 (2015) 135–154.

13 'Hae translationes nunquam non dedere cultus, vel principium vel augmentum'. Gumpfenberg, *Atlas Marianus* (1672), *Peritia*, no p.

14 Gumpfenberg, *Atlas Marianus* (1672), *Peritia*, no p.

moments of the veneration and, if it is not at the origin of it, it is presented as a major auxiliary to it. In particular, it supplies the proof that the images are literally moved by an invisible power, the movement here being equivalent to the life that animates these fixed images. While these are venerated in a precise location, they arrived there only through the action of divine grace.

The Propagation of Power through Copies

The *translatio* concerns not only the journey of a miraculous image from its site of invention to its site of definitive installation. It continues to mark the diffusion of the same cult through a more or less extensive space, as if the initial and foundational movement of *translatio* is perpetuated, furthering the propagation of the *virtus* of the miracle-working image. We could therefore speak of a nomadic tropism characterising this type of image.

But what exactly happens when a new cult is born out of a replica of the original image? How can a particular image, without moving, 'father' subsidiary images that display at one and the same time dependence and autonomy with regard to their initial model? As Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood write, 'pilgrimage [...] is an assertion that a replica would not suffice. [...] For if a replica were really just as good as an original, there is no need to send in the original by airlift'.¹⁵ And yet, as Nagel and Wood emphasise, 'the medieval icons in Rome became ersatz originals at the very moment when they began to be intensively copied. The copying created them as originals. Until then they had been nothing more than models'.¹⁶ An image would thus become efficacious through its copies, or rather its sacral power would be increased by this phenomenon of spreading, which is also a phenomenon of propagation of the power reaching images that one might call relays, until constituting a web woven from the principal shrine. In the end, the copies, authenticated by the prodigious powers heaven grants them, can no longer be distinguished from the original.

15 Nagel A. – Wood C.S., *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York, NY: 2010) 195.

16 Ibidem 202.

From this point of view, the case of the icon of the Virgin in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome is exemplary.¹⁷ Following on from the Virgin of Loreto, which occupies the first place in the *Atlas Marianus*, Gumppenberg presents this equally famous and celebrated image, which later came to be known under the title of *Salus Populi Romani*. Gumppenberg relates that it was Francisco Borgia, third General of the Company of Jesus, who ‘was the first to obtain from His Holiness the Pope the privilege of copying this image of Mary, which he had done by the most talented masters’.¹⁸ He goes on: ‘It was produced in all forms and sizes, as well as in many different materials, before being distributed throughout all Christianity. Hence, in all countries, to this day this image is probably better known than any other’.¹⁹ The fame of the Madonna of Santa Maria Maggiore is thus founded on the spreading of reproductions, all supposed to lead back to their unique Roman model, the artists mentioned in the quotation having only to ensure, through their art, fidelity to the model so that a certain visual identity was guaranteed, even if this resemblance can appear to be rather tenuous. According to Mia Mochizuki:

to the early modern mind, what counted about all the copies of the *Salus Populi Romani Madonna* was that after the printing press model, they were ‘originals’ preserving and furthering canonical iconographical identity, and thus functioned as sacred art under the imprimatur of papal authority, regardless of their individual stylistic autonomy.²⁰

17 This image has already been the subject of many studies, among which are: Wolf G., *Salus Populi Romani: Die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter* (Weinheim: 1990); Belting H., *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. E. Jephcott (Chicago, IL: 1994) 68–72; Mochizuki M., “Sacred Art in an Age of Mechanical Reproduction: The *Salus Populi Romani Madonna* in the World”, in Hirakawa K. (ed.), *Sacred and Profane in Early Modern Art* (Kyōto: 2016) 129–143; D’Elia P.M., “La prima diffusione nel mondo dell’immagine di Maria ‘Salus Populi Romani’”, *Fede e Arte* 2 (1954) 1–11; Noreen K., “The Icon of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome: An Image and Its Afterlife”, *Renaissance Studies* 19 (2005) 660–672; Noreen K., “Replicating the Icon of Santa Maria Maggiore: The *Mater ter admirabilis* and the Jesuits of Ingolstadt”, *Visual Resources* 24 (2008) 19–37.

18 Gumppenberg, *Marianischer Atlas* (1658) 26; Gumppenberg, *L’Atlas Marianus* 67.

19 Gumppenberg, *Marianischer Atlas* (1658) 26; Gumppenberg, *L’Atlas Marianus* 67–68.

20 Mochizuki, “Sacred Art in an Age of Mechanical Reproduction” 137.

'Authenticity relied upon a "believed association" with the Roman original, no matter how distant that connection may actually have been in reality'.²¹ 'All copies lead to Rome' as Akira Akiyama has rightly put it.²²

To return to the quotation from Gumpffenberg, we might say that so far we find ourselves within a, so to speak, propagandist logic which manifests itself through an iconic network on the global level. But the continuation of the text opens out towards a different perspective: 'Mary's mercy, moreover, extends so far that these images are also well known because of their miracles'.²³ Once again, Gumpffenberg insists on the true prototype of all these images, namely, the Virgin herself, which allows him to defend in a very orthodox manner the idea of a voluntary diffusion of her power to and through all these images, including and above all those that derive from a prototype already granted her miraculous grace. This is a very common position in the Catholic literature of the time. For example, one of the apologists of the Our Lady of Liesse says: 'the Image of Our Lady does not only perform miracles in Liesse; the Images of this Image also have the power to make us see Mary's power'.²⁴

21 Ibidem 133. Commenting on a passage from Petrus Canisius' *De Maria Virgine incomparabili* (Ingolstadt, David Sartorius: 1577) 697 ('[...] tamen et aliae Virginis icones, licet aliena manu factae fuissent, Lucae nomine commendari potuerunt, quoniam cum primae inter vetustissimas ad Lucae archetypum essent expressae, non immerito, quocumque demum pervenerint, nomen gratiosus a primo autore illo Luca retinuisse videantur'), M. Mochizuki stresses that 'Despite different styles and degrees of accuracy, representations of the Virgin could qualify as "Lukan images", whether St. Luke painted multiple models himself or only a single archetype from which an unbroken chain flowed in an uninterrupted, almost biblical begetting of authorization by precedence, so long as it was formed directly after one of the representations attributed to him' (Mochizuki, "Sacred Art in an Age of Mechanical Reproduction" 133). See Melion W.S., "Quae lecta Canisius offert et spectata Diu: The Pictorial Images in Petrus Canisius' *De Maria Virgine* of 1577/1583", in Melion W.S. – Palmer Wandel L. (eds.), *Early Modern Eyes, Intersections* 13 (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2009) 262–265; Noreen, "The Icon of Santa Maria Maggiore" 665–666; Bacci M., *Il pennello dell'Evangelista: Storia delle immagini sacre attribuite a san Luca* (Pisa: 1998), see in particular, chapter v: 'Le icone di san Luca dopo il Concilio di Trento' 329–380; Dekoninck R., "An Icon among the Statues: The Early-Modern Reception in the Southern Low Countries of the Sieneese Painting of *Notre-Dame de Grâce* in Cambrai", in Coulie B. (ed.), *Path to Europe: Influences and Contacts between Byzantium and the Low Countries* (Brussels: 2017) 51–63.

22 Akiyama A., "The 'Afterlife' of Sacred Christian Images in Japan", in Osano S. (ed.), *Annual Report of the Center for Evolving Humanities: Study of Cultural Exchange* (Tōkyō: 2007) 137.

23 Gumpffenberg, *Marianischer Atlas* (1658) 27; Gumpffenberg, *Atlas Marianus* 68.

24 'L'Image de notre Dame ne fait pas seulement des miracles à Liesse, mais encore les Images de cette Image ont le pouvoir de faire voir celui de Marie'. Cériziers René de, *Image de Notre-Dame de Liesse ou son histoire authentique* (Reims, Nicolas Constant: 1632) 503.

From the dissemination of the *Salus populi romani Madonna*, Mochizuki concludes that this phenomenon had opened the door to 'privilege the subject of replication over the object's intrinsic uniqueness [...]; material presence was minimized in the translation of subject from object to object', even if 'the arrival of new materials that arose from the discovery of raw resources via overseas trade'²⁵ contributed to reify the devotional object's worth:

With replication, the reform of materiality of the object increasingly came under threat until content would ultimately subsume form. The subject matter, the meaning of an object, would become more important than its physical qualities until new materials could effectively launch a counter-claim for attention, a rebuttal to the loss of value.²⁶

If it is true that we are then facing a change of paradigm from 'reliquary *translatio*' or 'carrying across' to a 're-materialised translation', there still exists or survives some material transfer where the simple resemblance no longer suffices, and even doesn't matter.

The Transfer of Materiality

We will examine here only one case, which on more than one count seems emblematic. This is the cult, initiated at the beginning of the seventeenth century, of Our Lady of Foy, a place located near the Belgian town of Dinant, which at that time was part of the Principality of Liège. A small miraculous statue of the Virgin, some 22.4 centimetres high, roughly fashioned in terracotta,²⁷ was the focus of the cult [Fig. 7.2].²⁸ It was discovered by a carpenter in 1609 inside the hollow of an oak tree. Once the tree had been chopped down, part of the trunk was deemed to be unusable and so was chopped up for firewood. It was then that the image was found. Afterwards, it was placed in another oak tree.

²⁵ Mochizuki, "Sacred Art in an Age of Mechanical Reproduction" 138.

²⁶ Ibidem 140.

²⁷ See Pacco C., "La statuette miraculeuse de Foy Notre-Dame, état de la question", *Annales de la société archéologique de Namur* 83 (2009) 131–152. Reesing I., "Notre-Dame de Foy: The Reuse and Dissemination of a Late Medieval Figurine of the Virgin in the Low Countries", *Simiolus* 33 (2007/2008) 145–165.

²⁸ Dekoninck R., "Les Silènes de Gumpenberg: L'Atlas Marianus et la matière des images miraculeuses de la Vierge au regard du culte marial dans les anciens Pays-Bas", in Christin – Flückiger – Ghermani, *Marie mondialisée* 211–221.



FIGURE 7.2
*Anon. (sculptor), Our Lady of Foy
(end of the sixteenth century).
Terracotta, 22.4 cm (height).
Foy-Notre-Dame, Church Notre-Dame
de Foy.*

IMAGE © CHURCH NOTRE-DAME
DE FOY.

It is not so much the destiny of this cult at the local and regional levels that need draw our attention but its expansion beyond the borders of the Southern Netherlands, and above all the relays, methods, and issues of such a propagation. For while copies of the statue are found in very great numbers in the Catholic Netherlands, they also reached the United Provinces, France, Germany, and even Canada and Brazil. Thus it is not only a matter of the simple souvenir of a pilgrimage made in Foy-Notre-Dame or evocations of the image of Our Lady of Foy, but for some of them of objects of veneration to which miracles were attributed and, in some cases, which were the focus of major pilgrimages.

The work of the Jesuits in this process of international diffusion has already been studied by Annick Delfosse, Muriel Clair, and André Haquin.²⁹ As they have noted, the first initiator and promoter of this movement of expansion was Pierre Bouille, who was also the author of the first pilgrimage booklet devoted to the image of Foy.³⁰ In 1620, he sent to the general of the Society of Jesus, Muzio Vitelleschi, an 'elegant image' of the Virgin of Foy, as well as a dozen fluorite crystals. These crystals, found with the statue when it was discovered and abundant in the surroundings of the sanctuary, appear to have been effective vectors in the transfer of sacrality since thaumaturgical powers were attributed to them. Bouille devotes an entire chapter in his *Brève histoire de l'invention et miracles de l'image Nostre Dame de Foy*³¹ to these 'blue stones found among an infinite number of other colours, which faithful pilgrims bring from above the field close to this oak'.³² He does not hesitate to compare the power of these stones 'shining, clear and translucent' to that of the stone David used to

29 Delfosse A., "La Compagnie de Jésus et Notre-Dame de Foy: Diffusion, appropriation, évangélisation", in Dekoninck R. – Delfosse A. – Pacco C. (eds.), *Foy-Notre-Dame: Art, politique et religion*, Special Issue of *Annales de la Société archéologique de Namur* 83 (2009) 153–166; Clair M., "Notre-Dame de Foy en Nouvelle-France (1669–1675): Histoire des statuettes de Foy et des wampum des Hurons chrétiens", in Dekoninck – Delfosse – Pacco, *Foy-Notre-Dame* 167–192; Haquin A., "La dévotion à Notre-Dame de Foy au Québec (XVII^e s.) et à New-York (XX^e s.)", in Dekoninck – Delfosse – Pacco, *Foy-Notre-Dame* 193–203. See also Fries F., *Histoire de Notre-Dame de Foy* (Namur: 1909) 91–263.

30 Bouille Pierre, *Brève histoire de l'invention et miracles de l'image Nostre Dame de Foy, trouvée en un chesne à Foy lez Dinant, l'an 1609* (Liège, Jean Ouwerx: 1620).

31 Chapter VII: 'Des pierretes du Chesne, et du champ voisin'. Bouille, *Brève histoire de l'invention* 26–31.

32 '[...] pierres de couleur bleue telles qu'on trouve parmy une infinité d'autres de toute couleur que la dévotion des pelerins va ramassant de dessus le champ proche de ce chesne'. Ibidem 26.

conquer the giant Goliath.³³ For they can only be in this place by divine will, the Virgin having 'wanted them to be used to help the sick and suffering, either taken as a drink after crushing or rubbed on the affected parts to bring relief and healing'.³⁴ Fluorite crystals therefore appear to be one of the agents of the miraculous virtues of the image of Our Lady of Foy. This is why many of the cast copies of the statuette have these crystals in their make-up.

Some of these copies also contain sawdust supposed to come from one of the two trees that sheltered the original, when they are not themselves sculpted from these very trees. We are now touching on the second wave of copies, most of them created from the first or second oak on the model of the image of Foy. These copies were sent to Jesuit residences and colleges in the Flandro- and Gallo-Belgian provinces (Bruges, Mechelen, Aalst, Kortrijk, Nivelles, Namur, Douai, Tournai, etc.). Some of these statues, such as the one at Bergues, were even made up from both oaks, as if each one bore the trace of a divine intervention, that of invention for the first oak and that of miraculous consecration for the second. It was this type of image that spread at the same time (from 1620) to the Dutch missions under the name of *Moeder van Barmhartigheid*, Mother of Mercy (Rotterdam, Haastrecht, and Oudewater), as well as to French territory (Reims, Lille, and others). It is interesting to note the importance of the ritual that accompanied the arrival of these images: for example, the image in Tournai was blessed on its arrival by the bishop and then taken in solemn procession to the Jesuit church.³⁵ This phenomenon of the procession constituted a form of solemn entry establishing the image as efficacious *objet*, which could then be sited in a display, as is the case with the Gravelines image, which was placed in a monstrance of gilded silver.³⁶ These copies of Our Lady of Foy were also used in the context of internal missions aimed at the evangelisation of the countryside, like the image at Bapaume where miracles occurred in 1621, such as the one involving the cure of a child suffering from kidney stones.³⁷ The same thaumaturgical powers were claimed for the copies which would be exported, from the 1630s, to the New World. Two of these reached Paraguay,

33 Ibidem 26–27.

34 '[...] voulu que par l'entremise d'icelles fusent appliquez ses mérites aux malades et souffreteux qui ou les prennent en boisson, brisées et moulues, ou en frottent les parties intéressées avec soulagement et guérison'. Ibidem 29.

35 Colveneer Georges, *Kalendarium sacratissimae virginis Mariae novissimum* (Douai, Balthazar Bellère: 1638) vol. 2, 24 August. Delfosse, "La Compagnie de Jésus et Notre-Dame de Foy" 160.

36 Delfosse, "La Compagnie de Jésus et Notre-Dame de Foy" 160.

37 Ibidem.

through the offices of two Jesuits (one from Lille, the other from Antwerp) and were installed in reductions of Itatine Indians (Nuestra Senora de Fè and San José, on the Parana River) who honoured them for their miracles.³⁸

Another place that was conquered by these replicas of Our Lady of Foy, but four decades later, was Canada or New France, which we will examine in more detail. On this occasion it was a Jesuit from Nancy, Claude-Alix de Véroncourt, who in 1669 was to pass on a copy, today disappeared, made from the wood of Foy to Father Chaumonot, a Jesuit missionary in Canada working with the Huron. The certificate of authenticity that accompanied the consignment gives this description:

Our Lady [...], holding on her right arm the child Jesus and wrapped in a layette, painted blue inside and with little gold stars, is [...] of true wood from the first oak, in which was found [...] the miraculous image [...]. And this image [...] was made by Nicolas de Rieu, master sculptor, living in the said town of Dinant, at the expense of Damoiselle Marie Bastien who with Father Noël Noberti of the Company of Jesus, both presently residing in said place, have given it to Father Claude de Véroncourt.³⁹

In this new context, the Marian image became an instrument for the conversion of the Huron Indians, and quickly revealed itself, from 1670, to be endowed with miraculous powers, thus transforming what had been only a mission chapel into a sanctuary of pilgrimage. This was a new phenomenon in New France, for at that time very few churches possessed miraculous relics or effigies. We should note, moreover, that it was at the same time, around 1672,

38 Ibidem 165. Du Toict Nicholas, *Historia Provinciae Paraquariae Societatis Jesu* (Liège, Johannes Matthias Hovius: 1673) 373; Delatre P. – Lamalle E., “Jésuites wallons, flamands, français missionnaires au Paraguay (1608–1767)”, *Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu* 16 (1947) 141.

39 ‘la Nostre Dame [...], tenant sur son bras droict, son petit enfant Jésus, et enclose dans une layette, peinte en bleu au-dedans avec de petites étoiles d’or, est [...] du vray bois du premier chesne, dans lequel fut trouvée [...] l’image miraculeuse [...]. Et cette image [...] a esté faicte par nicolas de Rieu, maistre sculpteur, résidant en la dite ville de Dinant au frais de Damoiselle Marie Bastien laquelle et le Père Noël Noberti de la Compagnie de Jesus residants presentement audit lieu, l’ont donnez au Pere Claude de Veroncourt’. De Véroncourt C.-A., *Déclaration attestant que la statue de la Sainte-Vierge dans la chapelle de la bourgade des Hurons, près de Québec, avait été faite avec le bois du chêne dans lequel on avait trouvé l’image miraculeuse de Notre-Dame de la Foi, près de Dinant, 5 février 1669*, Archives of Canada, Jesuit collection. Quoted by Clair, “Notre-Dame de Foy en Nouvelle-France” 176.

that Father Chaumonot brought to fruition a project he had had in mind since the 1630s: the construction of a Holy House modelled on the one in Loreto.⁴⁰ He succeeded in this thanks to the sending of a copy of the statue of the Virgin of Loreto, accompanied by a series of contact relics.⁴¹ In 1673, the Huron were to leave the village of Foy to establish the new chapel of Loreto on the Saint Gabriel coast around a dozen kilometres from Quebec. We might therefore conclude that one Marian cult replaced another. But the truth is that these two cults became mingled. Thus, in November 1674, on the occasion of the dedication of the chapel of Loreto, two statue-reliquaries of Foy were offered by the states of the Duchy of Lorraine in addition to the effigy of Our Lady of Loreto:

Of these three images, the first and principal one is that of Our Lady, sent here from Loreto, [...]. The other two are made from the true wood of Our Lady of Foy. One is a Virgin carrying her Son, and it was sent to our savages by the towns of Nancy and Bar. The other, that the princes and princesses of the [...] House of Lorraine have sent us, is a Saint Joseph, who is also holding the infant Jesus.⁴²

40 Sanfaçon A., "A New Loreto in New France: Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot, SJ, and the Holy House of Loreto", in Podruchny C. – Warkentin G. (eds.), *Decentring the Renaissance: Canada and Europe in Multidisciplinary Perspective, 1500–1700* (Toronto: 1996) 200–220; Clair M., "Une chapelle en guise de maison: Notre-Dame-de-Lorette en Nouvelle-France. Dévotions et iconographie", *Cahiers du centre de recherches historiques* 41 (2008) 89–146; Boglioni P. – Lacroix B., *Les pèlerinages au Québec* (Quebec: 1981).

41 'Le P. Poncet [...] a eu soin de m'envoyer non seulement une Vierge faite sur celle de Lorette [...], mais aussi une coiffe [...] de taffetas blanc qui a été sur la tête de l'image, laquelle est dans la Sainte Maison d'Italie, et une écuelle de faïence, faite sur la forme de celle du petit Jésus, à laquelle elle a touché, et de petits pains bénits qui ont été pétris dans les écuelles de la Sainte Famille, qu'on trouva, lorsque, pour rendre la sainte chapelle [...] plus commode, on en ôta le plafond; sur quoi l'on saura que toutes ces choses sont ici miraculeuses'. Chaumonot P., *Autobiographie du père Chaumonot et son complément par le R.P. Félix Martin* (Paris: 1885) 203. This therefore relates to contact relics recalling the Holy Family's Home.

42 'De ces trois images, la première et la principale est celle de Notre-Dame, envoyée de Lorette ici, [...]. Les deux autres sont faites du vrai bois de Notre-Dame de Foy. L'une est une Vierge portant son Fils, et elle a été envoyée à nos sauvages par les villes de Nancy et de Bar. L'autre, que les princes et les princesses de la [...] maison de Lorraine nous ont envoyée, est un Saint-Joseph, qui tient aussi le petit Jésus'. Thwaites R.G. (ed.), *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* 73 vols. (Cleveland, OH: 1896–1901) vol. 60, 86; Clair, "Notre-Dame de Foy en Nouvelle-France" 184.

There is thus a certain hierarchy among these statues, which places the Loreto statue in first position. In the ordering of belief, however, the reality was a little different, for the copy of the statue of Loreto could base its efficacy on resemblance alone—even if it turned out to have been in contact with the Loreto miracle-working statue—and it could not lay claim to the same transfer of supposedly sacred materials as was the case with the statues of Our Lady of Foy.

Furthermore, one of these statues has the characteristic of containing relics. More than a contact relic, this is therefore a statue-reliquary, as is the statue of Saint Joseph that accompanies it:

These two small statues are no less notable for their relics than for their materials, their representation and their donors. These relics are a part of the veil of the Virgin, which is below Saint Joseph, and a small part of the belt of this same Saint Joseph, encased in a small badge held by Jesus, who is himself carried by his mother.⁴³

The way these relics and statues are combined is quite surprising, since the relic of the Virgin is encased within that of Saint Joseph and, conversely, the relic of Saint Joseph is set within the statue of the Virgin and Child. As Muriel Clair has noted,⁴⁴ these combinations are certainly not gratuitous for they must contribute to the cult of the Holy Family, as well as to the cult of the Holy House which sheltered it. The statues and their content celebrate and honour Mary, Joseph, and Christ in a kind of visual, material, and even corporeal, symbiosis.

Gifts and Counter-gifts: The Circulation of Devotional Objects

All these statues hewn from the wood of Foy, statues that ensured the transfer of sacrality between two places and two continents, were in turn to stimulate the circulation of devotional objects between New France and the Southern

43 'Ces deux petites statues ne sont pas moins considérables par leurs reliques, que par leur matière, leur représentation, et leurs donateurs. Ces reliques sont un morceau du voile de la Ste-Vierge, qui est au bas du S. Joseph, et une petite partie de la ceinture du même S. Joseph, enchâssée dans un petit écusson que tient le petit Jésus porté lui-même par sa mère'. Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* vol. 60, 86; Clair, "Notre-Dame de Foy en Nouvelle-France" 187.

44 Clair, "Notre-Dame de Foy en Nouvelle-France" 188.



FIGURE 7.3 Anon. (artist), Huron's wampum with the inscription *Virgini Pariturae votum Huronum* (1676). Sea shell pearls, 122 × 10 cm. Chartres, *Treasure of the Cathedral Notre-Dame de Chartres*.

IMAGE © CATHEDRAL NOTRE-DAME DE CHARTRES.

Netherlands. So, in thanks for the gift of the statue, Chaumont had the Huron make a *wampum*, that is, a belt or a necklace of pearls [Fig. 7.3],⁴⁵ a traditional object Christianised through the appearance, in black on a white background, of Elizabeth's words to Mary: *Beata quae credidisti* (Luke 1:45).⁴⁶ This wampum arrived in Dinant in 1672 and was received with great pomp:

The Jesuits, who have a college there, used this opportunity to incite more and more people to the cult [...] of the [...] Virgin. So they had a chariot made, on which the necklace and some other Huron works were carried as if in triumph, and carried by two men covered in bearskins, to represent our savages who made this gift.⁴⁷

Pupils from the Jesuit college in Dinant, dressed as Indians, accompanied the triumphal chariot, which went to meet the statue of Our Lady of Foy, also

45 This wampum is today lost, but we reproduce here the also Christianised wampum offered by the same Jesuits of the New France to the Cathedral of Chartres at the end of the seventeenth century, a wampum still preserved today in the treasure of the Cathedral.

46 Clair M., "Note de recherche: Fonctions et usages du wampum dans les chapelles sous tutelle jésuite en Nouvelle-France", *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 35 (2005) 87–90; Turgeon L., "Le sens de l'objet interculturel: La ceinture de wampum", in Pichette J.-P. (ed.), *Entre Beauce et Acadie: Facettes d'un parcours ethnologique. Études offertes au professeur Jean-Claude Dupont* (Québec: 2001) 136–152; Sanfaçon A., "Objets porteurs d'identité dans les consécration amérindiennes à Notre-Dame de Chartres, 1678–1749", in Laurier Turgeon L. – Delâge D. – Ouellet R. (eds.), *Transferts culturels et métissages: Amérique/Europe, XVI^e–XX^e siècle* (Sainte-Foy: 1996) 449–466; Dekoninck R., "Des colliers plein de mystère: Les dons de la Nouvelle-France aux images européennes de la Vierge", in Du Crest S. (ed.), *Objets frontières* (Paris: 2017) 23–37.

47 'Les Jésuites, qui ont là un collège, se servirent de cette occasion pour exciter de plus en plus de monde au culte [...] de la [...] Vierge. Ils firent donc faire un char, où le collier et quelques autres ouvrages des Hurons étaient portés comme en triomphe, et soutenus par deux hommes couverts de peaux d'ours, pour représenter nos sauvages qui faisaient ce présent'. Chaumont, *Autobiographie* 178–179; Delfosse, "La Compagnie de Jésus et Notre-Dame de Foy" 163.

carried in procession until it was raised up on to the chariot to return to its sanctuary, where the image was now adorned with the Huron gifts.

This sign of gratitude from the 'savages' for the miraculous virtues of the Virgin of Foy in return led to gratitude from the Dinant Jesuits, who made an offering to the Amerindians' Virgin of Foy of 'three robes presented here to her, and a rosary of stones from her field, which was to serve as a necklace, to her well-loved Daughter of Canada',⁴⁸ gifts that the Huron were invited to attach to the statue. The necklace of fluorite crystals with miraculous powers is thus offered in response to the Huron pearl necklace. We see here a relation of gifts and counter-gifts that creates a form of 'cultural alloy'⁴⁹ where different cultural identities are combined without becoming confused. We could also speak of a form of spiritual commerce, or even of a system of religious barter, for we must remember that *wampum* was a part of the 'Iroquoian tradition of thesaurisation and exchange of gifts':⁵⁰ 'all matters of importance here are carried out by means of gifts and the porcelain that takes the place of gold and silver in this Country [of the Huron] is all-powerful'.⁵¹

Resemblance and Material Identity

These practices are by no means unique to the statue of Our Lady of Foy.⁵² They are characteristic of many cult statues located in Europe but which spread

48 '[...] trois robes qui lui ont été icy présentées, et un chapelet de pierres de son champ, qui servira de Collier, à sa bien aymée Fille du Canada'. Quoted by Lindsay L., *Notre-Dame de la Jeune-Lorette en la Nouvelle-France: Etude historique* (Montreal: 1990) 159.

49 Clair, "Notre-Dame de Foy en Nouvelle-France" 170.

50 Ibidem 168. 'Quelques femmes [...], sont entrées dans un combat, à qui rendroit plus d'honneur à la [...] Vierge, [...]. Elles mettent à chaque fois, une de leurs perles [...]. Elles apportent tous les Dimanches, au Pere [...], le petit amas qu'elles ont fait pendant la semaine: afin de tirer de ce magasin, dequoy faire une Couronne, et une Echarpe, à la façon du pays à l'image de la sainte Vierge'. Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* vol. 40, 234; Clair, "Notre-Dame de Foy en Nouvelle-France" 169. See Becker M., "The Vatican Wampum Belt: An Important American Indian Artifact and Its Cultural Origins and Meaning within the Category of 'Religious' or 'Ecclesiastical-Convert' Belts", *Bolletino, monumenti musei e gallerie pontificie* 21 (2001) 363–411.

51 '[...] toutes les affaires d'importans se font icy par presens et que la Pourcelaine qui tient lieu d'or et d'argent en ce Pays [la Huronie] est toute puissance'. Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* vol. 10, 28; Clair, "Notre-Dame de Foy en Nouvelle-France" 170.

52 Note that the copy of the Loreto statue was obtained by Chaumonot thanks to the gift of a wampum that was placed inside the Holy House: 'Having learned through a leaflet how

throughout the world by means of copies and of a variety of objects linked to them circulating between continents and intended both to reveal and to exalt their value, the outcome of which was to confer on them a status that was in principle identical to that of their model.⁵³ But we should emphasise a modality of propagation of the sacred which was peculiar to the religious culture of the northern regions such as the Southern Netherlands in which miraculous images of the Virgin essentially took on the form of statues rather than of icons and maintained an intimate link with the natural location of their creation, many of them having been discovered in trees. While miraculous icons of the Virgin essentially established their prestige on the basis of their origin, in this way giving rise to copies which attempted to be as faithful as possible to the original, miraculous statues spread their power through the intermediary of copies that did not necessarily resemble their model but that contained in themselves a part of the material that constituted these models or which had been in contact with them.

In certain cases, material from two different miraculous statues might be combined. Such was the case of the statue sent to Saint-Omer and created out of wood from Foy and from Scherpenheuvel.⁵⁴ In other cases the statue might be sculpted out of wood originating in one sanctuary while bearing the features of a statue from another. Thus, in Prague, the Jesuits received a statue sculpted out of the wood of Foy but bearing the features of the Scherpenheuvel statue

our gift had been received at Notre-Dame de Foy, I formed the plan of sending another one to Our Lady of Loreto' ('Ayant appris par un imprimé la manière dont on avait reçu notre présent à Notre-Dame de Foy, je formai le dessein d'en envoyer autant à Notre-Dame de Lorette'). Chaumonot, *Autobiographie* 193. The letter from the Huron that accompanied the wampum is reproduced in Lindsay, *Notre-Dame de la Jeune-Lorette* 166–167. Two wampum were also offered to Notre-Dame de Chartres by the Huron and by the Abenakis, respectively in 1674 and 1699. In return, the chapter decided to offer a large silvered folder filled with relics. Langlois L.-C., "Deux ceintures en wampum à la cathédrale de Chartres", *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 14–15 (1922) 297–298.

- 53 A similar study could have been conducted about the diffusion of the copies of Our Lady of Scherpenheuvel, copies that have been made from the oak tree where the miracle-working statue was found. See Wyhe C. van, "Reformulating the Cult of Scherpenheuvel: Marie de'Médicis and the Regina Pacis Statue in Cologne", *The Seventeenth-Century Journal* 22 (2007) 41–74; Delsalle P., "La diffusion en Franche-Comté des statuette de la Vierge de Montaigu (Brabant) à l'époque des Archiducs Albert et Isabelle (1598–1633)", in Béthouart B. – Lottin A. (eds.), *La dévotion mariale de l'an mil à nos jours* (Arras: 2005) 99–123.
- 54 Bourgeois Jean, *Societas Iesu Mariae Deiparae Virgini sacra* (Douai, Balthazar Bellère: 1620) 357–367; Delfosse, "La Compagnie de Jésus et Notre-Dame de Foy" 159.

[Fig. 7.4].⁵⁵ What matters, then, is not the appearance but the guarantee of a link with one or more famous cult sites. The fragments of the two trees that had sheltered the Foy statues and that had been collected by the Jesuits of Dinant were dispatched throughout their vast network before being sculpted. It was thus the community that received them that carved an image of the Virgin, an image that did not necessarily have to resemble the image kept in Foy-Notre-Dame. And, in fact, the many statues of Our Lady of Foy venerated throughout the world have scarcely any features in common with the original statue. This did not prevent them becoming the object of a local cult, or even of an independent pilgrimage, by virtue of the miracles they bestowed. We see then that the birth of Foy 'colonies', to use Bouille's expression, came about essentially through the transfer of matter. While terracotta replicas obtained through the moulding process and ensuring thereby a perfect resemblance to the prototype seem to have been intended for private devotion, replicas in wood with no resemblance at all diffused sacrality. Each of these copies in wood was supposed to preserve a portion of the sacred contained in the original image.⁵⁶

It is interesting to note that, in the article devoted to Our Lady of Foy in the German edition of his *Atlas Marianus*, Gumpfenberg, in contrast to the arguments he puts forward in the *Peritia* of the Latin edition, recognises the miraculous virtues attached to the precious stones and the oak wood:

the stones were extremely beautiful and strongly coloured, and held in high esteem because of their supernatural power. Many people suffering from sickness or the plague were helped if they put these small stones in their food or drink before consuming them. [...] And incredibly, the entire tree is impregnated with the miraculous power, as we know from people in various countries where there are churches housing an image identical to the original and sculpted in the wood of this tree.⁵⁷

55 Delfosse, "La Compagnie de Jésus et Notre-Dame de Foy" 159, n. 25.

56 Dekoninck R., "Between Denial and Exaltation: The Materials of the Miraculous Images of the Virgin in the Southern Netherlands during the Seventeenth Century", *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 62 (2013) 148–175.

57 Here is the complete German quotation: 'Nun hat diser Schatz nit sollen laenger noch auch wollen verborgen seyn, thails wegen etlicher und nit wenig Wunderwercken so under dem Volck kund worden, thails auch wegen der Stainlein, so umb die Gegend wo das heilige Bild in dem Aichbaum gestanden, sich in grosser Anzahl haben finden lassen, welche neben ihrer glantzenden und gefaerbten Schoene, derentwegen auch seynd in hohen Ehren gehalten worden, weilen sie durch uebernaturliche Krafft vilen Krancken und Pesthafften gute Hilff gethan, wann sie gemelte Stainlein in die Speisz oder Tranck gelegt, darab geessen oder getruncken haben [...]. Und welches schier unerhoert, hat



FIGURE 7.4 *Anon., Photography of Our Lady of Foy in the St. Nicholas Church in Prague. Reproduced in Fries F, Histoire de Notre-Dame de Foy (Namur: 1909) 123.*
IMAGE © ST. NICHOLAS CHURCH, PRAGUE.

Furthermore, he attributes this power less to the Virgin herself than to the image of the Virgin of Foy: 'nobody doubted that this power came from the holy image rather than from the small stones'.⁵⁸ So, we have here a fine denial of the theory exposed to the test of practice, as Christian wonder prevails over orthodox rigour.

Conclusion

In the end, what does this phenomenon of derivative images—not to mention all those objects in turn derived from these images (souvenir-images and other objects related to the sanctuary, which were able to play the part of veritable talismans) all circulating on a very wide geographical scale—tell us about the efficacy of the image-archetype? Even more, what does it tell us about the issue of the transfer of sacrality? In the cases examined here, there is a displacement at one and the same time of forms and materials, the latter sometimes winning out over the former. The *translatio* of holy images, as of their replicas that retained something of the formal and material identity of their model, really does seem to be a precondition of their efficacy. To focus attention on such nomadic objects is to take an interest as much in the objects themselves as in the places they passed through, and in particular to their points of departure and of arrival, as in the relationship they continued to uphold between these two places. These places, however far apart, were thus interconnected, the 'subsidiary' image remaining connected to the image that produced it. The relationship between these two images is thus thought of as a filial relationship. This is explicitly stressed by the Jesuits in Dinant when they write:

If the daughter of Our Lady of Foy in Canada is so liberal towards her mother, Our Lady of Foy near Dinant, the mother would like not to appear less liberal towards her beloved daughter and new children [...] and

der gantze Baum dise wunderthaetige Krafft an sich gesogen, wie diejenige von unterschiedlichen Laendern bezeugen, in deren Kirchen ein Bild, so dem Original gleich, von disem Baum geschnitzlet zu finden'. Gumpfenberg, *Marianischer Atlas* (1658) 65–67; Gumpfenberg, *L'Atlas Marianus* 356.

58 'Allweilen nun niemand zweifflet, dasz solche Krafft in die Stainlein minderst als durch das heilige Bild koente herfliessen [...]'. Gumpfenberg, *Marianischer Atlas* (1658) 67; Gumpfenberg, *L'Atlas Marianus* 356.

if she had received some presents, she gives some back to her dear daughter and to her new beloved children.⁵⁹

The production of holy sites described by Dominique Julia therefore goes together with the production of images created out of a place and an original image that all copies, whether based on a formal or material *translation*, have the aim of *representing*, in the double meaning of figuring but also of standing in for, or even replacing, the original, a power that is not only of the image, but also of all the gestures and words that accompany it.⁶⁰

As Bouille wrote about Our Lady of Foy,

[T]he two oak trees have served the glory of Our Lady, and are now smashed to pieces scattered through the world where the devotion of the people, having been pleased to obtain one, has brought them; and, as the staff of Moses, they are used as instruments for cures beyond nature's course and forces, according to the faith of the ones who used them if need be.⁶¹

Even if Bouille reminds that all the holiness and virtue of the image of Our Lady of Foy comes originally from its prototype, the Virgin herself, as rays come from the sun, streams from their spring, branches from the trunk, these last metaphors can be applied to all the copies made from the original image. And especially the metaphor of the tree is here a most suggestive one, for it expresses simultaneously the idea of local roots and global ramifications, while also finding its literal meaning in the natural genesis of these images. It opens a very rich reflection about what can be called an 'ecology of images'

59 'Que si la fille de Notre Dame de Foy, en Canada, est si libérale, envers sa Mère, nostre Dame de Foy, près Dinant, la mère ne veut point paraître moins libérale envers sa chère fille et nouveaux enfants, que la fille et ses bien-aimés enfans, envers leur mère, et si elle en a reçus des présents, elle en renvoye à sa chère Fille, et à ses nouveaux et bien-aimés enfans'. Lindsay, *Notre-Dame de la Jeune-Lorette* 159.

60 Julia D., "Sanctuaires et lieux sacrés à l'époque moderne", in Vauchez A. (ed.), *Lieux sacrés, lieux de culte, sanctuaires: Approches terminologiques, méthodologiques, historiques et monographiques* (Rome: 2000) 241–295.

61 'Mais proche de la cense estoient restez deux Chesnes, lesquels ont servi l'un après l'autre à la gloire de Nostre Dame, et sont pour le present mis en pieces esparses par le Monde, ou la devotion des peuples ayant eu le Bonheur d'en recouvrer, les a emportees, et à guise de la verge de Moysse, servent d'instrument à des cures au delà du cours et forces de la nature, selon la foy de ceux qui en usent au besoin'. Bouille, *Brève histoire de l'invention* 8.

that connects them to their natural and especially material locus, a materiality that, through its fragmentation and spreading, propagates the power of the archetypal image through its multiples replicas.⁶² The 'life of forms' theorised by Henri Focillon is here converted in the life of matter.⁶³

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62 I would to thank Mia Mochizuki and Christine Göttler for suggesting this reflection to me.

63 Focillon H., *The Life of Forms in Art*, trans. G. Kubler (Chicago, IL: 1989).

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PART 3

Material Alchemies



‘Mass’ Produced Devotional Paintings in the Andes: Mobility, Flexibility, Visual Habitus*

Evonne Levy

Three works and evidence of ‘mass’ production: A canvas divided into four quadrants [Fig. 8.1]: a bloodied Ecce Homo in a red robe crowned with thorns in the upper left; two Virgins de la Leche, practically identical, in the two right quadrants; a Virgin with stars on her mantle in the lower left (identified as the Dolorosa but equally convincing as an Immaculate Virgin).¹ The Virgins de la Leche are also decorated with patterned gold work. All four busts have splendid gilded sunburst haloes and are surrounded by the garlands of flowers typical of Cuzco school paintings of various scales. The garlands framing the four half-figures into subtle arches on all four sides meet each other in such a way as to create four distinct images. At the same time, the garland is so beautifully painted, and artfully juxtaposed at points that it takes on a life of its own as a singular integrated image [Fig. 8.2]. Nonetheless, because of the repetition of the two Virgins de la Leche, it is clear that these are four individual images that were intended to be cut up, sold, and displayed separately (or recombined with similar works); what we are seeing is a vestige of a mode of production that has acquired a new and unintended value.

A second canvas, divided into six sections, has a similar mix of devotional images [Fig. 8.3]: two Virgins of the Rosary, one half-length (upper left), one three-quarter-length (lower right); one Virgin of Mount Saint Carmel with

* My thanks to colleagues in Buenos Aires—Gabriela Siracusano, Agustina Rodríguez Romero, and Gustavo Tudisco—for much assistance providing images, restoration reports, and other precious information on the images under examination here; and to Jens Baumgarten for his companionship on the trip to Argentina.

1 The work was published as “Imágenes diversas”, in Schenone H.H., “La Pintura”, in *Historia general del arte en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: 1983) vol. 2, 22; as “Lienzo con quattro imágenes”, in Schenone H.H., *Salvando alas y halos* (Buenos Aires: 1989) 32–33, 62–64 (for the restoration); as “Lienzo con quattro imágenes”, in Siracusano G., *Pigments and Power in the Andes: From the Material to the Symbolic in Andean Cultural Practices 1500–1800*, trans. I. Barnett (London: 2011) 65 and pl. 41.



FIGURE 8.1 *Cuzco School, Ecce Homo, Dolorosa and Virgins of the Milk (late seventeenth century). Paint and gold leaf on canvas, 129.5 × 98 cm. S. Francisco de Paula, Uquía, Jujuy.*

IMAGE © EVONNE LEVY.



FIGURE 8.2 *Detail of Fig. 8.1.*



FIGURE 8.3 *Workshop or follower of Gaspar Miguel de Berrío (?), Six religious images (late eighteenth century). Oil on canvas, 123.7 × 75 cm. Buenos Aires, Colección Museo de Arte Hispanoamericano 'Isaac Fernández Blanco', Gobierno de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires.*

IMAGE © COLECCIÓN MUSEO DE ARTE HISPANOAMERICANO 'ISAAC FERNÁNDEZ BLANCO', BUENOS AIRES.



FIGURE 8.4 *Cuzco School, Virgin and Child (eighteenth century). Oil on canvas. Cuzco, Museo de Arte Religioso.*

IMAGE © EVONNE LEVY.

attributes (middle left); two Virgins of Belen (upper and middle right); and a Saint Anthony of Padua with the Christ Child.² The Virgins and Saint Anthony here also have sunburst haloes but are framed partially by clouds rather than

² The painting is catalogued as Anonymous, Cuzco (?) by the museum. The work was published as "Imágenes diversas", in Schenone, "La Pintura" vol. 2, 24; Siracusano G. (ed.), *La paleta del espanto: Color y cultura en los cielos e infiernos de la pintura colonial andina* (San Martín, Buenos Aires: 2010).

garlands. In this case the six figures have been simply painted to a now invisible line, and only where the use of the same colour makes the border invisible has a line been painted in.

A third canvas [Fig. 8.4] is an example, I believe, of the same type of production, for it shows evidence of having been cut down (badly), leaving a trace on the bottom edge of a second image painted on the same canvas.³ Like the first example, it is a Virgin and Child with gold halo and a stamped robe surrounded on three sides by a garland. The bottom edge looks like the bottom of the robe of a figure, possibly St Joseph with a staff, painted upside down. It is certainly not a border, as the pattern of what looks like a robe breaks into another drapery fold on the left edge.

With three examples at hand, we can see the outline of a practice of production that is interesting in and of itself. But the fact that two of the works were never cut up must equally concern us. That one of them, the canvas with four images, is part of a *retablo* in a small parish church in northern Argentina [Fig. 8.5], taking its place beside conventionally composed canvases with single figures, demands some explanation.

These works are all dated very generally to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, and have all been considered works by the anonymous indigenous painters of the Cuzco school that developed in the late seventeenth century following the separation of indigenous artists from the Spanish guild into their own organisation. While there is no singular style of the Cuzco school, many of the paintings associated with the indigenous artists painting in the first half of the eighteenth century make distinctive use of gold stamps; floral garland borders are also typical. The works of this school were so appreciated that they were in demand all over the Peruvian viceroyalty; production of many such works continues up to today. The attribution to the Cuzco school is appropriate for our first and third examples.

I am advancing a new attribution, however, of the Isaac Fernández Blanco Museo canvas to the workshop or a follower of the painter active in Puna and Potosí, Gaspar Miguel de Berrío (ca. 1706–ca. 1762). The attribution adds another dimension to our understanding of these multiple canvases because the figure of the Virgin of the Carmelites that appears in this work is an extract from other works by de Berrío, an artist who was known to repeat successful works.⁴ The connection to a larger and well-known work not only serves to

3 To my knowledge this work is unpublished.

4 The Virgin of the Carmelites (Inter-American Development Bank) in particular resembles his "Nuestra Señora del Carmen". Available from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Miguel_Gaspar_De_Berr%C3%ADo_-_Virgen_del_Carmen_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg



FIGURE 8.5 *Anon. (painter), High altarpiece (late seventeenth century). Various materials. S. Francisco de Paula, Uquía, Jujuy.*

IMAGE © EVONNE LEVY.

shift the attribution but helps us to understand the multiple work structurally. One way to look at the canvas with its repeated Virgins is in terms of multiplying devotion; another, complimentary view, is of the work as 'vehicular', of setting in motion an image that had been fixed, much in the way that prints do.⁵ In this view, the Virgin, cut from a larger work, is mobilised, multiplied, and remobilised to reach many new destinations.

According to Héctor H. Schenone and the great historians of the Cuzco school Maria Gisbert and José de Mesa, the wide diffusion of Cusqueñan painting was made possible by what they termed the 'industrial production' of devotional images in the first third of the eighteenth century.⁶ Numerous contracts of the period between named painters, some with image merchants, called for hundreds of images to be produced very rapidly, in a matter of months.⁷ In the case of the Cuzco school, the argument has been that markets were sought once the local churches were saturated.⁸ Of the three multi-image works that have been consistently identified (by and after Héctor H. Schenone) with this industrial production, one is in Cuzco, and two are in Argentina; one is on an altar in a village church, and the others are in museum collections.⁹ They appear to be examples of just such works and their locations suggest at least one was part of the effort by Cuzco artists, and indeed artists throughout the Andes, to seek markets outside the city. More recent work by Maya Stanfield-Mazzi on private collecting in Cuzco and its environs shows that private collectors would have absorbed the lion's share of such works and that the many small-scale works found in churches and monasteries today likely ended up there because they were willed by private collectors in exchange for alms for the donor's soul.¹⁰ Taken together, these works and others related to them, open up questions about materials, production, circulation, mobility, and the

(accessed: 21.06.2016). The Virgin of the Rosary resembles a full-length painting of the Virgin of the same advocacy (private collection). Mesa J. de – Gisbert T., *Holguín y la pintura virreinal en Bolivia* (La Paz: 1977) figs. 269–270. For the various reduced replicas of his "Patrocinio de San José" see *ibidem* 233.

- 5 The word 'vehicular' is borrowed from the stimulating article by Roberts J., "Copley's Cargo: Boy with a Squirrel and the Dilemma of Transit", *American Art* 21, 2 (2007) 20–41.
- 6 Mesa J. de – Gisbert T., *Historia de la pintura Cuzqueña*, 2 vols. (Lima: 1982) vol. 1, 204.
- 7 For examples of such contracts, see Bouroncle J.C., *Derroteros de arte Cuzqueño. Datos para una historia del arte en el Perú*, with a prologue by Emilio Harth-Terre (Cuzco: 1960).
- 8 Mesa – Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura Cuzqueña* vol. 1, 204.
- 9 A third work, with narrative scenes, is described by Schenone in *Salvando alas y halos* 32. It was then in the Hirsch collection.
- 10 Stanfield-Mazzi M., "The Possessor's Agency: Private Art Collecting in the Colonial Andes", *Colonial Latin American Review* 18, 3 (2009) 339–364, at 355.

value of sacred objects prior to modernity, but which, in their production, anticipate modernity.¹¹

Production for Mobility and Economy: Canvas and Stretcher

There is much evidence beyond that provided by the paintings under consideration here that Cuzco painters habitually executed multiple images on a single canvas. In the case of the so-called industrial production, a large canvas would be provisionally stretched for painting with the intention that the canvas be transported rolled, and the individual images be cut up later and mounted on their own stretchers (or directly on a frame).¹² This was the case, for example, for the cycle of ten angels painted by another Cuzco artist for the nave of the church of S. Francisco de Paula in Uquía (dated to the last third of the seventeenth century by Schenone).¹³

One explanation for this mode of production is that paintings were transported in the Andean regions of current-day Peru, Bolivia, and northern Argentina by mule on the extensive network of trails established by the Inca and travelled by alpaca before mules largely replaced them under colonial rule. Naturally, a large framed work would have been impossible to transport on an animal's back; a rolled up canvas was the only option. It may well be that the mule trade encouraged the method of painting multiples on single canvases in

11 I have been stimulated by Kajri Jain's study of Indian calendar art (*Gods in the Bazaar: The Economies of Indian Calendar Art* [Durham, NC: 2007]) especially chapter 5, which defies western post-Enlightenment thinking, and the idea of the post-sacred, that sees capitalism as separating the sacred from the secular commodity of a capitalist system. Jain's calendar art has some parallels to the proto-mass production I am describing here because it is produced on letter-press, situated between manual production and the larger-scale reproduction of offset printing.

12 This is a commonsense conclusion that has been drawn by Héctor H. Schenone and Gabriela Siracusano. The only document that could indicate the practice of painting multiple advocations (but does not say that they were cut up) is in a 1767 document from the Chiquitos and Moxos missions: 'sinco lienzos con quatro guarniciones de diferentes advocaciones' (five canvases with four decorations of different advocations), published in Siracusano, *Pigments and Power* 65 and 73, n. 69.

13 Schenone, *Salvando alas y halos* (Buenos Aires: 1989) 43. For a detailed discussion of the canvas, stretchers, and mode of assembly of these works produced between 1680 and 1740 in the Lake Titicaca region, see Bustillo A., "Study and Treatment of Two Series of Paintings of Arcangeles Arcabuceros (Angels with Guns) from Argentina", *Studies in Conservation* 37, supplement 2 (1992) 6.

paintings for export but the economy of the technique may also have played a role.

As the Spanish canvas used by painters was scarce and expensive, Cuzco school artists usually sewed together a patchwork of reused pieces of canvas, often European canvas used in transatlantic shipping to cover cargo recycled by artists for a second use.¹⁴ The Uquía “Lienzo con Cuatro Imágenes”, for instance, is made up of three pieces of cotton canvas.¹⁵ When the canvases were mounted, they were usually glued on top of a stretcher rather than wrapped around the wood stretcher.¹⁶ This explains in part why the painter could leave no space at all between the sections on the Uquía and Isaac Fernández Blanco canvases. In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries some gilded frames were constructed for the canvases to be glued directly on their backs, without any stretcher at all.¹⁷ In surviving contracts, stretchers were in some instances called for explicitly, in others not mentioned, suggesting that the works were only later fit into frames.¹⁸ A diptych that has been formed by two similar Cuzco school works (of slightly different sizes), very likely produced in this manner [Fig. 8.6], is a good example of how these works could be cut down and reassembled into ensembles.

The approach to both canvas and stretchers demonstrates an extreme economy of materials: both the preciousness of canvas, every centimetre of which was used, and the stretchers, which were jettisoned if the frame could

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- 14 Four excellent examples are the four large canvases made of patchworks of seventeen to twenty-three pieces of canvas, with holes and inscriptions from previous use for packing, used by Joseph López de los Ríos in the Last Judgment cycle in the Templo de Carabuco. See the analysis, diagrams, and illustrations in Landa C.R., “Restauración de cuatro lienzos monumentales en el templo de Carabuco”, in Siracusano, *La paleta del espanto* 77–82 and figs. 55–61.
 - 15 Schenone, *Salvando alas y halos* 63. Cuzco school paintings were typically executed on the flax canvas used during shipping from Spain to Peru. Querejazu P., “Materials and Techniques of Andean Painting”, in *Gloria in Excelsis: The Virgin and Angels in Viceregal Painting of Peru and Bolivia*, exh. cat., Center for Inter-American Relations (New York, NY: 1985) 78–82, at 79. De Mesa and Gisbert observe that most Cuzco school works were painted on cotton canvas (‘tocuyo’), seldom on the more expensive ‘sarga’ cloth. Mesa – Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura Cuzqueña* vol. 1, 268.
 - 16 Jessell B. – Barghahn B. von, “The Conservation and Iconography of Viceregal Paintings and Sculpture: Old Problems and New Approaches”, *Studies in Conservation* 37, supplement 2 (1992) 76–80, at 77.
 - 17 Querejazu gives as the reason for the lack of border the scarcity of both nails and canvas. Querejazu, “Materials and Techniques of Andean Painting” 79.
 - 18 See Bouroncle, *Derroteros de arte Cuzqueño*.



FIGURE 8.6 *Cuzco School, Left: Saint Joseph and the Child. Right: Saint Dominic of Guzmán (seventeenth or eighteenth century). Oil on canvas. Sucre, Convent of Santa Catalina.*
IMAGE © EVONNE LEVY.

accommodate the painting without one. Either way, the fact that there is no border between the image sections in our paintings is consistent with a very economical use of canvas.

Visual Habitus: Seamless Scenography

These works, clearly meant to be cut up, were not the only multi-scene works that were painted on a single canvas, so economy and mobility are not the only explanations for the survival of these works in this form. In Cuzco monasteries, convents, and churches can be found many often medium-sized, horizontal-formatted works with two or three related scenes painted on the same canvas that were intended to remain in this form. In some examples (and they are not necessarily the least skilled works), the different scenes are simply painted right up to each other with no line between them. In others, such as



FIGURE 8.7 *Cuzco School, Flight into Egypt and Return from the Flight into Egypt (first half of the eighteenth century). Oil on canvas. Cuzco, Convent of La Merced.*

IMAGE © EVONNE LEVY.

the Flight into Egypt and Return to Egypt at La Merced of Cuzco [Fig. 8.7] a distinct separation has been created and a border around all sides.¹⁹

In most cases of these multi-scene canvases, however, a separation of the scenes was not anticipated. This is most clearly the case in an Adoration of the Shepherds and Flight into Egypt (Museo de Arte Religioso), in which the seam was covered over at the bottom with a cartouche and inscription.²⁰ The two scenes butting right up on each other was perfectly acceptable to the patron. This was also intentional in the three canvases made in this identical fashion now in the church of the Convent of the Nazarenos, also in Cuzco. The Garden at Gethsemane was painted next to the Taking of Christ [Fig. 8.8]; the Raising of the Cross next to the Crucifixion; and the Deposition from the Cross (after

19 Initially I thought that two separate canvases had been mounted on the same stretcher. But using binoculars, I saw that the threads of the canvas continued through the dark zone. This work is one of many such paintings of these scenes in Cuzco related to variations on a composition by Rubens (and engraved by Lucas Vorsterman) painted by the Cuzco artist Diego Quispe Tito, subsequently reworked in various formats. See Mesa – Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura Cuzqueña* vol. 1, 108, 288. A similar work in terms of style, the Return from Egypt with Extended Landscape, is in the Thoma Collection. Stratton-Pruitt S. (ed.), *The Virgin, Saints, and Angels: South American Paintings 1600–1825 from the Thoma Collection* (Milan: 2007) cat. 45.

20 Anonymous, Cuzco school. Mesa – Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura Cuzqueña* vol. 2, fig. 248.



FIGURE 8.8 *Cuzco School, Garden at Gethsemane and Taking of Christ (between the late seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century). Oil on canvas. Cuzco, Convent of the Nazarenos.*

IMAGE © EVONNE LEVY.

Rubens, like many other such scenes in Cuzco churches), next to a Pieta.²¹ In each case, the painter juxtaposed different colours at the seam, so that the perimeter of each scene would be distinct. These paintings *could* have been cut and framed separately, but they were not.

There was something desirable about the close juxtaposition.²² Where there was a neutral division between scenes a frame was anticipated—there are even instances of frames painted onto the scene.²³ And in other cases, the scenes are divided with a painted motif. For example, in a canvas in La Merced in Cuzco, with scenes of the Annunciation, Nativity, and Adoration of the Magi [Fig. 8.9], a column divides the first two scenes and a neutral, dark band

21 To my knowledge these works are unpublished.

22 In addition to the works discussed here, I can note two other works that were intended to be kept as they were painted, with images juxtaposed. First, a large three-part work (Washing of the Feet, Crucifixion, Last Supper), with a wood Crucifix mounted in the centre flanked by painted figures, in the Convent of S. Catalina in Cuzco. Also, Melchor Pérez de Holguín, "St. Paschal Babylon, Pray for Us" juxtaposed to "St. Salvador of Horta, Pray for Us" (Museo Santa Teresa, Potosí, ca. 1720). See Rishel JJ. – Stratton-Pruitt S., *The Arts in Latin America, 1492–1820* (Philadelphia, PA: 2006) cat. vi-83.

23 A frame has been painted in to divide the three two-scene canvases in the museum of the Palacio Arzobispal in Lima showing the Nativity next to the Adoration of the Magi; The Flight into Egypt next to the Circumcision; The Birth of the Virgin next to the Visitation of the Virgin in the Temple (all anonymous, eighteenth century). The painted frame does correspond to the current frames. It is unclear if the painted frame is original.



FIGURE 8.9 *Cuzco School, Annunciation, Nativity, and Adoration of the Magi (between late seventeenth century and first half of the eighteenth century). Oil on canvas. Cuzco, Convent of La Merced.*

IMAGE © EVONNE LEVY.

divides the middle from the right field. To my mind, the instances in which there was a substantial black line dividing the scenes suggests flexibility at the point of sale: keeping the scenes together could be accomplished with a frame dividing the two—hence the wider band—but they could also be divided and displayed (and sold) separately.

That the closely juxtaposed scenes represented a positive choice is proven by the coexistence of an alternative, for the very same painters were also making versions of the same scenes using continuous narrative. Cusqueño artists treated continuous narratives in single frames as well as in multiple fields with a high degree of self-consciousness and skill. A notable instance is the monumental painting cycle of St John the Baptist at the Church of San Sebastián in Cuzco, for which Diego Quispe Tito (1611–1681) designed two scenes for each lunette-shaped canvas.²⁴ For the most part, the meeting point is negotiated with complementary forms that create the impression of unity of the lunette as a whole while simultaneously generating distinct spaces. This is not a disrespect for, but a negotiation of the unity of time and space that was so important in European art of the 1500s.

We can directly compare the two alternatives in the many Flight from or into Egypt and Adoration of the Shepherds or Magi scenes executed by the

24 The best illustration I have seen of a work in this cycle is “St John Preaching before Herod” and the “Dance of Salome” in Mesa – Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura Cuzqueña* vol. 1, pl. XXI. These scenes artfully combined rectangular formatted prints from the 1612 series *Vita B. Ioannis Baptistae graphice descripta*, which was printed in Paris and based on an earlier series by Cornelis Galle I. See the comparison of the engravings and Quispe Tito’s paintings at <http://colonialart.org/archives/subjects/saints/individual-saints/john-the-baptist/#c1840a-1840b> (accessed: 21.06.2016).



FIGURE 8.10 *Cuzco School, Flight into Egypt and Adoration of the Shepherds (between late seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century). Oil on canvas. Cuzco, Convent of the Merced.*

IMAGE © EVONNE LEVY.

Cuzco school painters. In the Convent of the Merced in Cuzco, a continuous narrative [Fig. 8.10], is hung next to an example of the juxtaposed scenes [Fig. 8.7].²⁵ We can find both types throughout the churches and museums of the region, although the multi-field images are seldom illustrated and discussed in the literature.

There was clearly a visual habitus for these juxtaposed images, a pleasure in the seamless juxtaposition, which remains to be grasped as such. These kinds of compositions with multiple scenes knit together could have been suggested by the compilation of multiple scenes divided by lines that one sees in prints (of course continuous narrative is also very available in prints).²⁶ The division of fields in this way in prints is an overlooked and unique characteristic of colonial painting: the complex division of the canvas in a variety of fields,

25 This Flemish-inspired scene was a staple of the work of Diego Quispe Tito and there are also versions by Laureano de Barreda. See Mesa – Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura Cuzqueña* vol. 2, 282 (Laureano, “Flight into Egypt”).

26 For an orientation into the poorly documented, but well-known use of prints by colonial painters, see sections dedicated to “Prints as sources of artistic inspiration” in Donahue-Wallace K., “Prints and the Circulation of Colonial Images”, in *Oxford Bibliographies* in Latin American Studies, available from <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199766581/obo-9780199766581-0020.xml> (accessed: 12.01.2017). For numerous colonial paintings compared to their mostly single-field engraving sources, see the *Project on the Engraved Sources of Colonial Art*, <http://colonialart.org/> (accessed: 12.01.2017). To my knowledge, the specific aspect of print I am concerned with here has not been brought into discussion, but rather somewhat taken for granted.

sometimes combining text and image, directly translating into paint the specific language of prints. In many cases, the fields distinguished in a print with a line, are delineated in paint with a red-orange line. With or without that red line, what is distinctive about these Cusqueño paintings juxtaposing different scenes on a single canvas is the lesser attachment to the *distinction* between print format with multiple scenes separated by lines from the unified easel painting. This flexibility of mode made the additive mode of production in paintings that I have isolated here more imaginable.

But the larger point is this: prints that used lines to separate manifold fields within a single sheet pervaded painting in the Americas. The painting became a field for text and image alike, of different scales and of multiple scenes, sharing the same space or placed in their own spaces in close juxtaposition. It is possible that one of the reasons the Cuzco school multiple-field paintings under examination here survived was because there was a visual habitus for such juxtapositions and they looked right.

Value: Preliminary Thoughts

The three examples of this type of painting production have had neither artists nor provenance attached to them. Even when there are contracts documenting the commissioning of works in this region and at this time, very little is known of the destinations of the works. Just when they arrived in tiny villages, in monasteries, convents, or in private collections, and how one ended up on a church altar, as in the case of the Uquía image, is impossible to say. In other words, there is little data with which we could put together biographies of these objects, or their itineraries.²⁷

There is most at stake in our ignorance of when the Uquía painting ended up in the *retablo*. Other paintings in the church and on the *retablo* have been dated to the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²⁸ Although the “Lienzo con Cuatro Imágenes” is not from the same workshop as any of the others in the church (and clearly was not made for the arched frame), it could have

27 The use of the term biographies of objects, with reference to Appadurai A., “Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value”, in Appadurai A. (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (New York, NY: 1986) 3–59.

28 For the *retablo*, see Schenone H.H., “Retablos y Púlpitos/Imaginería”, in *Historia general del arte en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: 1982) vol. 1, 222–223, fig. on 226 (where the image is reversed).

arrived in the eighteenth century, in the early twentieth century, or even more recently. The only thing we know is that this work, with its four half-length images, was and is considered appropriate for a *retablo* (though the curved frame covers part of the canvas), and it takes its place beside images of single saints and the Trinity composed for that site. In previous studies of the work, the strangeness of its appearance beside these works has not been remarked upon. There has not been a compulsion to explain how these works that were never intended to function as multiples seen together, ended up surviving in the state of their original production and transport.

One way of looking at the multi-field works is as commercial failures. It is possible that they were never cut up because the works were bought on speculation and production exceeded market demand. In this version of the story, the works survived because they were kept around awaiting buyers. And because of the unbroken continuity of production of these images, their repetition over and over up to today, these are not images that would have lost either currency or value as time passed. It is also curious that the two examples of the multiple devotional images that survive all have some variety in the imagery. It is very possible that the artists producing works on contract repeated the very same scene or figure, as we see in part in both examples. But because there are no known examples of exact repetition, it may be these particular works survived uncut *because* of the variety in the imagery.

At some point that cannot be specified, the canvases acquired a new value not for their trade potential as several works, but as singular works. The crucial moment occurred when someone decided that the canvas with four or six images was its own image, complete as it was. If my argument for the visual habitus convinces, no time had to pass at all. The assembly of two such works in Fig. 8.6 suggests an appreciation for the production format. In the case of the Isaac Fernández Blanco canvas, the work entered the art market. It may have been perceived as valuable as a document of mass production, as an example of Cuzco school painting. It is also possible that more was more: more Virgins, more devotion. After all, one of the iconographic novelties of painting in the Americas was that of the Trinity, which was uniquely depicted with three identical figures seated side by side. There was a precedent for a multiplication of identical holy figures that may have created another kind of visual habitus. The Uquía canvas, painted by a more powerful hand (it may also be older), poses a different scenario because that work is not preserved museologically, as a document, but is a devotional work today. Did it end up on the *retablo* because there is powerful emotional expression in the work, in addition to the delights of the honorific and celebratory floral garlands? Consider the work's

placement on the altar as marking a decommodification of the work:²⁹ the paintings have lost their commercial value as four, or six, canvases. The commercial value of four (or six) small paintings dispersed perhaps over the walls of small churches or private collections has been lost as a single image of many takes its place on the altar *retablo*. Have the works, now a single work, acquired surplus value, because the sum of its parts now exceeds its original value as four separate paintings?

Because we do not know the histories of the canvases we can also consider the impingement on their survival in this form of modern products of actual mechanical reproduction. Andy Warhol thematised this repetition in many works that are quite similar to the ones considered here. But there is a crucial difference: four identical Marilyns varied by colour and mechanically produced, are not the same as two Virgins and a Christ. Nonetheless, in the light of modern reproduction, these works show off their origins in mass production using manual means, the product of cheap but skilled labour and likely poverty.

The Uquía canvas in particular provides us with a rather unique circumstance: of a work, of a commodity, that in modern terms, functions in the religious cult while simultaneously openly displaying the role of labour in its production.³⁰ Such an object seems to constitute its role in the sacred before our eyes: the question is whether it does so by resisting or by embracing the overt evidence of its production and its status as commodity. These are works that have not moved out of their commodity state. The cutting and framing of the image is the moment when the objects would have moved from commodity to a sacred state. These objects sit in both states. The Uquía image in particular sits in the alienated world of commodities and markets, and simultaneously in the inalienable world of religious belief: it is market-inalienable and alienable at once.

Another way of looking at this is in terms of pathways of exchange, as discussed by Arjun Appadurai in *The Social Life of Things*. In the case of the high production and dissemination of small-scale works by the Cuzco school painters—many aimed at private collections—it is more appropriate to speak of a new path for works previously intended for churches and monasteries rather than a diversion from the latter path. The works still served a devotional purpose along with the social function served by collections. In the case of the

29 Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things*. Decommodification usually refers to the removal of an object from an externally imposed circulation as a commodity to its original context. These works originally circulated as commodities with cultic intent.

30 See Jain, *Gods in the Bazaar* 220.

Uquí canvas, we can meaningfully speak of a diversion: for the object to find its place on an altar in the church, it had to be kept intact (thus disrupting the original intent to reach multiple buyers as well as its price), deforming its original intended form as four separate objects. It was by enlarging the scale of the works as originally conceived, by denying the cutting, that it could be diverted to the church. And the originally unenvisioned large scale was made possible by both the flexibility of the object at point of sale, as well as a visual habitus, the pleasure of seeing two or more distinct scenes in a single frame.

To conclude, a final reflection on terms of mobility. The life—death—afterlife implied by the notion of the biography of things only goes so far in describing these two objects, insofar as their mode of production inscribed in the objects their mobility. As Hans Peter Hahn and Hadas Weiss propose, however, the more open, non-linear character of the object 'itinerary', by contrast, takes into account the entire trajectory of these works: from workshop in Cuzco, up mountainous trails to highland monasteries or to a village church and its *retablo* and equally to the modern museum probably via automobile.³¹ As they explain, the notion of the itinerant object poses the movement of things that have no fixed route but responds to external forces and desires: artists making a living produce canvases that have the potential to make four, or six, separate sales that are packed onto mules and sent away to potential buyers in Andean villages and towns; a village priest fills a hole in a *retablo* with an available painting (four have become one to fill a frame, resisting movement through dispersion); a collector two centuries later spots a work (with pictorial qualities he appreciates, from a time in which he is interested?) and puts it on his wall; a museum curator places the same work in a museum and first thinks to classify it as a work of art (and a document of a mode of production). We did not need the Andean mountains to imagine such journeys. After all, Giorgio Vasari claimed that the desire for mobility spurred the very invention of oil painting on canvas: 'In order to facilitate the transport of paintings from town to town, men discovered the ease of painted canvases, which weigh little, and are easy to transport when they are rolled up' ('Gli uomini, per poter portare le pitture di paese in paese, hanno trovato la comodità delle tele dipinte, come quelle che pesano poco, e avvolte sono agevoli da trasportarsi').³²

31 Hahn H.P. – Weiss H., "Introduction: Biographies, Travels and Itineraries of Things", in Hahn H.P. – Weiss H. (eds.), *Mobility, Meaning and the Transformation of Things* (Oxford: 2013) 1–14.

32 Vasari, G., *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori: Nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, ed. R. Bettarini – P. Barocchi, 8 vols. (Florence: 1966–1987) vol. 1, 188. Translation mine.

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Gems of Sacred Kingship: Faceting Anglo-Mughal Relations around 1600

Christiane Hille

Preserved in a book of jewellery sketches dating to the years between 1610 and 1625 and held in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum is the coloured presentation-drawing of a jewelled aigrette designed by King James I's (r. 1603–1625) favourite jeweller Arnold Lulls that betrays a fascination of the early-modern English court with values of a distant world. The design, which is executed in pen, ink, wash, and gold on a sheet of vellum, is worked around a large square-cut ruby that is mounted in gold on enamelled ground and set with several groups of faceted diamonds—their silver-painted representation having faded to black [Fig. 9.1]. Conspicuously framing the ruby from below is a group of table-cut, faceted diamonds that form a crescent that highlights the overall impression of a non-Western vocabulary of forms that frames a geometric pattern in an arabesque frame. Europeans began to associate the crescent with Muslim cultures in the time of the Crusades, which makes it seem unlikely that the symbol simply embodied a favourite design contemplated by one of the English court's prime jewellers for reasons of personal taste.¹ Rather, it seems to me, the jewel needs to be considered in context of the English court's recent contact with the Muslim world power of the Mughal Empire and its culture of jewelled superabundance.

Before Britain affected India in any significant way, English material and visual culture came to operate in a sphere colonised by the Mughal Empire and its highly complex transformations of local culture. In the first years of Anglo-Mughal encounter at the court of Emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605) and his successor Jahangir (r. 1605–1627), however, the exchange of objects intended to serve as gifts from the English Crown to the Mughal rulers was characterised by misrecognitions and misinterpretations of the material culture of the respective Other. An aspect in which this becomes particularly apparent

1 While the catalogue of the Victoria and Albert Museum leaves it unmentioned, John Hayward raised the argument, in his article on the sketchbook, of the crescent being a favourite design by Lulls. See Hayward J., "The Arnold Lulls Book of Jewels and the Court Jewellers of Queen Anne of Denmark", *Archaeologia* 108 (1986) 227–237.

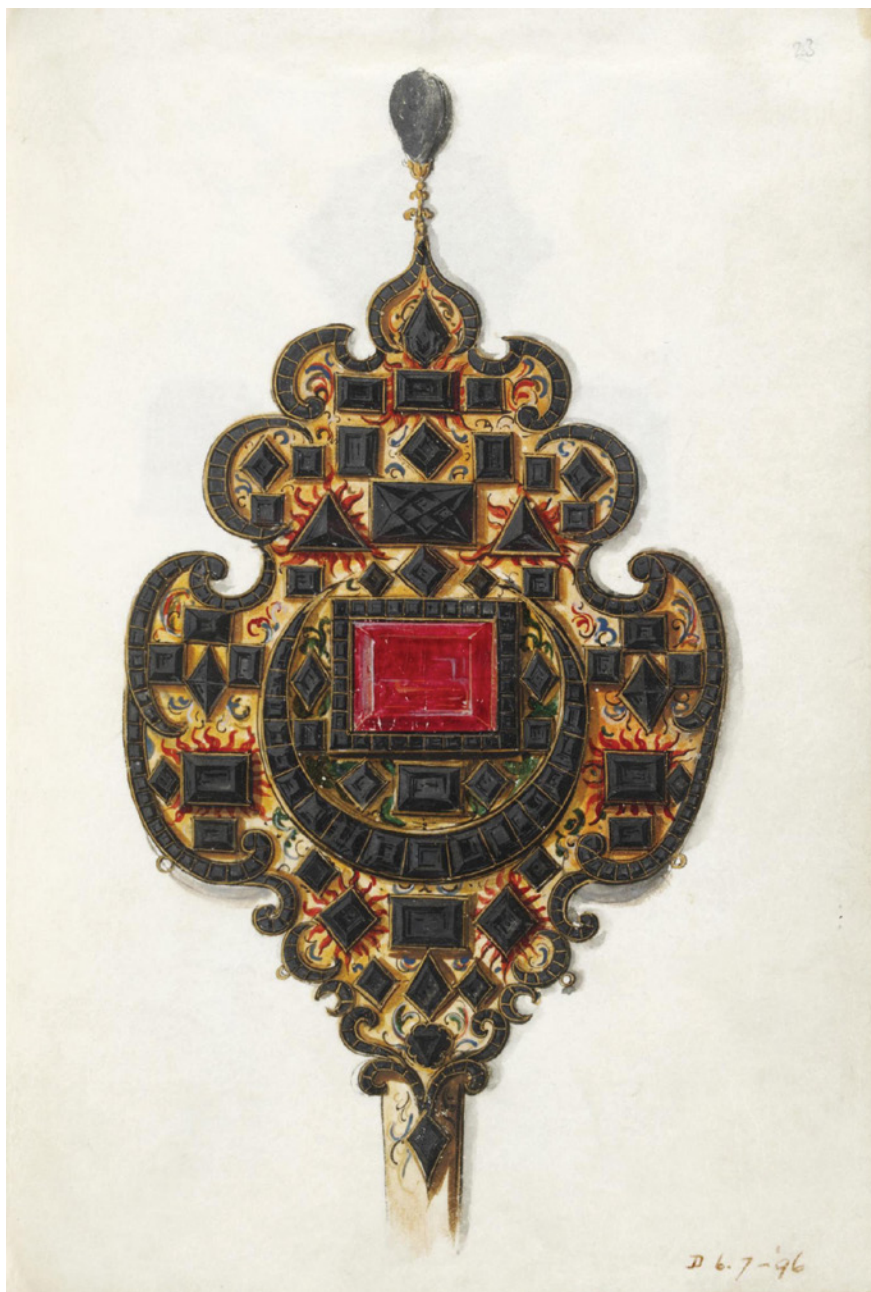


FIGURE 9.1 Arnold Lulls, *Design for an aigrette* (ca. 1603–1620). Pencil, pen and ink, wash, and gold on vellum, 22 × 15.5 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. no. D.6;7-1896).

IMAGE © VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, LONDON.

is the multifaceted agency of royal jewels, which, as objects inalienably connected with the cultural identity of their hereditary power, were subject of close scrutiny to the inquisitive gaze of rulers interested to discern an understanding of the cultures and values of their distant peers. The first objects of this kind travelling from the English to the Mughal court were the often ostentatiously jewelled portrait miniatures from Queen Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603) and King James—objects chosen to transmit the presence of the English sovereign to the Mughal peer. Combining a locally specific iconography of political power with the general translatability of material value in an object of highly convenient portability, Elizabethan portrait miniatures, however, presented prime objects of cross-cultural encounter that travelled along the routes of global trade and diplomacy not only to continental Europe, but to the territories of the superpowers of the early-modern Muslim world.²

Considering how, on this global scale, the jewelled portrait miniatures produced up until the early reign of James I transcended geographical and temporal distances that divided cultural spheres, geopolitical regions and religious aesthetics urges us to take a two-fold perspective on these objects: The first is their agency in, what might best be termed, a process of local transculturation, negotiated between different confessional communities competing over the repossession of the abolished tradition of the Christian reliquary within the shared territory of post-Reformation England. I will address this local *histoire croisée* by questioning the appropriation of precious stones looted from local reliquaries in the production of Elizabethan portrait miniatures. This process of semantic displacement and aesthetic migration instigated by the rivalling religious cultures of post-Tridentine England, I argue, formed the context of a general revaluation in the perception of precious stones at the English court. It testifies to a more global history of cross-cultural reception of early modern jewellery that travelled between the syncretistic court of the expansively imperialist cultural world power of Mughal India and the Protestant court of newly united Stuart Britain.

2 Rooted in the tradition of European gift-giving, which played a central role in the rituals of courtship from where they descended into the bourgeois cycles of eighteenth-century Europe, these objects received attention for their agency and material culture as tokens of love exchanged between Elizabeth I and her courtiers. In the context of the Elizabethan portrait miniature, however, the theory of the gift would afford further discussion on the aspect of reciprocity. The changing culture of gift-giving in Elizabethan England has been discussed in Sebek B., "Good Turns and the Art of Merchandising: Conceptualizing Exchange in Early Modern England", *Early Modern Culture* 2 (2001).

The Elizabethan Portrait Miniature and the Reformation of Reliquaries

The painterly tradition of the Elizabethan portrait miniature emerged in the middle of the sixteenth century with small, simple-framed portraits produced by Levina Teerlinc and Hans Holbein. These handheld portraits reached their highpoint in the jewelled miniatures produced by the goldsmith and limner Nicolas Hilliard (1547–1619) for Queen Elizabeth I of England in the decades between 1572 and 1603 [Figs. 9.2, 9.3].³ According to the established account, the Elizabethan portrait miniature emerged from the adaptation of the neo-platonic discourse of love and friendship as it was coined in the Italian Renaissance to the Spenserian discourse of love and the poetics of the sonnet cultivated at the English court.⁴ If we give primacy to another aspect of the object's aesthetic identity—its conspicuous use of precious stones—the

3 The first cluster of interest in the English miniature dates to the 1980s, see Murdoch J., *The English Miniature* (London: 1982); Strong R., *The English Renaissance Miniature* (London: 1983); Stewart S., *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore, MD: 1984); Lloyd C. – Remington V., *Portrait Miniatures from the Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II* (London: 1997); and also: Walker R., *Miniatures: 300 Years of the English Miniature Illustrated from the Collection of the National Portrait Gallery* (London: 1998); Pointon M., "Surrounded with Brilliants: Miniature Portraits in Eighteenth-Century England", *Art Bulletin* 83 (2001) 48–71. Most recently a number of insightful contributions have revived the topic: Grootenboer H., *Treasuring the Gaze: Intimate Vision in Eighteenth-Century Eye Miniatures* (Chicago, IL: 2012); Callaghan D., "The Elizabethan Miniature", in Arnold D. – Peters Corbett D. (eds.), *A Companion to British Art 1600 to Present* (Chichester: 2013) 451–472, who revises the miniature's relation to the literary genre of the sonnet first explored by Patricia Fumerton and Kim Hall. See Fumerton P., *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament* (Chicago, IL: 1991); Hall K.F., "An Object in the Midst of Other Objects: Race, Gender, Material Culture", in Hall K.F. (ed.), *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, NY: 1995); as well as, most recently, Koos M., "Wandering Things: Agency and Embodiment in Late Sixteenth-Century Miniature Portraits", *Art History* 37, 5 (2014) 836–859; Pointon M., "The Portrait Miniature as an Intimate Object", in Pappe B. – Schmiegitz-Otten J. – Walczak G. (eds.), *European Portrait Miniatures: Artists, Functions and Collections* (Petersberg: 2014) 16–26.

4 Scarisbrick D., *Portrait Jewels: Opulence and Intimacy from the Medici to the Romanovs* (London: 2001); Evans M., "The Pedigree of the Portrait Miniature: European Sources of an English Genre", in Brinkmann B. – Schmid W. (eds.), *Hans Holbein und der Wandel der Kunst des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts* (Turnhout: 2005) 229–252; Toom T. van, "Intimate Enclosures: Framing the English Portrait Limning, 1585–1615", *Comitatus* 38 (2007) 129–153; Dixon L., "The Eye, Heart, and Brain of the Beholder Experiencing English Miniature Portraits", *Explorations of Renaissance Culture* 36, 1 (2010) 27–48.



FIGURE 9.2 *Nicholas Hilliard, The Heneage Jewel, also called The Armada Jewel, closed (ca. 1595). Pendant jewel with portrait-miniature, enamelled gold, table-cut diamonds, Burmese rubies, rock crystal, 7 × 5 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. no. M.81-1935).*

IMAGE © VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, LONDON.

history of its origin begins, however, in the first half of the sixteenth century, when following Henry VIII's (r. 1509–1547) break from Rome, the gems and pearls adorning the reliquaries and shrines in possession of English churches were transferred into the property of the English Crown. This seizure of sacred objects did at once place an abundance—if seen from a European perspective—of precious and semi-precious stones at the disposal of the royal household. Hilliard's portrait miniatures, I argue, emerged as a product of this re-appropriation, absorbing the residue of signification that the semantic displacement of the materiality of Christian devotion had subjected to negotiation by the visual culture of post-Reformation England. Combining the tradition of a painted presence that faces the beholder with the intricacy of a jewel demanding inspection close to the eye, the jewelled portrait miniatures Hilliard produced for the English court present objects of aesthetic migration between two rivalling religious doctrines. Small enough to be carried on the body—both hidden or in open display—Hilliard's portrait miniatures bespeak



FIGURE 9.3 *Detail of Fig. 9.2: The opened Heneage Jewel.*

the multiple acts of material reinterpretation by which the English elite, in a period torn between the alternating regimes of a Catholic and a Reformed English Crown, transformed practices of intimate devotion into forms of conspicuous consumption. The jewel-caged likeness commissioned by the most elite members of late sixteenth-century England embodied material substitutes for personally owned reliquaries that served Elizabethan society in read-dressing recently lost practices of pious contemplation, liturgical performance, and visual pleasure as they had previously been encouraged by the devotional displays of the Roman rite.

The aesthetic migration objectified in the Elizabethan portrait miniature, however, is informative also in regard to the question of how the elite of post-Reformation England repossessed practices of material excess that had

recently been banned from local visual culture. In the quickly expanding context of England's global network around 1600, the gifting and personal display of precious jewels served as a prime medium to signal social status and communicate propositions in foreign affairs. In the island's international relations, gems and precious stones gained new importance as the Crown began actively to pursue attempts to forge trade alliances with the leading Muslim courts of the day and enter a global economy of gem trade centred in South Asia.⁵ Locally, the Elizabethan portrait miniature legitimised a materiality that had recently been denounced as immoral excess by drawing upon the representational practice of reliquaries to enshrine the saintly body in a jewelled casing.⁶ In their encounter with other, non-Christian cultures, I argue, this local agency of English court jewellery underwent another process of displacement and appropriation that prompted a revision in the reception of gems and precious stones back in England, where the production of court jewellery began to imitate the designs of Mughal regalia.

Early English Encounters with the Mughal Court

The first English monarch to send an emissary to Mughal India was Elizabeth I. In her search for new allies in England's rivalries with Spain and France, the English queen recognised the keen interest of London's large community of entrepreneurial merchants to establish new trade routes and began to promote her country by means of an active epistolary exchange with Muslim rulers. Ambassadors from Muslim courts were first welcomed by due protocol under her rule, while the monarch herself was keen to keep intense correspondence with the elite of North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean of the Ottomans, such as Sa'adian, sheriff of Marrakesh, Mulay Ahmad al-Mansur (r. 1578–1603), the Ottoman Sultan Murad III (r. 1574–1595), and his *haseki*, or principal concubine, Safiye.⁷ In 1583, the English queen appointed

5 Acknowledgment of Mughal superiority in the long-emphasised asymmetry between early modern Europe and the East is a recent development, see Abu-Lughod J., *Before European Hegemony* (Oxford: 1989); Gunder Frank A., *Re-Orient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley, CA: 1998); Jardine L. – Brotton J., *Global Interest: Renaissance Art between East and West* (London: 2000).

6 For a detailed discussion see Hille C., "Zum Nachleben der Reliquiare: Materielle Verhandlungen der Englischen Reformation", in Jehle O. (ed.), *Britain's Best* (Karlsruhe: 2017).

7 Skilliter S.A., "Three Letters from the Ottoman 'Sultana' Safiye to Queen Elizabeth I", in Stern S.M. (ed.), *Documents from Islamic Chanceries* (Oxford: 1965) 119–157.

the merchant John Newberry, known for his previous experience in travelling to the Levant, to lead an expedition to the Mughal court, from where he was supposed to travel further east to establish contact with the emperor of China. The order entailed leaving two merchants in Baghdad, and two more in Basra, before proceeding via the Sultanate of Golconda in the Deccan Plateau of south India, ruled by Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (r. 1580–1611)—a region known for its diamond mines.⁸ Fifteenth-century accounts of the quarrying of diamonds and gems from Deccan mines circulating in Europe promoted mythical narratives that would have resonated with the Christian exegetical tradition that gemstones originated in the four rivers running from paradise to the Garden of Eden: the report of the Venetian merchant Niccolò de' Conti, who visited India in the first half of the fifteenth century, which had been put into writing by Pope Eugene IV's secretary Poggio Bracciolini upon Conti's return to Italy in 1441, described a serpent-infested mountain of diamonds called 'Albenigaras', located north of the Vijayanagara. The account reproduced a narrative first referred to by Marco Polo in his *Description of the World* (1298–1299), of a valley between the Krishna and Kaveri Rivers. According to the story, lumps of meat were thrown into the valley, where they got stuck on the diamonds that, together with the meat, would be devoured by vultures and eagles. Thus the precious stones were carried up by the animals from the otherwise inaccessible canyons and, excreted undigested, were salvaged for safe collection by the local miners.⁹

Travel writing of the kind produced after accounts of Marco Polo and Niccolò de' Conti offered descriptions of encounters with vastly different cultures and foreign landscapes unexplainable within established categories of knowledge. Encouraging enthusiasm for ocean voyages that promised commercial profit, they ultimately produced new, more specific accounts of trade explorations that responded to the growing demand for more factual reports of foreign cultures encountered in the increasingly global network of trade, in which jewellery became an object of international commerce. One of these

8 Chakrabarty P., *Anglo-Mughal Commercial Relations: 1583–1717* (Calcutta: 1983), 4 ff. Moreland W.H., *Relations of Golconda in the Early Seventeenth Century* (London: 1931) 31–32.

9 *Travels of Nicolò Conti*, trans. J. Winter Jones, in Major R.H., *India in the Fifteenth Century* (London: 1857), 5, 7, 29. Travelling the same region in the early seventeenth century, the English merchant William Methwold reported from a diamond mine in Golconda in 1618, describing the process in which known deposits were explored by mining and the diamonds sieved from the sludge below the sandy ground. See Moreland, *Relations of Golconda in the Early Seventeenth Century* 31–32.

was the account of Ralph Fitch, who, equipped with a letter of introduction to Emperor Akbar, had left London aboard Newberry's *Tyger* in 1583. Upon Fitch's return from the Mughal court in 1591, it was immediately put into writing, and published in Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* as early as 1599. Bankrolled by the newly formed English Levant Company, Fitch, and with him the painter James Story and the jeweller William Leeds, first travelled to Aleppo. From there they crossed overland to the Red Sea to proceed by ship to Mughal Hindustan, hoping to obtain a trade agreement from Emperor Akbar and break into Portugal's lucrative export of precious stones from India. The group was apprehended on Ormus Island, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, controlled by the Portuguese Estado da Índia. The Portuguese, who policed the export of Indian gems, deported the Englishmen to their colonies in India—first to Diu, then Daman, and finally Goa, the commercial centre of the well-established Portuguese colonial empire—where they were imprisoned on suspicion of commercial espionage. From Goa, Portuguese jewel merchants travelled to the great Mughal cites in order to gain direct access to the vast purchasing power of the royal family and its circles. Fitch and his train escaped from their Goan prison in 1584 or 1585; after passing Belgaum and trekking across the Deccan, the group arrived at the Mughal courts of Agra and Fatehpur Sikri in 1585. As Hakluyt's account documents, Akbar's personal wealth, which—by European standards—was vast beyond comparison, but also the wealth of the region itself left Fitch deeply impressed. Merchants from Persia and India trading in precious stones, Fitch recorded, lined the roads connecting both cities.¹⁰ At court, an abundance of gemstones were presented as obligatory gifts (*piskes*, *pishkesh*, *pishkash*) during the many audiences in which emissaries from all

10 On Fitch see Horton Ryley J., *Ralph Fitch: England's Pioneer to India* (London: 1899); Edwardes M., *Ralph Fitch: Elizabethan in the Indies* (London: 1972). See also Lenman B.P., "The East India Company and the Mughals between Sir Thomas Roe and Sir William Norris", in Bowen H.V. – Lincoln M. – Rigby N. (eds.), *The Worlds of the East India Company* (Rochester, NY: 2002) 106–109; and Lenman B.P., "England, the International Gem Trade and the Growth of Geographical Knowledge from Columbus to James I", in Brink J.R. – Gentrup W.F. (eds.), *Renaissance Culture in Context: Theory and Practice* (Aldershot: 1993) 86–99; as well as for the diamond trade in South India, see Alam I., "Diamond Mining and Trade in South India in the Seventeenth Century", *The Medieval History Journal* 2 (2000) 291–310. Prasad R.C., *Early English Travellers in India: A Study in the Travel Literature of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Periods with Particular Reference to India* (Delhi: 1965), esp. 24–65.

over the Muslim world and beyond sought to introduce themselves to the Mughal emperor.¹¹

Mutual Imitation: Miniatures, Gems, and Precious Stones

The first official English visit to the Mughal court was only brief. While John Newberry travelled westward to Lahore and from there returned to Europe, Ralph Fitch continued to follow the Ganges down to Bengal, and expanded his commercial explorations on the trade routes into Tibet. Only William Leeds stayed on in Fatehpur Sikri, where he found employment in the courtly jewellery workshop of Emperor Akbar. The keen interest of Mughal rulers to take artists and artisans from Europe into their service to transfer their knowledge to the international workshops of Mughal patronage, in which indigenous artists collaborated with Persian migrant artists, who brought with them knowledge of Chinese art, is well known.¹² Already Humayun, Akbar's father, had brought the Iranian artists Mir Sayyid 'Ali and 'Abd al-Samad to India when he returned from exile in 1555. Soon after his accession the following year, Akbar placed the calligraphers in charge of his first great manuscript project, the copying and illustrating of the *Hamzanama*. By the late sixteenth century, the palace at Agra housed Akbar's imperial workshops, employing embroiderers, goldsmiths, painters, and varnishers in lacquer-work working in close proximity to each other. Scholars have given particular attention to the adaptation

11 In her lucid analysis of the difference between the commercial cultures of Jacobean England and Mughal India, Ania Loomba emphasises that rather than understanding the Mughal court economically more 'backward' than the English, it should be understood that from a Mughal perspective, English gifts did not add up to the value of trading privileges. Loomba's point that Thomas Roe was 'officially an ambassador of King James [...], but in fact employed by the East India Company to establish trade in the region', however, seems problematic as the interest in economic relations was certainly also that of the English Crown. See Loomba A., "Of Gifts, Ambassadors, and Copy-cats: Diplomacy, Exchange and Difference in Early Modern India", in Charrly B. – Shahani G. (eds.), *Emissaries in Early Modern Literature and Culture: Mediation, Transmission, Traffic, 1550–1700* (Aldershot: 2009) 41–75, at 45.

12 On the fundamental relationship of Persian and Mughal painting see Verma S.E., *Interpreting Mughal Painting: Essays on Art, Society and Culture* (New Delhi: 2009); Soucek P.P., "Persian Artists in Mughal India: Influences and Transformations", *Muqarnas* 4 (1987) 166–181; Gray B., "Chinese Influence in Persian Painting: 14th and 15th Centuries", in Watson W. (ed.), *The Westward Influence of Chinese Arts from the 14th to the 18th Century*, *Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia* 3 (London: 1973) 11–17.

of the European tradition of painting by the Mughal school of Indian painting, and the role Portuguese Jesuits played as its transmitters since their arrival at the court of Akbar in 1580.¹³ A substantial and still growing number of studies have discussed the extent to which Mughal art assimilated the figures and compositions displayed in the Christian devotional paintings and engravings presented to the Mughal elite by the Jesuits.¹⁴ More specifically, Yael Rice has demonstrated that Mughal artists, who, as heirs to the Persian and Arabic traditions of calligraphy and painting were primarily concerned with line and contour, took particular interest in the physical and technical qualities of European engravings, which resembled both artistic practices.¹⁵ Based on the art of limning, English portrait miniatures, I suggest, bore even closer kinship to the painterly tradition of Mughal artists. Developed from European practices of manuscript illumination, limning was the term by which sixteenth-century English artists referred to water-based portraits *en miniature* that were produced by applying bound pigment, gold, and silver on a small piece of vellum prepared with a flesh-coloured, opaque ground.¹⁶

Combining the skills of the limner with that of the goldsmith, the art of the English portrait miniature, furthermore, was concerned with the material replication of the gems and jewels worn by its sitters. In Hilliard's workshop, the pearls and gems displayed on the sitter's attire were formed from three-dimensional beads of paint that received highlights of silver, sometimes gold, in an attempt to capture the natural lustre of the feigned material in the dimension of the picture. Aiming to produce the impression of light

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- 13 The scholarship in this field is extensive; see especially Koch E., *Mughal Art and Ideology: Collected Essays* (New Delhi: 2001); Cleveland Beach M. – Koch E., *King of the World: The Padshahnama* (London: 1997); Pal P. (ed.), *Master Artists of the Imperial Mughal Court* (Bombay: 1991).
 - 14 By 1600, as Gauvin Bailey has summarised, 'paintings and drawings in which Christian devotional images were the primary subject represented a major share of Mughal artistic production'. See Bailey G.A., *Art on the Jesuit Mission in Asia and Latin America 1552–1773* (Toronto: 1999) 119.
 - 15 Rice Y., "The Brush and the Burin: Mogul Encounters with European Engravings", in Anderson J. (ed.), *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration, and Convergence. Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress of the History of Art* (Carlton South, Vic.: 2009) 305–310. I want to thank Dipti Khera for pointing me to this article.
 - 16 The most comprehensive discussion remains Murrell V.J., "The Art of Limning", in Strong R. – Murrell V.J. (eds.), *Artists at the Tudor Court: The Portrait Miniature Rediscovered 1520–1620* (London: 1983) 13–27. See also Derbyshire A., "Sixteenth-Century Portrait Miniatures: Key Methodologies for a Holistic Approach", in Derbyshire A. – Tallian T. – Frayling, N. (eds.), *Art of the Past: Sources and Reconstructions* (London: 2005) 91–93.

reflecting off the sitter's face, Hilliard delineated the interlacing ornament of dress and jewellery in marks of gold paint that was then burnished with an animal tooth—a practice that would transform the coloured pigment into a surface of gleaming metal. The picture made from paint, gold, and silver, in this way, mirrored the bejewelled frame that held it. Though we do not know if any of the sumptuously bejewelled portrait miniatures produced by Hilliard or his workshop travelled to Mughal India, there is strong reason to suspect so, as such objects embodied prime diplomatic gifts sent by the English queen to impress her foreign peers. Thus 'a jewel of her majesty's picture, set with some rubies and diamonds' is documented in the list of gifts sent by Elizabeth I to Sultan Murad III in the 1593 embassy of Edward Barton to Constantinople.¹⁷

In 1614, when Thomas Roe was sent by King James to the court of Akbar's son Jahangir, a jewelled portrait miniature of King James from the hand of Nicholas Hilliard, similar to the so-called *Lyte Jewel* from 1610–1611 [Fig. 9.4], would have been a typical gift of the English Crown for presentation to the foreign ruler. Two entries in Roe's journal are particularly informative in this context as they document how different these objects were received at the Mughal court with regard to their painted and their jewelled components. The first is the report of a wager between the English ambassador and his royal host over the faithful copy of a miniature-portrait by Isaac Oliver—the disciple of Nicholas Hilliard, who generally produced his portrait miniatures without the addition of a jewelled frame or lid, but was highly esteemed in early seventeenth-century England for his painterly skills. Jahangir had asked his chief painter to duplicate the small picture, upon which Roe, doubting this to be possible, offered a wager of 10,000 rupees in case the Mughal artists would succeed, as he knew 'none in Europe but the same master can perform it'.¹⁸ Asked to pick out the original from not one, but five replicas, Roe eventually 'showed [his] owne and the differences, which were in arte apparent, but not to be juged by a common eye', yet emphasised in his report that at first he had been 'troubled to discerne which was which'.¹⁹ Assessing the situation in regard of trade opportunities he reasoned: 'his majestie needed noe picture from our country'.²⁰

17 Bent J.T., *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant: The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam, 1599–1600. II. Extracts from the diaries of Dr. John Covel, 1670–1679. With Some Account of the Levant Company of Turkey Merchants* (New York, NY: 1964) viii.

18 "The Journal of Sir Thomas Roe", in Foster W. (ed.), *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India* (London: 1926) 189–190.

19 Ibidem.

20 Ibidem 199–200.



FIGURE 9.4 *Nicholas Hilliard, The Lyte-Jewel (1610–1611). Pendant jewel with portrait-miniature, enamelled gold, twenty-five square table diamonds, and four rose diamonds, 6.4 (closed without pearl) × 4.8 cm. London, The British Museum (inv. no. WB.167).*

IMAGE © THE BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON.

Very different was the response to a jewelled miniature which presented the likeness of the sitter in 'a little box of crystal, made by art like a ruby, and cut in the stone in curious works, which was all enamelled and inlaid with fine gold'.²¹ Emperor Jahangir, Roe noted, let him know 'he esteemed it above a diamond given him that day of 6000 li price'.²² The subject of the Emperor's particular interest, in this context, seems to have pertained the imitation and artificial production of gemstones displayed by the English object. European gemstone imitations, like those produced for the frame of the *Westminster Retable* (ca. 1250) were produced from coloured cabochon-shaped pieces of glass that were applied to a reflective background of silver.²³ Similarly, artists of the Muslim world had a long tradition of experimenting with the production of gemstones. One of the earliest manuals for their recipes has survived in Muhammad ibn Abi'l-Barakat Jawhari Nishabui's *Book of Gems* (*Jawahir-namah-yi Nizami*) written in the late twelfth century.²⁴

Mughal attitudes to the wearing and manufacture of jewellery had been significantly affected by the traditions of the newly conquered territory when Babur, the first emperor of the Muslim Mughal dynasty, had invaded India at the end of the fifteenth century. While already Timur and his successors had cultivated a taste for precious, jewel-adorned objects, the excessive display of personal jewellery worn on the body as practised by Mughal emperors was part of the new dynasty's conscious seizing of the local Hindu culture, wherein profuse presentation of gems, gold, and silver formed an important part of social identity. By the rein of Babur's grandson Akbar this consolidating Mughal culture had institutionalised jewellery as regalia or insignia of rank or authority.²⁵ Muslim attitudes to jewellery, accordingly, were the reason why the majority, though not necessarily all of the goldsmiths and jewellers enlisted into the

21 Ibidem 127.

22 Ibidem 190.

23 For further reading see Binski P. – Massing A., *The Westminster Retable: History, Technique, Conservation* (London: 2009). For the imitation of precious stones in early-modern Europe: Bol M., "Coloring Topaz, Crystal and Moonstone: Gems and the Imitation of Art and Nature, 300–1500", in Beretta M. – Conforti M. (eds.), *Fakes!? Hoaxes, Counterfeits and Deception in Early Modern Science* (Sagamore Beach, MA: 2014) 108–129.

24 Rogers J.M. – Bayani M., "Recipes for Enamels and Artificial Gems in Nishaburi's *Jawahir-namah-yi Nizami*", in Spink M. – Ogden J. (eds.), *The Art of Adornment. Jewellery of the Islamic Lands*, 2 vols. (London: 2013) vol. 1, appendix.

25 See Juynboll G.H.A., "The Attitude towards Gold and Silver in Early Islam", in Vickers M. (ed.), *Pots and Pans: A Colloquium on Precious Metals and Ceramics in the Muslim, Chinese and Greco-Roman Worlds* (Oxford: 1985) 107–116, at 107, with further discussion and references.

service of the Mughal court, were Hindus or Jews. A connoisseur of international jewellery, Akbar also valued European jewellers, whose techniques Mughal craftsmen developed to new levels of excellence by, for instance, replacing the semi-precious stones used for Italian *pietre dure* work with gems, that were—besides being of greater value—much more difficult to cut.²⁶ Generally, the diverse techniques in the treatment of gemstones resulted from differences in taste between Mughal and European patrons. Leaving gemstones uncut, Indian goldsmiths set their jewels by the so-called *kundan* technique, which encircled the natural shape of the gemstone in a gold rim, in order to maintain their entire size and weight of the raw material. Since the development of the ‘table cut’ for diamonds, European patrons preferred polished gemstones that provided jewels with a light-catching surface.²⁷ These differences in taste notwithstanding, jewellery offered, both in Elizabethan England as in Mughal India, a reliable indicator of social identity.

Gems of Sacred Kingship

When King James came to the English throne in 1603, he immediately began to invest aggressively in the acquisition of jewellery for himself and his consort, Anne of Denmark, in order to signal the emergence of a great new power in Europe. He sought to reintegrate England into the economic and political life of Europe and had instantly re-opened negotiations for peace with Catholic Spain after half a century of self-imposed exile. Ensuring Protestant England's right to exist within Christian Europe by signing the Treaty of London in August 1604, James had ended England's self-imposed isolation and with it the need for English alliances with Ottoman and Moroccan rulers against Spain's religious and imperial claims. James's decision to send an embassy to Mughal India, in this light, betrays first of all an economic rather than a political decision, speculating on inspiring the perception of shared interests between the two powers with regard to the global politics of the time.

26 In his memoirs, Emperor Jahangir mentions one European jeweller by name: the French-Basque jeweller Augustin Hiriart, who was born in Bordeaux, but spent the years of his apprenticeship in London, before travelling east in 1610, and received the honourable name of ‘Hunarmand’, Persian for ‘the Skilful’. See Strong S., “The Sublime Thrones of the Mughal Emperors of Hindustan”, *Jewellery Studies* 10 (2004) 52–67.

27 Hofmeester K., “Shifting Trajectories of Diamond Processing: From India to Europe and Back, from the Fifteenth Century to the Twentieth”, *Journal of Global History* 8, 1 (2013) 25–49.

Of greater significance for this context than previously noted seems to be the gift of a printed portrait of the Turco-Mongol conqueror Timur (1336–1405)—known in early modern England as Tamburlaine—sent by King James to Emperor Jahangir during the time of Roe’s embassy [Fig. 9.5].²⁸ Jahangir was a descendant of Timur through Babur, founder of the Mughal Empire, who claimed to be a direct descendant of Timur through his father, and, through his mother, of Genghis Khan [Fig. 9.6]. The print sent to the Mughal court supposedly displayed a likeness of Jahangir’s progenitor taken in the early fifteenth century, and was arguably preserved as an illustration in the first edition of Richard Knolles’s *Generall Historie of the Turkes*, printed in London 1603. The oval frame is inscribed: ‘Tamerlanes Tartarorum Imper. Potentiss. ira Dei et Terror Orbis Apellatus obiit Ano 1402’. A crescent marks the beginning of the inscription. English perceptions of Timur had been coined during the Christian-Muslim conflict in the eastern Mediterranean, when in 1402 the Turco-Mongol conqueror defeated the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I (r. 1389–1403) in the Battle of Ankara and sent a letter to the leaders of the Latin West, Henry IV (king of England, r. 1399–1413) among them, to initiate peaceful and mercantile relations between his and the Christian territories.²⁹ This victory over Bayezid I, who had previously vanquished the Christian alliance in the 1396 Battle of Nicopolis, cast Timur as the very model of prudence and admirable kingship. By the time of the Elizabethan and Stuart eras, the Turco-Mongol conqueror had become a symbolic figure embodying—in English eyes—the virtuous pagan, who safeguarded the Christian good against the imperialist claims of the Ottomans.³⁰ When Elizabethan sailors had arrived in the Mediterranean, they had carried with them vague and prejudiced memoirs of confrontation and eschatological holy war. English encounters with India and Southeast Asia at the turn to the seventeenth century, to the contrary, were much less defined in terms of religion, and Muslim culture itself was perceived to be less ‘threatening’, as, especially at the Mughal court, the elite consisted of nobles and officers of diverse religious groups.

28 The English gift is documented in the *Jahangirnama*, see Syth B. (ed.), *The Tujuk-e Jahangiri, or Memoirs of Jahangir*, trans. A. Rogers (Delhi: 1968) vol. 1, 153–154.

29 For perceptions of Islam in early modern England, see Maclean G. – Matar N., *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558–1713* (Oxford: 2011).

30 On the vilification of the historic figure of Timur in Victorian England, see Knobler A., “Timur the (Terrible/Tatar) Trope: A Case of Repositioning in Popular Literature and History”, *Medieval Encounters* 7, 1 (2001) 101–112.



FIGURE 9.5 Lawrence Johnson (engraver), *Portrait of Tamerlane with the inscription Tamerlanes Tartarorum Imper. Potentiss. ira Dei et Terror Orbis Appellatus obiit Ano 1402*, in Richard Knolles, *Generall History of the Turkes* (London: Adam Islip, 1603). Engraving, 13.5 × 10.4 cm. London, The British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings (inv. no. Gg.4E.165).

IMAGE © THE BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON.

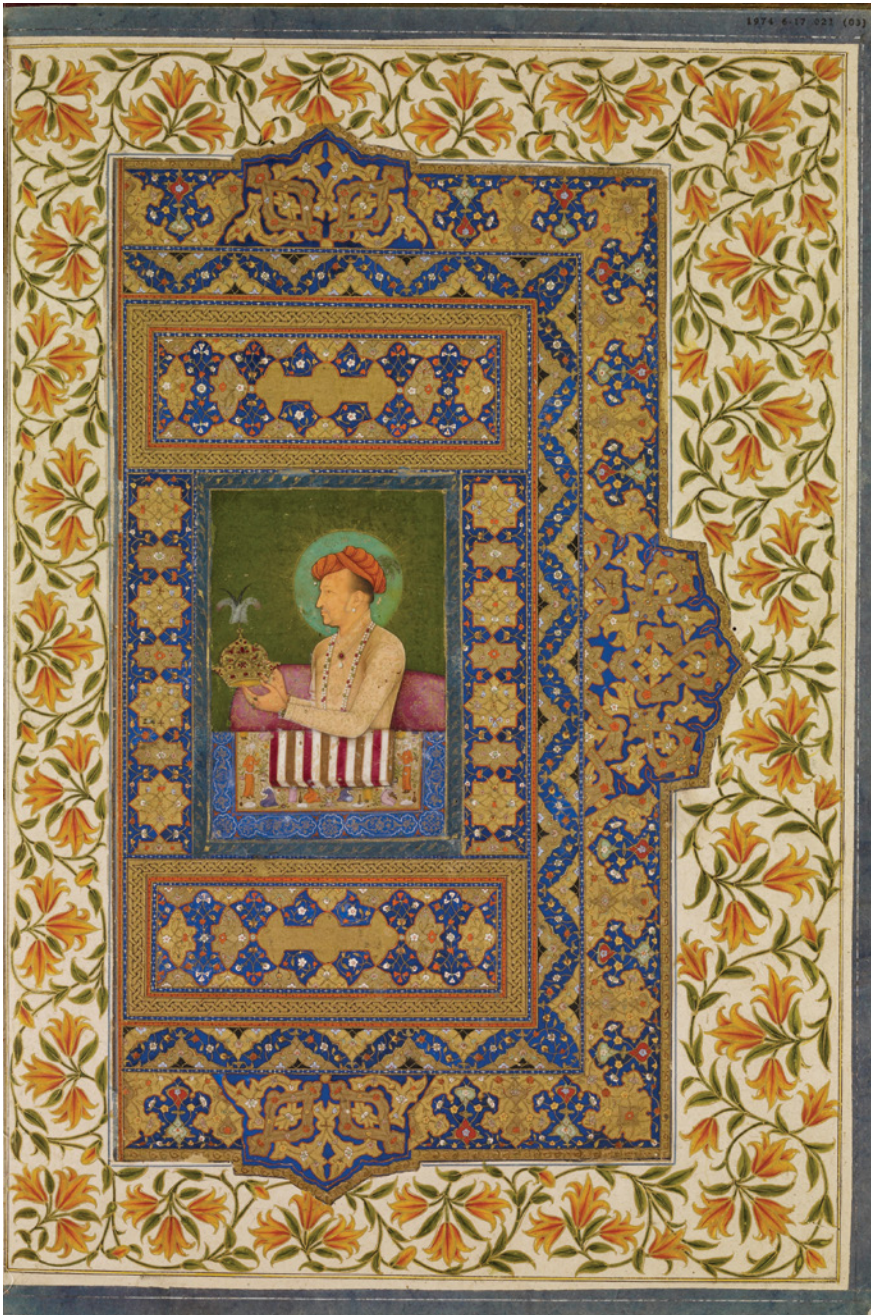


FIGURE 9.6 Anon. (artist), Jahangir Holding the Ceremonial Crown of Timur (ca. 1620). Opaque watercolour, gold and ink on paper, 32.5 × 18 cm. London, The British Museum (inv. no. 1974,0617,0.21.3).

IMAGE © THE BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON.

Though Jahangir, as one might expect in view of the engraving, doubted that the picture represented an actual likeness of Timur, the gift exemplifies English attempts to insinuate interests shared by the two cultures in the past, embodied in the alliance forged by the dynastic ancestors of both James and Jahangir against the colonialist aspirations of the mutual enemy of Catholic Spain, even if at home the English king had just succeeded in putting this conflict to rest. Taking great interest in the descent of English kings, James had presented Thomas Lyte of Lyte Cary with one of his portrait miniatures by Nicholas Hilliard as a reward for his illustrated genealogy of British monarchs.³¹ Like Henry VIII before him, he fashioned himself as England's new Solomon, the model of just rulership in the Koran, which had been used extensively to eulogise Muslim princes.

It is this context into which the elaborate presentation drawing of a crescent-adorned aigrette from the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum seems to belong. The conspicuous jewel design from the hand of Arnold Lulls, one of King James's favoured jewellers, was, I suggest, commissioned in direct reference to the jewelled turban ornament (*jigha*) traditionally worn by the Mughal emperors. The most prominent example of this Mughal regalia was the *jigha* received by Prince Khurram, the later Shah Jahan (r. 1628–1658), from his father, Emperor Jahangir, in a court ceremony in 1617. Returning victoriously from an important battle in the Deccan, where the grandson of Akbar triumphed over the united armies of Malik 'Ambar and the sultans of Bijapur and Golconda, the prince was ordered to the Hall of Audience at Mandu, to approach his father at the *jharoka* (window of appearances), where he was bestowed the title of Shah Jahan (King of the World). One month later Jahangir presented his son with a flawless ruby worked into a large *jigha* for his turban band. Possibly both, but certainly the latter of the two events is represented in a miniature painting from the illustrated *Padshahnama* manuscript ordered by Shah Jahan, *Jahangir Presents Prince Khurram with a Turban Ornament* [Fig. 9.7].³² The depiction of the *jigha* is rendered in such detail that it would have been identifiable to its beholders at the Mughal court as the important family jewel that had previously been worn by first Akbar the Great, and then Jahangir himself.

31 See Hunt A. – Thornton D. – Dagleish G., "A Jacobean Antiquary Reassessed: Thomas Lyte, the Lyte Genealogy and the Lyte Jewel", *The Antiquaries Journal* 96 (2016) 1–37.

32 The album was completed in 1636. One of the sheets, showing *Jahangir Presents Prince Khurram with a Turban Ornament*, is today part of the Royal Collection of Her Majesty Elizabeth II, RCIN 1005025.an.



FIGURE 9.7 Anon. (artist), Jahangir Presents Prince Khurram with a Turban Ornament (1656–1657). Opaque watercolour, gold and ink on paper, 18 × 25.3 cm. London, Royal Collection (inv. no. RCIN 1005025.an).

IMAGE ©THE ROYAL COLLECTION TRUST/HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II 2017.

Measuring Royal Power on Global Scales

It seems possible that reports or even a sketch of the design of this conspicuous jewel would have reached London already with the return of Ralph Fitch to the English court in 1591. Fitch had been accompanied to the court of Akbar by the jeweller William Leeds for the very reason of having professional expertise on the evaluation of the foreign jewels at hand. The *jigha* had been a gift received by Emperor Akbar from his mother to mark the birth of his son (Jahangir). Akbar carried it in his turban band, before it was worn by Jahangir in his turban, and eventually given to Shah Jahan. Most certainly, however, the prominent jewel would have been seen by Thomas Roe, who witnessed many ceremonial occasions during his stay at the court of Jahangir between 1615 and 1619. It seems probable, furthermore, that the emperor would have worn the heirloom during the spectacular weighing ceremony, which so impressed Roe and was depicted in a miniature painting for the *Jahangirnama*. A dispersed sheet of one such album, today in the collection of the British Museum, shows Prince Khurram sitting cross-legged in a large gold scale that itself is set with gems and precious stones, being weighed against red sacks filled with the jewels and costly goods presented in rows of trays placed at the emperor's feet.³³ Standing in the centre of the composition Jahangir is wearing a *jigha* plumed with black feathers. Produced in the same year by the Mughal artist Abu'l Hasan, a full-figure portrait shows Prince Khurram holding a jewelled aigrette in his right hand, which—in copied form—might have served as a model for Lull's designs [Fig. 9.8]. Presenting another solitaire gemstone—this time an emerald—within a minimal setting consisting of plain gold collets, crowned by five pearl-topped golden spouts, the painted jewel seems to form the model for four more aigrette designs among Lull's sketches.

While all five designs betray an unmistakably Mughal aesthetic, it is, in lack of written documentation, impossible to know if the aigrettes were commissioned as gifts for presentation at the Mughal court, or for the purpose of being worn by either King James or another member of the English royal family. James usually wore a badge composed of three large rubies known as the *Three Brothers*. The jewel is displayed on King James's hat in the portrait which the Mughal painter Bichitr included in a reception scene of Jahangir, to which the English monarch might have been included in acknowledgement

33 See British Museum, Museum no. 1948,1009,0.69. For another representation of the jewel, see Bichitr's portrait of Shah Jahan standing on a Globe (ca. 1630) from the so-called "Minto Album" in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (ms. 7A.16).



FIGURE 9.8 *Anon (artist), Portrait of Prince Khurram (ca. 1616). Opaque watercolour, gold and ink on paper; 18 × 25.3 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. no. IM.14-1925). IMAGE © VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, LONDON.*

of the given portrait of Timur [Fig. 9.9].³⁴ Typically portrayed with a plumed, albeit European-style ornament on his hat, was his eldest son, Henry Frederick (1594–1612), for whose education James had written *Basilikon Doron*, his personal interpretation of the divine right of kingship while still King James VI of Scotland.³⁵ James's declaration of divine kingship marked his redefinition of Renaissance theories of kingship, as exemplified in *speculum principes* texts, and intent to establish an absolutist form of government that denied the division between the king's person and office. In his speech in the parliament of 1610 he emphasised this point plainly when he proclaimed 'Kings are not only God's lieutenant upon earth, and sit upon God's throne, but even by God himself are called Gods'.³⁶ While such claim to sacred kingship was unheard of in the European world of the time, it must have resonated with the Mughal emperor, whose imperial agenda promoted a notion of kingship that was based upon Sufi motives of a saintly ruler, embracing the world as a heaven-sent saviour.³⁷ Mughal sovereigns referenced the cult of Timur, whom his followers had treated as their spiritual guide, and constructed a genealogy for themselves that spawned into sainthood. While Emperor Akbar, who pronounced

34 The Mughal miniature has been the topic of repeated debate. Still the most detailed assessment of this miniature is Ettinghausen R., "The Emperor's Choice", in Meiss M. (ed.), *De artibus opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky* (New York, NY: 1961) 98–107. For a study in the greater context of Mughal-European encounters, Juneja M., "Engel im Herrscherbild? Zur Assimilation abendländischer Motive in der höfischen Miniaturemalerei Indiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert", *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 36 (1999) 295–323; Juneja M., "Jahangir auf der Sanduhr: Überlegungen zur Lektüre einer Visualität im Spannungsfeld zwischen Eigenem und Fremden", in Schneider G., *Die visuelle Dimension des Historischen* (Schwalbach: 2002) 142–157. See also, most recently, Keating J., "Metamorphosis at the Mughal Court", *Art History* 38, 4 (2015) 732–747.

35 Wormald J., "James VI and I, *Basilikon Doron* and *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*: The Scottish Context and the English Translation", in Levy Peck L. (ed.), *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court* (Cambridge: 1991) 36–54; and Somerville J.P., "James I and the Divine Right of Kings: English Politics and Continental Theory", in Levy Peck, *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court* 55–70.

36 Kenyon J.P., *The Stuart Constitution 1603–1688* (Cambridge: 1996) 12.

37 Sumathi Ramaswamy demonstrates how this imperial vision of both Jahangir and his successor Shah Jahan gave rise to some of the most innovative paintings at the Mughal court, employing the depiction of the terrestrial globe as a symbol for their claim to global power: Ramaswamy S., "Conceit of the Globe in Mughal Visual Practice", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 49, 4 (2007) 751–782. For a detailed account on how Mughal rulers competed over this doctrine with the rulers of Safavid Persia, see Azfar Moin A., *The Millennial Sovereign: Sacred Kingship and Sainthood in Islam* (New York, NY: 2012).



FIGURE 9.9 *Bichitr, Jahangir Preferring a Sufi Shaikh over Kings* from the 'Saint Petersburg Album' (ca. 1615–1618). Opaque watercolour, gold and ink on paper, 18 × 25.3 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer|Sackler, The Smithsonian's Museums of Asian Art (inv. no. F1942.15).

IMAGE © FREER|SACKLER, THE SMITHSONIAN'S MUSEUMS OF ASIAN ART, WASHINGTON, D.C.

himself the world's greatest sovereign and spiritual guide, had still rejected the advice of his political counsellors to proclaim himself divine, his son Jahangir (i.e. Conqueror of the World) expressed his sovereignty by a concept of sacred kingship modelled after the manner of Sufi saints, fashioning himself as the prophesied saviour, who inaugurated a new millennium of peace and justice.³⁸

As the most conspicuous attribute of Mughal royalty, the aigrette seems to have offered a material object with which the English court could identify and recognise a familiarity that existed on the level of the personally handled object. At the same time, the Mughal heirloom invited perceptions of shared homologies in the ritual practice of the symbolic adornment of the English and Mughal royal body. Lulls's aigrettes were arguably commissioned to manifest this perception in material form and perform as gifts to the Mughal emperor. Produced to appeal to the aesthetic sensibility of the Mughal elite, these gems forged a network of affinity between the two rulers that transcended religious, cultural, and linguistic identity by the consumption and display of a jewelled artefact.

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38 For the concept of sacred kingship in Mughal India and Safavid Iran, see Azfar Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign*. The subject was first discussed in Ramaswamy, "Conceit of the Globe in Mughal Visual Practice".

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Cultured Materiality in Early Modern Art: Feather Mosaics in Sixteenth-Century Collections*

Margit Kern

The Pre-Hispanic Technique of Feather Mosaics

The textures are so subtle and so delicate in their shimmering materiality that even today you have to force yourself not to reach out and touch the fine feathers that make up Mexican feather mosaics. This very wish—abruptly prevented by the glass display cases used in museum presentation—is documented in early modern sources describing the amazement that pre-Hispanic and colonial featherwork aroused in Europe. In 1599, for instance, Ulisse Aldrovandi reported that Pope Sixtus V wanted to touch a feather mosaic depicting St. Francis of Assisi in order to convince himself that it was really made of feathers, rather than painted.¹

The subtlety of the work is due to the fact that, unlike in later eighteenth- and nineteenth-century artefacts, the feathers were not used directly to make feather mosaics; instead, the Amantecas (as the pre-Hispanic feather artists were known) first glued the feathers onto *amate* paper and then used bone knives to cut the paper into thin strips, from which the actual motifs were formed. Only in this way could the fine outlines and detailed motifs be created. As a result, the material properties of the feathers—their iridescent colour effects and glossy surfaces—were preserved, whereas their characteristic forms, outlines, and formal quill-and-vane structure were no longer visible. This fragmentation effectively turned the feathers into coloured raw materials for a new kind of artistic design, just as painters could make use of coloured materials in crude, unformed textures. Another similarity to painting was that the feathers were sometimes steeped in dye before being used (see the Florentine Codex).²

* I remain indebted to Kevin Cook for his translation of this article into English.

1 Aldrovandi Ulisse, *Ornithologiae hoc est de avibus historiae libri XII* (Bologna, de Franciscis: 1599) 656.

2 Anders F., “Mexikanische Federarbeiten der Kolonialzeit: Ergebnisse der Studien in Bibliotheken, Archiven und Museen Spaniens, Italiens und Deutschlands”, *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 102 (1965) 36–45, esp. 43–44.



FIGURE 10.1 Crispijn de Passe the Elder, *America* (early seventeenth century). Engraving, 19.8 × 22.1 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum (inv. no. RP-P-1938-1491).

IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM.

This very aesthetic attractiveness of the feathers, plus the fact that feather mosaics were previously unknown in Europe, rapidly led to featherwork becoming a symbol of the 'New World'.³ In the early modern era this was reflected in, among other things, the use of feather ornaments in personifications of America. However, studies have shown that this is based on a misconception. It is now thought that the figure of America [Fig. 10.1] was depicted with a skirt

3 See Wolf G., "Ananas und Tiara: Zur Gregorsmesse von Auch", in Futscher E. et al. (eds.), *Was aus dem Bild fällt: Figuren des Details in Kunst und Literatur. Friedrich Teja Bach zum 60. Geburtstag* (Munich: 2007) 333–347, at 344; Wolf G., "Incarnations of Light: Picturing Feathers in Europe/Mexico, ca. 1400–1600", in Russo A. – Wolf G. – Fane D. (eds.), *Images Take Flight: Feather Art in Mexico and Europe 1400–1700*, exh. cat. Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico City (Munich: 2015) 64–99, at 84.

of feathers because feather cloaks and capes from Central and South America were misinterpreted as skirts after they were brought to Europe.⁴

There is plenty of surviving testimony to the admiration for American artefacts—particularly Albrecht Dürer's diary of his journey to the Netherlands in 1520, in which he waxes lyrical about the indigenous peoples' '*subtilen jngenia*' (subtle ingenuity).⁵ Featherwork therefore played a significant part in the early modern gift economy between royal courts. Not only did the gifts from Moctezuma that Dürer saw in Brussels include feather artefacts, but inscriptions on surviving Mexican feather mosaics made clear that they were conceived from the outset as gifts to be shipped to Europe. The most prominent example is surely the *Mass of St Gregory* that is preserved in Auch [Fig. 10.2]; a peripheral inscription in Latin dates it to 1539, and it can thus be considered the oldest surviving feather mosaic with Christian iconography. The inscription indicates that the mosaic was intended for Pope Paul III and was made in San José de los Naturales under Fray Pedro de Gante's supervision.⁶ It is therefore assumed that the object was a gift in return for the pope's recognition of the indigenous peoples as human beings who were

4 Honour H., *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time* (New York, NY: 1975) 277; see also Colin S., *Das Bild des Indianers im 16. Jahrhundert* (Idstein: 1988) 16.

5 Quoted from Rupprich H. (ed.), *Dürer: Schriftlicher Nachlass*, 3 vols. (Berlin: 1956–1969) vol. 1, 155.

6 *Azteken*, exh. cat. Royal Academy of Arts, London – Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin – Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn (Cologne: 2003) 482, cat. no. 325; Pérez Carrillo S., "Aproximación a la iconografía de la misa de San Gregorio en América", *Cuadernos de arte colonial* 4 (1988) 91–106; Martínez del Río de Redo M., "La plumaria virreinal", in Castelló Yturbe T., *The Art of Featherwork in Mexico* (Mexico City: 1993) 103–142, at 112–119; Russo A. – Wolf G. – Fane D. (eds), *El vuelo de las imágenes: arte plumario en México y Europa*, exh. cat. Museo Nacional de Arte (Mexico City: 2011) 17–18; Estrada de Gerlero E.I., *Muros, sargas y papeles: Imagen de lo sagrado y lo profano en el arte novohispano del siglo XVI* (Mexico City: 2011) esp. 399–404 and 443–461. Whether the inscription also refers to Don Diego de Alvarado Huanitzin as an Amanteca, an artist, has been subject to controversy. *Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries*, exh. cat. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Boston, MA – Toronto – London: 1990) 258–260, cat. no. 119; Mongne P., "La 'Messe de Saint Grégoire' du Musée des Jacobins d'Auch: Une mosaïque de plumes mexicaine du XVI^e siècle", *Revue du Louvre* 44, 5/6 (1994) 38–47, at 43, no. 12; Mongne P., "La Huella de los Tlacuilos: Tradición y aculturación en la Misa de san Gregorio del Museo des Jacobins de Auch (Francia)", *Baessler-Archiv* 61 (2013/14) 7–27; Kern M., *Transkulturelle Imaginationen des Opfers in der Frühen Neuzeit: Übersetzungsprozesse zwischen Mexiko und Europa* (Berlin – Munich: 2013) 135–153.



FIGURE 10.2 Anon. (artist from New Spain), Mass of Saint Gregory (1539). Feather mosaic, 68 × 56 cm. Auch, Musée des Jacobins (inv. no. 986.1.1).

IMAGE © MUSÉE DES JACOBINS, AUCH; PHOTO: PHILIPPE FUZEAU.

endowed with reason, and hence capable of conversion.⁷ It must then be wondered what purpose the feather mosaics with religious iconography that were produced in the viceroyalty of New Spain (present-day Mexico) were actually intended to serve.

This was, after all, a pre-Hispanic visual art technique that was continued by indigenous artists in the sixteenth century. The artists worked in the newly established monastic schools under the supervision of missionaries who used European print models. The resulting devotional images are mainly close-up depictions of individual saints. There are also numerous half-figures of the Madonna and Child. The indigenous artists who were instructed in the monastic schools were often members of the pre-Hispanic elites. In the pre-Hispanic period the *Tlacuilos* (painter-scribes) had the task of creating valuable archives of knowledge in the form of illustrated manuscripts; and so among the Mexica—unlike in contemporary Europe—painters belonged to the elite. Since the conversion of these elites at the monastic schools was linked by the missionaries to the production of Christian images in various media, it must be wondered whether the feather mosaics served any particular purpose in missionary work.

I believe there is plenty of evidence that the Christian feather mosaics were not initially intended for devotional purposes in Mexico. Here we need to examine whether the fact that the vast majority of sixteenth-century feather mosaics are today kept in Europe is only due to climatic conditions in this part of America and conservation problems, or whether this is evidence that the feather mosaics produced in the monasteries were mainly created for export, in order to create in Europe the image of a young American Christian community and associate it with aesthetic figures that were exotic curiosities, and indeed costly wondrous objects.

A Feather Mosaic of St. Jerome

The change in meaning that these specifically American, Christian devotional images underwent on arrival in Europe will be discussed below with reference to a feather mosaic that originally came from the Ambras *Kunst- und Wunderkammer* and is now kept in Vienna's Weltmuseum (formerly Museum für Völkerkunde). The mosaic (which measures 32 × 25.5 cm with its frame and

7 See in this connection Pierce D. – Gomar R. – Bargellini C. (eds.), *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life 1521–1821*, exh. cat. Denver Art Museum (Denver, CO: 2004) 95–102, cat. no. 1.

21.5 × 15.5 cm without) shows the church father St. Jerome [Fig. 10.3], who has withdrawn into the wilderness as an ascetic and is doing penance with only a lion (sitting on his left) for company. Although we must treat the present-day object with caution, for the feathers have been damaged and have lost their iridescent top layer, it is immediately striking how much the saint is visually linked to his natural environment, the wilderness, by the drab colouring of his robes and flesh.⁸ The fact that the brownish basic tone of the feathers used here links the background and the figure will be discussed again elsewhere.

The saint has bared his ribcage with one hand, and in the other he is holding a stone with which he has just beaten his breast bloody. The shining red bloodstain, which through the inclusion of different-coloured feathers really does appear as the bright-red centre of the image, links the saint visually to the image of the crucified Christ in the top-left corner. The other red features in the image are particularly remarkable. In the corners of the original frame, which is also decorated with feathers, are red roses which are related to Christ's wounds in the meditation on the Passion. In the foreground we can also see Jerome's red cardinal's robe.

The cardinal's hat, which is hanging on a tree, is interestingly rendered. Its fifteen tassels with their characteristic knots were transferred to the feather mosaic medium in a most idiosyncratic manner. Here, in contrast to customary European colouring, the Amanteca changed the colour of the feathers. The knots stand out as contrasting blue 'eyes'. The resulting circular figures recall the jade bead, *chalchihuite*, which in many Christian iconographies characterises the blood of Christ or baptismal water, for in the pre-Hispanic period the jade bead symbolised 'jewel water' or 'precious liquid'. The meaning of blood in the sacred context among the Mexica is reflected in the term *chalchiuatl*, which is made up of the following words: *chachiuatl* (jewel) and *atl* (water).⁹ The word for human blood can therefore be freely translated as 'jewel water' or 'precious liquid'. This sacred charge predestined the jade bead to be used in the colonial period as a decoration on baptismal fonts [Fig. 10.4] or in the centre of each of Christ's five wounds on the coat of arms of the Franciscan order.¹⁰

8 *Gold und Macht: Spanien in der Neuen Welt. Eine Ausstellung anlässlich des 500. Jahrestages der Entdeckung Amerikas*, exh. cat. Haus der Kunst, Munich (Vienna: 1986) 393, cat. no. 4.138.

9 See Lanczkowski G., *Götter und Menschen im alten Mexiko* (Olten – Freiburg im Breisgau: 1984) 92–93; Seler E., *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde*, 5 vols. (Berlin: 1902–1915) vol. 1, *Sprachliches, Bilderschriften, Kalender und Hieroglyphenentzifferung* 444.

10 Escalante Gonzalbo P., "Cristo, su sangre y los indios: exploraciones iconográficas sobre el arte mexicano del siglo XVI", in Kügelgen H. von (ed.), *Herencias indígenas, tradiciones europeas y la mirada europea: Indígenes Erbe, europäische Traditionen und der europäische*



FIGURE 10.3 *Anon. (artist from New Spain), Saint Jerome (third quarter of the sixteenth century). Feather mosaic, with frame: 32 × 25.5 cm, without frame: 21.5 × 15.5 cm. Vienna, Weltmuseum Wien (inv. no. VO_43383).*

IMAGE © KHM-MUSEUMSVERBAND, WELTMUSEUM WIEN.



FIGURE 10.4 *Anon. (artist from New Spain), Baptismal font (sixteenth century). Stone. Atitalaquia, church of San Miguel.*

IMAGE © MARGIT KERN.

We can only speculate whether the bloodstain on the saint's breast led to the complicated and probably barely comprehensible shape of the hat borrowed from the print model being interpreted as a flow of blood. Most likely, however, the model was a print from which the colours could not be taken, so that the knots on the cardinal's hat could be shown as blue in the mosaic. Yet the use of the jade bead to express the sacred charge of the blood in a Christian feather mosaic is hardly unique. In the famous Mass of St. Gregory from Auch [Fig. 10.2] we can also see a series of jade beads on the pope's chasuble that researchers have related to the Eucharistic theme of the scene.

Even if we are confronted here with sacred charges in the most varied, transculturally negotiated form—the Christian practice of self-mortification and the striking red tones in the image remind us of the penitential practice of injuring one's body, sacrificing one's own blood to the gods was widespread among the Mexica, in the pre-Hispanic period the feather material designated blood sacrifice, which kept the cosmos in balance, and so on—it must again be stressed in this context that the sacred dimension of featherwork was marginalised in Europe.¹¹ In Ambras, where the St. Jerome mosaic was recorded in an inventory back in 1596, it was transformed so that it seems highly plausible that it was not used for religious exercises.¹² How far such a loss of religious meaning could go in a *Kunst- und Wunderkammer* is documented by the Vitzliputzli [Fig. 10.5], a golden figure of a monkey measuring just 7.5 × 6 × 6.5 cm that was first mentioned by Michael Dillherr in 1662.¹³ At the time the figure was in the Nuremberg city library. The name Vitzliputzli is derived from the name of the Aztec god of war Huitzilopochtli, and appears in European texts from the late sixteenth century onwards. At the time of the *Conquista* the Spaniards saw Huitzilopochtli as the epitome of the mighty god who demanded cruel human sacrifices; later, in the corrupted form Vitzliputzli, the name came to symbolise all that was pagan and demonic, and cruelty in general, until in the

Blick. Akten des Kolloquiums der Carl Justi-Vereinigung und des Instituto Cervantes Bremen, Ars Iberica et Americana 7 (Frankfurt am Main: 2002) 71–93, at 73. For more on the jade bead as a symbol or blood sacrifice, see also Burkhart L.M., *Holy Wednesday: A Nahua Drama from Early Colonial Mexico* (Philadelphia, PA: 1996) 208.

11 See Russo A., "Plumes of Sacrifice: Transformations in the Sixteenth Century Mexican Feather Art", *Res* 42 (Autumn 2002) 226–250.

12 On the 1596 inventory, see Seipel W. (ed.), *Die Entdeckung der Natur: Naturalien in den Kunstkammern des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, exh. cat. Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna: 2006) 18–19, cat. no. 1.2.

13 *Azteken*, 484–485, cat. no. 336; Anders F., "Huitzilopochtli—Vitzliputzli—Fizlipuzli—Fitzebutz: Das Schicksal eines mexikanischen Gottes in Europa", in *Focus Behaim Globus*, exh. cat. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 2 vols. (Nuremberg: 1992) vol. 1, 423–446.



FIGURE 10.5 Anon. (artist from New Spain), "Vitzliputzli" (second half of sixteenth century). Gilded silver and pearls, 7.5 cm (height). Nuremberg, Kunstsammlungen der Stadt Nürnberg (inv. no. Gemälde und Skulpturen, Pl. 1248).

IMAGE © MUSEEN DER STADT NÜRNBERG.

nineteenth century it ended up as a bogeyman in puppet shows (for instance in *Doctor Faustus*).¹⁴ However, it was no problem to put such a dangerous demon on display as a golden artefact in a *Kunst- und Wunderkammer*—the precious

14 Thiemer-Sachse U., "Huitzilopochtli-Vitzeputze: Como se convirtió el dios guerrero mexicana en una imagen diabólica en el uso idioma alemán", available from https://www.ru.ffyl.unam.mx:8080/bitstream/10391/1571/1/02_ALM_08_1997_Thiemer_Sachse_23_41.pdf (accessed: 30.12.2015).

exoticism of the gold work was evidently able to neutralise the demonic element at least in part.

This risk that, in a *Kunst- und Wunderkammer*, Christian elements might be divested of their specific dignity and pagan ones venerated did not go unnoticed at the time, and it was addressed and criticised in contemporary sources. This is particularly clear from a scene in *Simplicissimus* in which Grimmelshausen denounced European treatment of 'heathen' gods from foreign continents. A prince dismissed *Simplicissimus* as a 'fool' because he preferred a poorly painted representation of *Ecce homo* to a rare, and hence costly, Chinese idol:

I once went with a person of quality into his museum, wherein were fine curiosities; but of all none pleased me more than an 'Ecce Homo' by reason of its piteous depiction, by which it stirred the spectator well-nigh to sympathy. By it there hung a paper picture painted in China, whereon were Chinese idols sitting in their majesty, and some in shape like devils. So the master of the house asked me which piece in this gallery pleased me most. And when I pointed to the said 'Ecce Homo' he said I was wrong; for the Chinese painting was rarer and therefore of more value: he would not lose it for a dozen 'Ecce Homos'. So said I, 'Sir, is your heart like to your speech?' 'Surely,' said he. 'Why then,' said I, 'your heart's god is that one whose picture you do confess with your mouth to be of most value.' 'Fool,' says he, 'tis the rarity I esteem.' Whereto I replied, 'Yet what can be rarer and more worthy of wonder than that God's Son Himself suffered in the way which this picture doth declare?'¹⁵

15 'Ich kam einmals mit einem vornehmen Herrn in eine Kunstkammer, darinnen schöne Raritäten waren, unter den Gemälden gefiel mir nichts besser als ein Ecce Homo! wegen seiner erbärmlichen Darstellung, mit welcher es die Anschauer gleichsam zum Mitleiden verzückte; daneben hing eine papierne Karte in China gemalt, darauf stunden der Chinesen Abgötter in ihrer Majestät sitzend, deren teils wie die Teufel gestaltet waren; der Herr im Haus fragte mich, welches Stück in seiner Kunstkammer mir am besten gefiele? Ich deutet auf besagtes Ecce Homo, er aber sagte, ich irre mich, das Chineser Gemäld wäre rarer und dahero auch köstlicher, er wolle es nicht um zehen solcher Ecce Homo mangeln. Ich antwortet: "Herr, ist euer Herz wie euer Mund?" Er sagte: "Ich verstehe michs." Darauf sagte ich: "So ist auch euers Herzens Gott derjenige, dessen Conterfait ihr mit dem Mund bekennet, das köstlichste zu sein." "Phantast", sagt' jener, "ich ästimiere die Rarität!" Ich antwortet: "Was ist seltener und verwundernswürdiger, als daß Gottes Sohn selbst unsertwegen gelitten, wie uns dies Bildnis vorstellt." Grimmelshausen H.J.C. von, *Simplicius Simplicissimus* (Hamburg: 2011) 86–87 (translated by Kevin Cook).

The quotation raises the problem of shifts in the canon of values. Can pagan elements be deemed superior according to the aesthetic/economic criterion of 'rarity', or does this create a conflict of values with the Christian Church's claim to uniqueness and supremacy? Does the *Kunst- und Wunderkammer* as an exhibition space generate a paratext for the work of art that causes shifts and resemanticisations in the canon of values, and realigns conditions of reception? There is concrete evidence that St. Jerome in the Ambras feather mosaic underwent a similar semantic shift when he was incorporated into the *Kunst- und Wunderkammer*.

The *Kunst- und Wunderkammer* at Ambras Castle

We know from an inventory entry in 1596 that the feather mosaic was altered in the European collection. However, before we look more closely at this alteration, we must first mention the systematic place where the mosaic was incorporated into the Ambras collection. The *Kunst- und Wunderkammer* at Ambras Castle, created by Archduke Ferdinand II from the mid-1560s onwards, was arranged according to materials.¹⁶ Completely different artefacts made from one and the same material were presented together in display cases with different-coloured backgrounds, against which the artefacts could be presented in a particularly pleasing manner. The first case with gold artefacts thus had a blue background, whereas the brown, wooden instruments in the archduke's collection of musical instruments were displayed in a white case. As well as for stone and bronze, there were also separate cases for alabaster and glass. The ninth case, in which the St. Jerome mosaic was displayed, contained feather artefacts of the most varied provenance—for instance, not just shields and fans but also a hat described in the 1596 inventory as *mörisch* (Moorish).¹⁷ Ferdinand Anders has identified this headgear as an orientalising turban crowned with a plume of feathers that was supposedly worn by Archduke Ferdinand II in a procession during his wedding in 1582.¹⁸ How colourful such attempts to identify the

16 See Scheicher E., *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Habsburger* (Vienna – Munich – Zurich: 1979) 72–135.

17 Quoted from Feest C.F., "Vienna's Mexican Treasures: Aztec, Mixtec and Tarascan Works from 16th Century Austrian Collections", *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 44 (1990) 1–64, at 11.

18 Anders F., "Der Federkasten der Ambraser Kunstkammer", *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 61 (1965) 119–132, esp. 124–125; Christian Feest has recently suggested that 'mörisch' was used in general as an expression for foreign objects. Feest C., "Mexican Featherwork in Austrian Habsburg Collections", in Russo – Wolf – Fane, *Images*



FIGURE 10.6 Jan van Kessel the Elder, *America* (1666). Oil on copper, 48.6 × 67.8 cm. Munich, Alte Pinakothek (inv. no. 1913).

IMAGE © ALTE PINAKOTHEK, BAYERISCHE
STAATSGEMÄLDESAMMLUNGEN, MUNICH/BPK BERLIN.

origins of these feather artefacts could be in the early modern era is evident from a report by the topographer Martin Zeiller, who visited Ambras in 1629 and saw a feather cloak there. He described the featherwork as ‘a Cuban king’s feather dress’.¹⁹ At the same time, however, Zeiller commented that there was also armour belonging to this legendary Cuban king from ‘India’ in Ambras. As we now know, this was the armour of a Mamluk prince from Syria or Egypt.²⁰ As the use of the term *mörsche* (Moorish) in the inventories at the Tettngang

Take Flight 290–297, at 291. See also Meadow M., “The Aztecs at Ambras: Social Networks and the Transfer of Cultural Knowledge of the New World”, in North M. (ed.), *Kultureller Austausch: Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung* (Cologne – Weimar – Vienna: 2009) 349–368.

19 Quoted from Feest, “Vienna’s Mexican Treasures” 11.

20 Ibidem 12.

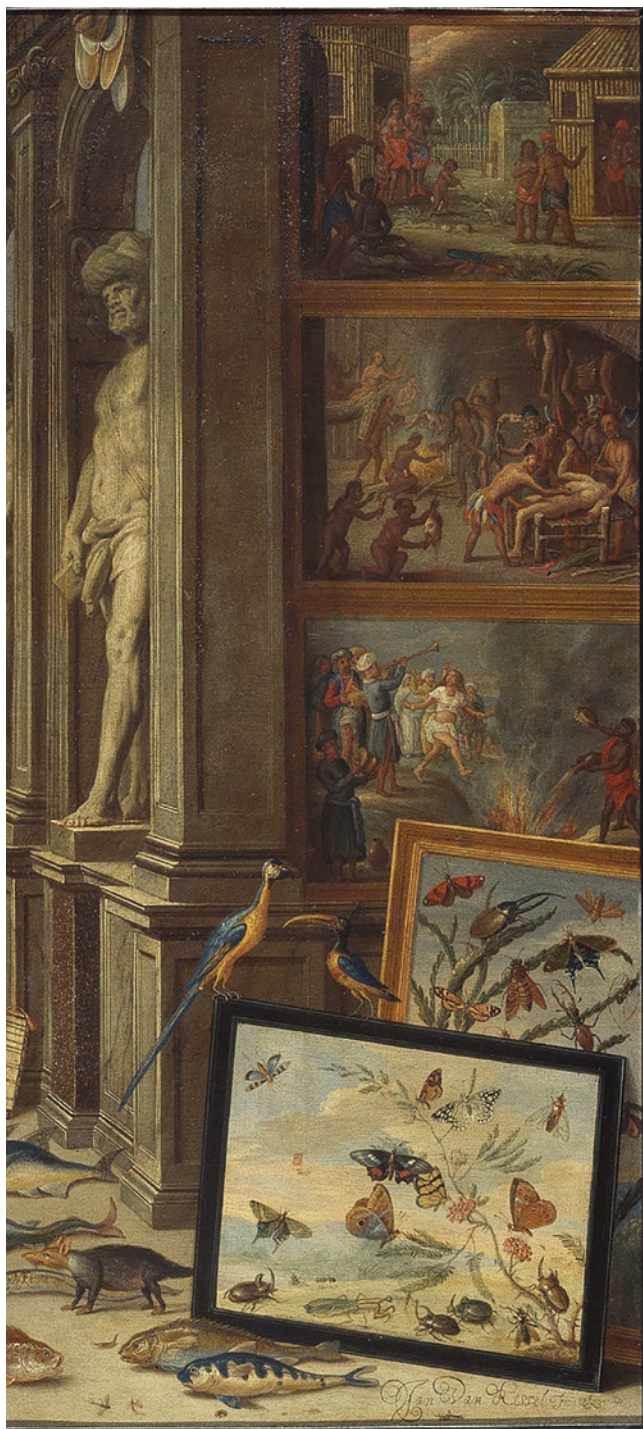


FIGURE 10.7
Detail of Fig. 10.6:
 Human sacrifice in
 Ancient Mexico and
 widow-burning in
 India.

Kunst- und Wunderkammer in Upper Swabia makes clear, geographical origins were of great importance in such inventories.²¹ These are sometimes condensed to fairly precisely identified previous owners who are mythically inflated and at the same time fleshed out as individual historical personalities.

At the same time, however, the distinction between the West Indies (America) and India (Asia) is frequently blurred, for instance when a stone axe is attributed to the 'Mörischen Khünige' (Moorish king) Moctezuma (although it is now interpreted as a Brazilian battleaxe of the kind probably used by the Tupinambá).²² Similar haziness is also found in gallery exhibits such as Jan van Kessel's [Fig. 10.6] famous depictions of continents, dated to 1666, in Munich's Alte Pinakothek, where numerous objects that are actually from Asia appear in the painting dedicated to America. In the foreground we can see Asian gongs and weapons, and in the corner even Japanese samurai armour. A scene of widow-burning [Fig. 10.7], from an original in Jan van Linschoten's *Itinerario*, refers to India.²³ Given all this, it is hardly surprising that some of the feather artefacts in the ninth display case at the Ambras *Kunst- und Wunderkammer* were attributed to unusual geographical locations.

St. Jerome and the Stuffed Bird on the Frame

One object in the 1596 inventory stands out for another reason, bringing us back to St. Jerome: art-historical research into feather mosaics completely overlooked the fact that the Ambras feather mosaic of St. Jerome once had a stuffed bird on the frame. This was not just any bird, for the feathers were identical to those used in the mosaic, which researchers have identified as hummingbird feathers—in other words, the bird on the frame was a stuffed hummingbird, as the 1596 inventory makes quite clear:

(11) Ain Tafel von federn, darauf S: Iheronimus, hat vor sich ain Krucifix, ain Puech, vnd Dotenkhopf, neben Ime ain Lew, die leisten am täfele seindt schwarz vnd verguldt, davon hangt in ainem Pappier das Vögele von welches federn diß täfele gemacht ist worden [fol. 402].

21 Ibidem; see Fleischhauer W., "Die Kunstkammer des Grafen Ulrich von Montfort zu Tettnang, 1574", *Ulm und Oberschwaben* 44 (1982) 9–28, at 19.

22 Anders F., "Der altmexikanische Federmosaikschild in Wien", *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 32 (1978) 67–88, at 70.

23 Neumeister M., *Katalog der ausgestellten Gemälde: Alte Pinakothek*, ed. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, vol. 3, *Flämische Malerei* (Ostfildern: 2009) 221.

(11) A picture made of feathers, showing St. Jerome with before him a crucifix, a book and a skull and beside him a lion, the picture frames are black and gilded, and hanging from them in a paper is a bird from whose feathers the picture was made [fol. 402].²⁴

The fact that the feathers in the mosaic and the bird's plumage were made of one and the same material was thus so striking that the compiler of the inventory wanted to maintain this conspicuous feature in his listing when Ferdinand died. The effect produced by mounting the stuffed bird on the mosaic can easily be seen as a contemporary art-theory *topos*: it could be seen on the one hand how nature had produced a seemingly 'natural feather mosaic' in the bird's plumage and, on the other, what human art could do with such a material.

This arrangement created competition between art and nature; in the viewer's eye they were continually measured against one another. The Mexican feather artist had thus imitated and surpassed nature by superimposing the feathers like roof tiles, but at the same time by giving the feather material new forms. Here we should again recall the strikingly monochromatic design of the feather mosaic: the saint's robe is scarcely distinguishable from the wilderness background, and the lion's coat and the ascetic's hair garment look much the same. This suggests deliberate similarities, for there are also striking blue and green elements in a few parts of the mosaic, but only in very limited areas. The link between the saint and nature can again be extended beyond the frame, if we consider the brownish plumage of the hummingbird that was hanging on the frame. The grisaille effects in the mosaic in some ways seem to echo the natural markings of bird plumage, for the way in which the folds of the robes appear as brown lines against a brown background or the irregular texture of the rocky landscape very much recalls the 'mixed' textures and irregularly shaded markings of bird plumage. In the case of the St. Jerome mosaic, the theme of the interplay between art and nature, which is certainly a notable feature of the *Kunst- und Wunderkammer*, is taken to the extreme and aesthetically accentuated by the montage of the stuffed bird and the feather mosaic.

This *paragone* is strikingly reflected in a contemporary text from the late sixteenth century: as part of his description of parrots in the eleventh book, Ulisse Aldrovandi's ornithological compendium *Ornithologiae hoc est de avibus historiae libri XII*, published in Bologna in 1599, devotes separate subchapters to species of birds, their names in various languages, a description of their

24 Quoted from Anders, "Der Federkasten der Ambraser Kunstkammer" 120. On the identification of the feathers as belonging to hummingbirds see Feest, "Vienna's Mexican Treasures" 21.

anatomies, their song, their craving for food, and the places where they are found, as well as their flight, but also, under the heading *mores ingenium*, specific animal forms of behaviour, and then the peculiarities of their diet, nest-building, and sympathy or antipathy to other animals—including, curiously, birds' supposedly good relationship with wolves—and finally the use of birds as human food, and, in conclusion, a chapter headed *usus in externis*, in which Aldrovandi deals at length with Mexican featherwork.²⁵ The meticulous description of fauna—often with references to ancient authors—thus ends with a description of artistic works from America, feather shields, feather dresses, feather carpets, and so on. After quoting José de Acosta, who asserted that feather mosaics were superior to painting, the Bologna polymath referred to a feather mosaic in his own possession: *in meo musaeo videre est*.²⁶ Via the Cardinal of Burgos this mosaic reached Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti, who had supposedly made a gift of it to him, Aldrovandi, and was alleged to be on a par with the art of Apelles—and indeed to be the most costly object in the museum.

The contrast between natural colours and markings and the design resources of human image production, of human art, emphasised the contrast between the bird and the feather mosaic in Ambras. It thus seems only logical that Aldrovandi, who is considered the founder of modern zoology, was able to integrate the American feather mosaics seamlessly into his comprehensive ornithological work.

In the light of all this, yet another similarity to the Ambras feather mosaic will hardly seem coincidental: Aldrovandi states that the feather mosaic in his possession is a depiction of St. Jerome kneeling before an image of the redeemer. I do not mean to say here that these are identical images. Feather mosaics in New Spain were often produced in series, and so were the feather mosaics showing St. Jerome. We know of a specimen in the Prague *Kunst- und Wunderkammer* from around 1610; two feather mosaics with depictions of St. Jerome have survived to the present day in Madrid; and one mosaic is now in Loreto.²⁷ Yet I would like at this point to suggest that, even if the mosaics are not identical, at least the specific presentation in Ambras may well have been inspired by Aldrovandi or by northern Italian *Kunst- und Wunderkammern*. Although Aldrovandi did not explicitly mention that he had kept a bird at his museum together with the feather mosaic, there are clues that similar presentations were common in northern Italy.

25 Aldrovandi, *Ornithologiae* 648, 653.

26 Ibidem 656.

27 Feest, "Vienna's Mexican Treasures" 21. *Gold und Macht*, 393, cat. no. 4.138.



FIGURE 10.8 Anon. (artist), Feather mosaic and stuffed bird in the Museo Settala, Milan (seventeenth century). Tempera, watercolour, and pastel on paper. Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria (CBE 21, fol. 8).

IMAGE © BIBLIOTECA ESTENSE UNIVERSITARIA, MODENA, REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF MIBACT.

A New Spain feather mosaic was also kept in Manfredo Settala's Milan *Kunst- und Wunderkammer* in the seventeenth century.²⁸ In a codex showing the items kept there we can see the delicate watercolour of this mosaic [Fig. 10.8], which displays a half-figure of a female saint with a cross in her hand. The accompanying inscription explains the origin and the unusual materiality of the depicted object: 'Figura fatta nel Peru et anche si fan[n]o nel Mexico di piume' (Figure made in Peru, which is also made in Mexico from down). On the manuscript page we can also see a hummingbird at the top and bottom. The birds frame the painterly reproduction of the feather mosaic so that they are visually related to this centre. This bracketing makes it even clearer that there is a close chromatic relationship between the birds' plumage and the basic material used in the mosaic.

It seems important to me here to analyse the specific visualisation of this relationship closely and to take it seriously. The shadows cast on the paper by both the birds and the feather mosaic make clear that the birds were not added as an imaginative illustration of the materiality of the mosaic, but that all three objects are visually on one and the same level of reality, i.e. the birds and the mosaic image appear to be three-dimensionally and physically on one basic plane, so that they can cast shadows. Furthermore, it is immediately evident that the birds are dead specimens, zoological objects that are here not intended to suggest vitality; on the contrary, their very rigidity and emphasis on their lifelessness in the codex illustration emphasises that they are zoological objects, and that this specific form of representation primarily refers to the scientific discourses of contemporary *Kunst- und Wunderkammern*. The specific presentation of a stuffed hummingbird and a feather mosaic exactly recalls the ensemble described in the Ambras inventory, and summons up similar discourses of a competition between art and nature. At the same time, it points to the semantic shift that the religious mosaic underwent in the *Kunst- und Wunderkammer*: it deals with the foreign materials and the design that they were subjected to in remote countries. In contrast, the religious iconography recedes into the background, just as in the aforementioned *Simplicissimus* quotation. The feather mosaic is highly valued because it is exotic and can be seen as a curiosity. Thus the Augsburg art dealer Philip Hainhofer wrote some time before 1611 of a feather mosaic showing the birth of Christ 'which small tablet shall be preserved as a rarity' ('welches täfelein wol für eine rarität

28 For more on feather mosaics in northern Italian cabinets of curiosities and collections, see Laurencich-Minelli L., "Flight of Feathers in Italian Collections from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", in Russo – Wolf – Fane, *Images Take Flight* 218–227, esp. 224–225.

aufzuheben').²⁹ At the same time, featherwork as human art becomes a *paragone* for the productive capacities of nature.

Bird's Habitat: The Stuffed Animal as Biological Index

Yet, beyond these very obvious art-theory discourses, the combination of a stuffed bird and a feather mosaic has another dimension: like the geographical designations in the inventory, the bird creates a link to a genuinely existing landscape—a remote landscape that nevertheless exists. The link between the feather mosaic and the bird not only compares nature and art, but also overcomes the uncertainty as to the artefacts' origins as a result of their translocation; the mosaics can be spatially located once more. This attribution makes use of the persuasive power and factuality of biological assertions and argumentations. It also links the technique and style of the mosaic to a particular geographical region. The bird's habitat determines the ethnic attribution of the artefact. Style is biologically derived from material: nature—the bird—is locally specific. It is only found in a particular region. This very attributability of fauna was analysed by Aldrovandi in his treatise in a special chapter headed *locus*.³⁰ Like an index, the bird next to the mosaic refers to a specific geographical area and so authenticates the origin of the mosaic. This semantic association with a specific region gives the art product a biological index. The cultural coding created here—the 'Americanness' of the mosaic is visualised and marked—argues biologically, and is authenticated by the bird.

At the same time, there is also a focus on the material used in the mosaic, while its form, content and Christian iconography recede into the background. This primitivising identification of non-European regions with the materiality of the artefacts produced there may be problematic, for the montage in *Kunst- und Wunderkammern* legitimises this very transcultural negotiation process between European form and non-European material in art-theory terms. A European aesthetic canon of norms is affirmed by the secularisation of the Christian feather mosaic. The mosaic is delegitimised as a religious image and reduced to its materiality in order to exclude it from a recognised religious referential context. Like the bird, the mosaic can only represent a geographical region; in this form of presentation it remains limited to the *realia* of the materials and the landscape that has produced them. The material can only show

29 Quoted from Feest C.F., "Koloniale Federkunst aus Mexiko", in *Gold und Macht* 173–178, at 176.

30 Aldrovandi, *Ornithologiae* 646.

itself; it cannot raise itself beyond its physical basis or transform it in an idea or an imagination. It cannot refer to another sphere, but always primarily shows itself, as something exotically other, foreign; it does not become specifically Christian and familiar.

Although the feather mosaics are American in origin and were most probably produced above all for a European audience, and hence should be approached as European artefacts in terms of their function, for they owe their development as hybrid objects, as Christian feather mosaics, entirely to a European art-market logic that responds to the scarcity and rarity of objects and rewards their aesthetic singularity by raising their value, I would suggest here that mosaics are neither European nor American, but a classic product of transcultural negotiation. In this third space, aesthetic norms and reception strategies are renegotiated. They are not solely defined by either the context of their origin or emergence or their reception horizon. Only in the interplay between production and reception is the boundary drawn between the familiar and the foreign.

This example also makes clear that the 'familiar' and the 'foreign' are not fixed entities, but poles that are constantly redefined in their relationship to one another.³¹ Narratives of unity and markings of otherness play a key role in the strategic redefinition of this liminal relationship and can be seen as constructs, for—in the here and now—they give the counterpart an index in space and time, and subject it to 'othering' in order to prove identity or difference by means of a narrative of origin.³² This strategy can typically be seen in the Christian feather mosaics in *Kunst- und Wunderkammern*: the mosaics were reduced to their materiality. The material was assigned an indexical link to a remote geographical region, and was given a potent, biologically justified marking of difference that eclipsed a Christian narrative of unity. In the 'Third Space' of transcultural negotiation, the foreign material was thus placed in the foreground, and the familiar Christian iconography was marginalised.³³ The result of this strategy was that, in the presentation of their essential foreignness,

31 Alliole-Näcke L. – Kaischeuer B. – Manzeschke A. (eds.), *Differenzen anders denken: Bausteine zu einer Kulturtheorie der Transdifferenz* (Frankfurt am Main: 2005); Eibach J. – Opitz-Belakhal C. – Juneja M., "Kultur, Kulturtransfer und Grenzüberschreitungen: Joachim Eibach und Claudia Opitz im Gespräch mit Monica Juneja", *zeitenblicke* 11, 1, available from http://www.zeitenblicke.de/2012/1/Interview/index_html (accessed: 03.12.2012).

32 For a more detailed analysis, see Kern, *Transkulturelle Imaginationen des Opfers*.

33 "The Third Space: Interview with Homi Bhabha", in Rutherford J. (ed.), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference* (reprint, London: 1998) 207–221.

the feather mosaics could be used to confirm and secure the foundations of a European theory of art. The perception of aesthetic foreignness did not lead to modification of the normative foundations of European art theory, but on the contrary to globalisation of Eurocentric aesthetic norms. Yet this process can be approached as transcultural negotiation, for ultimately no perspective remained unchanged; even the deliberate demarcation, opacity, and untranslatability, refusal to communicate, etc. is only conceivable in the negotiation space with reference to an 'other'.³⁴ Similarity is created in the negotiation space just as much as difference, for both refer to something other and no longer stand alone. It is not amalgamation, let alone homogenisation or levelling of differences, that characterises negotiation processes, but the thematisation of identity and difference—and, paradoxically, the blurring of these categories.³⁵ In transcultural negotiation processes, identity and difference are not only reflected but also shifted. Phenomena of becoming a stranger to oneself, of a transformation of the self in general, can be observed quite as much as highlighting of constructs of what is 'familiar'.³⁶ Furthermore, meaning and significance do not emerge as a matter of course, but must first be manufactured, constructed. Translation thus generates something new that was not there in the original contexts. Such transformations, which characterise the space of transcultural linkage, turn religious works of art from the early modern missions into media of transcultural translation processes.³⁷

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- 34 Looock U., "Opazität", *Frieze d/e. Zeitgenössische Kunst und Kultur in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz* 7 (2012) 72–77.
 - 35 Bachmann-Medick D., "Dritter Raum: Annäherungen an ein Medium kultureller Übersetzung und Kartierung", in Breger C. – Döring T. (eds), *Figuren der/des Dritten: Erkundungen kultureller Zwischenräume*, Internationale Forschungen zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft 30 (Amsterdam – Atlanta, GA: 1998) 19–36, at 24.
 - 36 Burke P., "Übersetzungskulturen im frühneuzeitlichen Europa", in Wagner B. – Lutter C. – Lethen H. (eds.), *Übersetzungen* (Bielefeld, 2012) 17–49, at 35 (also in *Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften* 2 [2012]).
 - 37 For a more detailed analysis of these transcultural translation processes, see Kern, *Transkulturelle Imaginationen des Opfers*.

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Making Marvels—Faking Matter: Mediating *Virtus* between the Bezoar and Goa Stones and Their Containers*

Beate Fricke

What exactly is the origin of the effects that marvellous objects and talismans are purported to have? Both types of objects are often said to affect a person through a force described with the abstract noun ‘power’ (*virtus*).¹ In the context of Renaissance art theory the term ‘*virtus*’ has been extensively studied in regard to the artist’s power to create works of art.² However, this article’s analysis of the use and manufacture of bezoar stones since the medieval period suggests that the meaning of ‘*virtus*’ ought to be understood differently in relation to talismanic and marvellous objects. In this context, i.e. in descriptions of their effect and power found in alchemical recipes, it refers to the way in which religious or quasi-religious objects straddle the threshold between the visible and the invisible. The unique powers, in fact, of such objects appear to originate from their position at this juncture. Its source resides in the

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- 1 The origins of power attributed to religious images or magic objects are two-fold, bridging two worlds. Ficino describes this power in chapter 16 of *De vita coelitus comparanda* (Basel, no publ.: 1576): ‘an image will work better if the elementary power in its matter is well suited to another specific power to be gained in a heavenly manner through a figure’. Ficino Marsiglio, *Opera et quae hactenus extitere* [...] (Basel, Heinrich Petri: 1576; reprint, 1959) 554. See also Copenhagen B.P., “Scholastic Philosophy and Renaissance Magic in the De vita of Marsilio Ficino”, in Levack B.P. (ed.), *Renaissance Magic: Articles on Witchcraft, Magic and Demonology*, vol. 11 (New York, NY – London: 1992) 63.
- 2 Weigel T. – Kusch-Arnhold B. – Syndikus C. (eds.), *Die Virtus in Kunst und Kunsttheorie der italienischen Renaissance* (Münster: 2014).

juxtaposition of mimetic and anti-mimetic qualities that defines this threshold at which the visible appears to emerge from the invisible, while at the same time threatening to be engulfed by it. Simultaneously, it imbues such objects with the ability to extend their power beyond this threshold. The origin of their *virtus*, however, remains invisible and thus makes manifest the transformation of a vector of energy from the invisible into the visible, or non-mimetic into the mimetic. This connection of the visible and the invisible, and the mimetic and anti-mimetic is emphasised in their artfully designed containers, and seems to originate mysteriously 'in' the threshold between an object and a person.

But how are they perceived to be infused with this power in the first place? Several stunning examples of bezoar stones have survived in museums with collections that were initially built in the context of courtly, early modern *Kunst-* and *Wunderkammern* and even more bezoars are to be found in the inventories of such collections.³ These mysterious objects were thought to possess curative capabilities and were often housed in sumptuous containers lavishly decorated with golden filigree. Yet, in spite of their striking visual character, analyses of bezoar stones have tended to skirt questions about their powers and perceived efficacy, focusing instead on the production and the economic history of their trade.⁴ This article, therefore, pursues a different line of inquiry by interrogating the visual relationship between the stones and their containers. This relationship can be seen as articulating how people perceived the stones to work, to unfold and enclose their *virtus*.

First, I will analyse recipes that detail how bezoars ought to be used as curative *panaceae*; of particular interest in this context is the way in which the recipes themselves articulate the relationship between curative powers and mimetic visual language. Second, I will show how in the sixteenth century,

3 Bukovinská B., "Zum Exotica-Bestand der Kunstkammer Rudolfs II. in Prag", *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 3 (2001) 204–219; Rudolf K.F., "Exotica bei Karl V., Philipp II. und in der Kunstkammer Rudolfs II.", *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 3 (2001) 172–203. For the inventory see the critical edition Diemer P., *Johann Baptist Fickler: Das Inventar der Münchner herzoglichen Kunstkammer von 1598. Editionsband. Transkription der Inventarhandschrift cgm 2133* (Munich: 2004) and Trnek H., "Daniel Fröschl, 'Kaiserlicher Miniatormahler und Antiquarius': Überlegungen zur geistigen Urheberchaft von Konzept und Gliederung des Inventars der Kunstkammer Kaiser Rudolfs II. Von 1607–1611", *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 3 (2001) 220–231.

4 Trnek H. – Haag S. (eds.), *Exotica: Portugals Entdeckungen im Spiegel fürstlicher Kunst- und Wunderkammern in der Renaissance. Die Beiträge des am 19. und 20. Mai 2000 vom Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien veranstalteten Symposiums* (Mainz: 2001) and Seipel W. (ed.), *Exotica: Portugals Entdeckungen im Spiegel fürstlicher Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Renaissance*, exh. cat. Kunsthistorisches Museum (Milan: 2000).

when the cost of bezoars was rising enormously, physicians tried in vain to call their power into question and to disprove the effects ascribed to them. Bezoar stones were the only objects that appeared in *Kunstkammer* inventories as both *naturalia* and *artefacta*, that is, as being of natural as well artificial origin. The third section of this paper uses this unusual designation to draw attention to the production of manmade bezoar stones. These were produced by Jesuits in Goa beginning in the sixteenth century and are known now as Goa stones. Both natural and artificial bezoar stones were enclosed in marvellous containers. Interestingly, it mattered only to the critics of bezoar stones but not to the consumers whether the stones were man made or not. The focus in the fourth section is on the role of the aesthetics of their containers and how the containers played a key role in elevating the bezoar stones to the realm of sacred objects by deploying visual strategies that we find at play in other early modern sacred objects, like icons and relics. Last, but not least, the final section of this article discusses the ways in which these containers can be understood, therefore, in relation to the production of ‘fake’ marvels. Here, the argument picks up the conjunction of mimetic and anti-mimetic aspects in the creation of the bezoar-stone. With regard to ‘fake’ bezoars, multiple levels of mimesis come into play—there is first the content mimicking real bezoar stones, while at the same time adding (anti-mimetic) heavy ingredients to achieve a high price. And second, the decorations of their containers bear real and fictive creatures, as if to merge the imagined and the real. I suggest, that their ‘ambivalence’, i.e. their references to both worldly and divine realms, contributed significantly to the mediating power ascribed to their content.

Bezoar Stones in Medieval Alchemical and Medical Recipes: Their Use and Explanations for Their Power

The name for bezoar stones is of Persian origin, from پادزهر, pādzhahr, meaning, ‘who helps/protects against poison’ [Fig. 11.1]. The lexical definition by Nicolás Bautista Monárdes (d. 1588) describes them as ‘A concretion resembling an onion formed in the stomach of animal, which “Nature hath created there, for our health a remedy of our evils”’.⁵ They consist of a hard mixture of

5 Monárdes Nicolás, *Joyfull Newes of the New found World: Wherein are Declared the Rare and Singular Vertues of Divers and Sundrie Herbs, Trees, Oyles, Plants and Stones, with Their Applications* (London, William Norton: 1580) 99. See also Stark M.P., “Mounted Bezoar Stones, Seychelles Nuts, and Rhinoceros Horns: Decorative Objects as Antidotes in Early Modern Europe”, *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 11, 1 (2003–2004) 69–94, at 70.



FIGURE 11.1 Anon. (artist), *Bezoar with gold ring with the inscription "PEDRA . BESOHAR . FINISSIMA . PESA . OCHO . ONCAS"* ("Finest Bezoar stone, weighing eight ounces") (sixteenth century). Bezoar and gold, 9 × 4.5 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstammer (inv. no. KK_958).
IMAGE © KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM WIEN.

gallstones and hairs found in the stomach of deer, sheep, and antelopes. During the medieval period they were popular ingredients in alchemical recipes that aimed to achieve impossible goals, like curing the pain of scorpion bites, scaring snakes away, or coaxing out hidden scorpions with a picture surrounded by smoke. By the end of the twelfth century, the most common medicinal bezoars were usually concretions taken from the double stomachs of Asian ruminants.⁶ They contained calcium and phosphates that made them antidotes to arsenic, a rather common form of poison in the European courts.⁷ The crusades significantly contributed to an increase in the influx of exotic medicines including

6 Kunz G.F., *The Magic of Jewels and Charms* (London: 1915) 203. For South American bezoar stones see Stephenson M., "From Marvelous Antidote to the Poison of Idolatry: The Transatlantic Role of Andean Bezoar Stones during the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries", *Hispanic American Historical Review* 90, 1 (2010) 3–39.

7 Schott H. *Crónica de la Medicina* (Barcelona: 1995) 91.

bezoars and unicorn horns into Western Europe.⁸ Like bezoar stones, the horn of the unicorn was believed to protect against poisoning and played an important role in alchemical recipes and religious healing traditions.⁹ Bezoars had, however, an enduring pedigree; their healing effects had been touted since antiquity. According to Pliny the Elder (d. 79 CE), King Mithridates discovered several antidotes to poison, including the bezoar stones.¹⁰

Arab authors also provided important information about bezoar stones, including Avenzoar, Ibn al-Beithar, and Gayat al-Hakim. Ibn al-Beithar described bezoars as ‘an antidote against poisonous animals and plants, against bites and stitches, the powder in a dose of twelve grains taken, retains from death and rives out the poison by sweat. It should be worn in the form of a necklace or a signet ring or chewed in the mouth’. The examples of medieval recipes for bezoars that I will address in detail here are taken from the *Picatrix*, or *Gayat al-Hakim*, an Arabic text translated into Spanish and then into Latin in the thirteenth century. The *Picatrix* was widely read by Renaissance authors interested in ‘forbidden’ matters such as magic and Hermetism.

As protection against scorpions the text instructs the reader:

one engraves the picture of a scorpion on a ring stone of bezoar in the hour of the moon, when the moon stands at the beginning of the 2nd decan of the scorpion. The bezoar stone is set in a golden ring and is used to seal in chewed incense in the hour when the moon stands in the scorpion. One gives the person stung by a scorpion such a ‘seal’ and he will be cured from his pain.

In this brief passage the reader encounters what one might term several layers of mediation, or processes of transfer and transformation. To begin with, the picture of a scorpion is transferred to the object through the engraving into the bezoar stone. That is, the picture of a living animal is transferred onto an inanimate stone, which, however, originated from biological matter inside an animal. The engraving directs the potent qualities (*virtus*) encapsulated in the matter itself towards the scorpion’s poison, which is in the body of the scorpion’s victim. The time of the engraving is key: the text claims that it must be executed during a specific celestial moment. This declaration serves to link the microcosm of the stone, the victim of the scorpion’s sting, and the ring to the macrocosm of heavenly constellations. Furthermore, the binding

8 Shepard O., *The Lore of Unicorn* (London: 1930).

9 Halleux H. – Schamp J., *Les Lapidaires Grecs* (Paris: 1985).

10 Pliny the Elder, *The Natural History*, lib. 15, cap. 3, and Galen, *Of Antidotes*, lib. 1, cap. 1.

of microcosm to macrocosm, earth to heaven's dome, encourages the reader's imagination to transcend the visible terrestrial realm via the materiality and appearance of the bezoar.

After the engraving is made, the protective ring is completed and ready for use. The preparation for the actual act of curing the stung person must, however, take place during the same celestial constellation as prescribed for the engraving. The ring is then dipped into skewed incense, and the 'imprint' is given (as a drink) to the ill person. Once again, several moments of transcendent and transformative slippage are encapsulated in this short description. The liquid poison in the patient's body has crossed the threshold from animal to man. In the human body the power of the poison is such that it causes pain. The picture of the animal on the ring is likewise transferred to the human body via the incense, which the patient imbibes and which itself is powerful enough to neutralise the poison in the victim's body. And just as both poison and antidote connect animal, human, and object through multiple crossings, so too do these crossings connect the human body to celestial bodies, the immediately visible to a larger imagined cosmos. *Picatrix* was for Western readers until the sixteenth century such an important text because the description given here was the most specific text available and the one that indicated most fully how bezoars link various worlds through their materiality and the chains of associations they carry with them through their manufacture and use.

A second encounter with Arab ideas about the power, or *virtus*, of bezoar stones can be found in Peter of Abano's tract on poisons, *Tractatus de Venenis*, first printed in Mantua in 1473.¹¹ The author states that the particular power of bezoar stones ('*propria et specifica virtus*') against lethal poisons works immediately to rescue the poisoned patient from mortal danger. The stone is thus prescribed as a highly effective antidote against mineral, vegetal, and animal poisons. Peter remains relatively vague regarding the concrete use of the stones, although he repeatedly extols their powerful effect. A third instance of the reception of the Arab knowledge about bezoar stones is provided by the *Breviarium practicae medicinae*, falsely attributed to the Spanish physician, astrologer, and alchemist Arnald de Villanova (d. 1312). In the *Breviarium* we find some more concrete advice on how to use the bezoar stone: 'Certain nobles and barons when they eat, keep on the table the horn or else the tongue vessel of a serpent in a vessel on a piece of bread, and it is said that if any poison is set before it on the table, it at once begins to sweat'.¹²

11 Peter of Abano, *Tractatus de Venenis eorumque remediis*, cap. 40 and 82–83.

12 Lightbown R.W., *Secular Goldsmith's Work in Medieval France* (London: 1978) 29–30.

Arabic written sources informed not only medieval authors like Villanova, but were read with great interest again in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Avenzoar's *Liber Teisir* provided, for instance, a guide for using bezoars as ingredients in alchemical experiments. The seventeenth-century Englishman James Primrose most likely read the edition of Avenzoar's book printed in 1490 since he at various points refers directly to knowledge contained in the *Liber*. Primrose's writing indicates that by the early modern period, bezoar stones were not only valued as antidotes against poisons, but also as prophylactics that could ward off the Black Death:

poysons, the plague, jaundice, and all obstructions of the body and bowels. *Avenzoar* in his booke *Theisier*, saith that he saved one that had taken most deadly poyson, with three grams of Bezoar, dissolved in five ounces of the water of Gourd.¹³

Although Avenzoar was a highly cultivated man equipped with very precise medical knowledge, he nonetheless had unbounded faith in the bezoar stones. That these two qualities were not mutually exclusive is demonstrated by his discussions of bezoar's uses: 'The Oriental bezoar was prescribed in doses of 4–16 grains. The weaker Occidental bezoar was administered in doses of 16 to 30 grains'. This same interest in scientific medicinal uses conjoined with more esoteric, transcendent effects is to be found in the texts in Renaissance Europe that draw considerably from Arab sources. Pervasive in these texts, as we saw in the *Picatrix*, is an interest in the ways in which the stones bring together a multiplicity of bodies and bodily states. The particular value of bezoars was that they were not only precious and rare, but that they had a double power; they could be taken preventively or after being poisoned.¹⁴ They were a kind of universal remedy, a panpharmacon.¹⁵

13 Primrose James, "Of the Errours about the Bezaar Stone", in *Popular errors: Or the errors of the people in physick*, trans. R. Wittie (London, Nicholas Bourne: 1644) lib. 3, cap. 23, 345–359 (English translation from *De vulgi erroribus*).

14 Daniel Sennertus writes 'Deinde Lapis Bezoar non praeterendus, de qua passim multa in medicorum libris exstant; cum et preciosus ac rarus sit, et contra venena imprimis praedicetur', Sennertus Daniel, *Epitome Naturalis Scientiae* (Amsterdam, Johannes Ravenstein: 1651), lib. v, cap. 4 "De Lapidibus et Gemmis", 417.

15 Another later primary source dating to the late fifteenth century is Anonymous, *De lapide bezoar*, Wellcome Library, ms. 283/9, fols. 89–99, at fol. 89, line 11: 'Bezahar antothomastice dicitur de quodam lapide [...]' and at fol. 99, line 5: 'Et sic tiriaca non est venenum in sanis lapsis sed bonum in simpliciter sanis'.

Collecting Knowledge about Bezoar Stones and Questioning Their Power while Their Prices Rise

While we find bezoar stones in several alchemical recipes in the late medieval period, the earliest extant stones and containers that we have today date to the sixteenth century. This coincided with the Portuguese establishment of stable trading posts in Goa. From these points the Portuguese began to export bezoar stones to Europe, a practice that the Dutch expanded upon, eventually becoming the leading force in this market.¹⁶ A common belief in the powers of bezoars and a widespread anxiety about poisoning on the part of Europe's rulers resulted in a sizeable influx of bezoars into the collections of dukes, kings, and other powerful figures in the sixteenth century. There were, however, also sceptics. The French surgeon Ambroise Paré (1510–1590), for example, performed a public experiment in Paris in 1567 to prove their ineffectiveness. The performance involved a cook who had stolen two silver dishes from the royal collection and was sentenced to death. He became the guinea pig for an experiment that tested the power of a bezoar brought from Spain to the French king, Charles IX. Should the bezoar cure the cook, who was given deadly poison for the sake of the experiment, the convicted man would be released. Paré, after giving the poor man a dose of ground bezoar stone dissolved in liquid, found the man in agony, with blood issuing from his nose, ears, mouth, and other bodily apertures. The dying man described that he felt as if 'consumed by an

16 Patterson T.J.S., "European Medicine in India from the Sixteenth Century", in Meulenbeld G.J. – Wujastyk D. (eds.), *Studies on Indian Medical History* (Groningen: 2001) 111–120; Županov I.G., *Disputed Mission: Jesuit Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in Seventeenth-Century India* (Oxford: 1999); Županov I.G. – Guenzi C. (eds.), *Divins remèdes: Médecine et religion en Asie du Sud* (Paris: 2008); Sameiro Barroso M. do, "Bezoar Stones, Magic, Science and Art", *Geological Society, Special Publications* 375, 1 (2013) 193–207. DAAM: MR no. 34 (1668–1670, letter of Goa, Jan. 1670: "The Procurator of the Indian Province resident at the College of St. Antao in Lisbon had the duty of sending to India provisions such as books, religious articles, cloth and foodstuffs (olive oil, meat, plums, cereals). In turn he received from his counterparts in Goa pepper, bazar stone, diamonds, ivory and aleoeswood". Quoted after Borges Ch., *The Economics of the Goa Jesuits, 1542–1759: An Explanation of Their Rise and Their Fall* (London: 1994) 44. See also Županov I.G., "The Wheel of Torments: Mobility and Redemption in Portuguese Colonial India (16th century)", in Greenblatt S. – Meyer-Kalkus R. – Nyiri P. – Paul H. – Pannewick F. – Županov I.G. (eds.), *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto* (Cambridge: 2010) 24–74 and Županov I.G., "Une ville reliquaire: São Tomé de Meliapor. La politique et le sacré en Inde portugaise au XVI^e siècle", in Boutry P. – Fabre P.-A. – Julia D. (eds.), *Reliques modernes: Cultes et usages chrétiens des corps saints des Réformes aux révolutions*, vol. 2 (Paris: 2009) 705–729.

inward flame [...] and [...] crying out that it would have been much better to have died by hanging'.¹⁷

Paré's public demonstration did not lessen the interest in bezoars, however. In fact, it seems to have had the opposite effect. Caspar Bauhin (1511–1624) collected the knowledge in written testimonies like Paré's and described practical experiments in his monograph on bezoar stones, *De lapidis Bezaari*, published in 1625. A trained physician, Bauhin recounted stories of physicians being forced to use bezoars because emperors and magnates valued them so highly.¹⁸ At the same time, he extensively described the therapeutic effects mentioned in Arabic written sources.¹⁹ One means of grounding this ambivalent position was suggested by Bauhin's belief that a very real danger was posed by bezoar forgeries: if fakes contained toxic substances such as cinnabar, quicksilver, and even antimony, they might be more harmful than healing.²⁰ Engelbert Kaempfer (1651–1716) similarly observed that Paré's bezoar may have been of inferior quality. Moreover, he noted that the experiment was flawed from the outset, since bezoars were only useful when vegetable poisons had been taken and could not be successfully used to counteract mineral poisons.²¹

Parallel to the growing dissemination of publications like Bauhin's, the prices for bezoars rose rapidly in the sixteenth century. Depending on their form and colour as well as size, one weighing a mishkel (about 75 grains Troy) was commonly valued at the equivalent of 15 ounces of silver (according to Kaempfer's computation); the price rose considerably with the size of the bezoar.²² Bezoars also became prominent status objects and could be found in the most rarified and elite collections throughout Europe. Their owners not only stored them in curiosity cabinets, but also tied them to dishes, or carried them on their bodies. Jean Duc de Berry had a gold pendant with a bezoar;

17 Kunz G.F., *The Magic of Jewels and Charms* (London: 1915) 206.

18 Bauhin Caspar, *De lapide Bezaar* (Basel, Ludovicus Regis: 1625) *Praefatio* 1–4, at 3: 'Hinc factum, ut etiamnum hodie, lapis hic apud Principes, et Magnates tanti nominis sit, ut eum non solum inter sua ceimelia reponant, verum etiam in Gemmarum numero, et quidem earum, quae auro aequiparantur, et etiam illo pretiosiores existimantur, habeant: ita ut hunc medici, sed nonnulli etiam inviti, in illorum gratiam, in usum revocare cogantur'.

19 Ibidem 75–94.

20 Duffin C.J. – Moody R.T.J. – Gardner-Thorpe C. (eds.), *A History of Geology and Medicine* (London: 2013) 204–205.

21 Kaempfer travelled to Russia, Persia, India, South-East Asia, and Japan between 1683 and 1693 and wrote two books about his travels, *Amoenitatum Exoticarum*, important for the medical observations.

22 Troy weight systems were used in several parts of early modern Europe before the introduction of the metric system. The troy pound is 5,760 grains (≈ 373.24 g).

Queen Elizabeth I of England and King Eric of Sweden wore bezoars set in silver finger rings; Rudolf II's *Kunstkammer* contained as many as twenty-eight rhinoceros horns and twenty-two bezoar stones. Duke Ferdinando Gonzaga in Mantua had an entire cabinet filled with bezoars (in 1617) as did the family of the Wittelbacher [Fig. 11.2].

Not only did bezoar stones travel from afar to Europe, but also books that described their effects, suggesting a close connection between commercial interests, collecting culture, and medical knowledge.²³ The book on Indian pharmaceuticals by Garcia de Orta (1490–1568), a Jewish Portuguese doctor who lived in the Portuguese Indian territories, entitled *Coloquios dos simples, e drogas he cousas medicinais da India* and printed in Goa (Orta 1563), was translated in 1567 and was reprinted several times and circulated throughout southern and northern Europe.²⁴ Indian bezoars were thought to help against fever and melancholy, and even to prevent bleeding. Orta refers to Arab authors and also to the *vydias*, Hindu physicians. Like Bauhin, he pointed out the danger of counterfeit bezoars, though he did so from the point of the stones' origin, indicating the possibility that fake stones were perhaps being produced for export.²⁵

Martha Stephenson has raised the question of how the bezoar stone came into being as a salient transatlantic cultural, medical, economic, and commercial object toward the end of the sixteenth century, with particular attention

23 Antonio Barrera-Osorio examined how the study of nature and the institutionalisation of empirical practices in sixteenth-century Spain were linked to the search for commodities and commercial sources of revenue. Barrera-Osorio A., *Experiencing Nature: The Spanish American Empire and the Early Scientific Revolution* (Austin, TX: 2006); also Guerra F., "Drugs from the Indies and the Political Economy of the Sixteenth Century", *Analecta Medico Historica* 1 (1966) 29–54 at 44–48.

24 Sameiro Barroso, "Bezoar Stones, Magic, Science and Art". It also inspired Cristobal Acosta's book *Tractado de las drogas y medicinas de las Indias Orientales* (Burgos, Martin de Victoria: 1578). For the South American context, one should mention Monárdes's *Historia medicinal*. 'When Monárdes published the first part of his *Historia medicinal* in 1565, in addition to his initial study of New World products he included there a separate treatise on the bezoar stone and the escuerzonera plant, two antidotes to poisons'. See Stephenson, "From Marvelous Antidote to the Poison of Idolatry" 10.

25 Orta A.G., *Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India*, trans. C. Markham (London: 1913) 363: 'Since bezoars are reactions to any kind of indigestible material, it was difficult even for experts to distinguish real bezoars from forgeries, since straws were used to fabricate fake bezoars'. He also refers to the high prices paid for them—one stone was sold for 32,000 Reis.



FIGURE 11.2 Anon. (artists), Several bezoar stones from the treasury of the House of Wittelsbach (undated), Bezoar, precious stones, and gold. Munich, Residenz (inv. nos. 555, 557, 558).
IMAGE © RESIDENZ, MUNICH.

to the Latin and South American context.²⁶ Peter Borschberg has analysed Indian bezoar stones, which were obtained from different porcupine species, the Malayan porcupine, the long-tailed porcupine, and the thick-spined porcupine. He was able to show in his analysis of stones still used by the Penan and Iban tribes in the Malayan Peninsula, that the healing power of the bezoar could be attributed to the porcupine diet. Peter Borschberg also pointed out, for mineralogists, Bezoars are not stones. However, they were included in books on gems and stones, like Anselm Boetius's *Gemmarum et Lapidum Historia* (1609). However, I would like to approach this question from a slightly different, if not reverse, angle and ask: what role do the aesthetics of the objects and their containers play in their rise as salient transatlantic cultural and economic objects? Might the aesthetics of 'marvelous' bezoars not be understood as references to sacred objects? Recent research on the stones has focused on tracking the commercial networks and distribution of bezoars. These studies take for granted that the value of the objects stems from a contemporary understanding of their healing powers. While this is undoubtedly the case, such analyses gloss over the aesthetic qualities of the objects themselves. Precisely these aesthetic qualities, however, may have contributed to their value and the understanding of their potency as objects. Thus far we have traced the trajectory of knowledge and understanding of bezoars. I will now turn to the making man-made bezoar stones and interrogate what the faking of this matter implied in relation to the power (*virtus*) that was thought to reside in the objects.

Faking Matter: Manmade Bezoar Stones and the Role of the Aesthetics of Their Containers

As we have established, bezoar stones were expensive, highly sought after, and came from far away. These were all factors that promoted the development of a market for elite collectors, but also provided a fertile ground for the making

26 Stephenson is relying here on Lorraine Daston's work describing how scientific objects become salient through contextual effects, which can be compared to the bezoar stones as objects becoming salient through the production of Goa stones, their containers, and their trade abroad by Jesuits. See Daston L., "Introduction: The Coming into Being of Scientific Objects", in Daston L. (ed.), *Biographies of Scientific Objects* (Chicago, IL: 2000) 1–14; and Daston L., "Preternatural Philosophy", *ibidem* 15–41. The fascinating aspect of her study hinges on the fact that in the Andes, the bezoar stone unexpectedly revealed hidden layers of doubled meaning that linked it directly to what Europeans feared as Andean idolatry.

and selling of fakes. Enterprising Jesuits in Goa were among those who fulfilled the increasing demand for these objects by creating fake bezoar stones—the so-called Goa stones.²⁷ But were these objects considered to be ‘fake’ in the modern sense, i.e. frauds? A related debate can be traced to the ways in which the terms *naturalia* versus *artefacta* were used in inventories of early modern *Kunst-* and *Wunderkammer*.²⁸ In this debate the question of *facta* (how objects were made) was of crucial importance: process could serve to authenticate objects. Bezoar stones were in fact often classified in inventories as both *naturalia* and *artefacta*. This ambiguous status is particularly intriguing, viewed in the context of an intense interest in *facta*, if the stones were manmade. For it was not the case that faked bezoars were deemed *artefacta* and that stones found in animals were dubbed *naturalia*. In the inventories there is no distinction made regarding the efficacy of the real vs. ‘fake’ bezoar stones. In this sense, the perception of these objects seems to have differed considerably from other objects that also straddled the *artefacta*–*naturalia* divide. For example, alchemical texts frequently discuss whether ‘potable gold’ made from alchemically produced gold was as efficacious as ‘potable gold’ found in nature.²⁹ Bezoars and goa stones, however, were seen to be equally effective, whether made by man or by beast.

In relation to Goa stones, one might thus ask not whether the fake is real, but rather whether the act of their manufacture might actually have been considered as equally valuable, and powerful, as the inherent material of ‘real’ bezoars? Made from a paste of clay, crushed shell, amber, musk, and resin,

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- 27 Borschberg P., “O comércio, uso e falsificação dos bezoares de porco-espinho na Época Moderna (c. 1500–1750): The Trade, Forgery and Medicinal Use of Porcupine Bezoars in the Early Modern Period (c.1500–1750)”, *Revista quadrimestral da Fundação Oriente* 14 (2006) 60–78; and Borschberg P., “The Euro-Asian Trade in Bezoar Stones (approx. 1500–1700)”, in Kaufmann T.D. – North M. (eds.), *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400–1900: Rethinking Markets, Workshops and Collections* (Farnham, Surrey – Burlington, VT: 2010) 29–43.
- 28 Laufhütte H. (ed.), *Künste und Natur in Diskursen der Frühen Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden: 2000); Felfe R., “Formkräfte der Natur, menschliche Künste und Geschichte: Dimensionen des Steinernen in den Kunstkammern der Frühen Neuzeit”, in Bätzner N. (ed.), *Assoziationsraum Wunderkammer* (Halle: 2015) 97–109; Moncond’huy D. (ed.), *La licorne et le bézoard: Une histoire des cabinets de curiosités* (Montreuil: 2013); Roemer G.M. van de, “Nature Painting: Theories about Figured Stones around 1700”, in Adamosky N. – Böhme H. – Felfe R. (eds.), *Ludi naturae* (Munich: 2011) 219–235; see also the contributions by Silver L. – Smith P.H., “The Powers of Nature and Art in the Age of Dürer” and by Long P.O., “Objects of Art/Objects of Nature”, in Smith P.H. – Findlen P. (eds.), *Merchant and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe* (New York, NY: 2002) 29–62 and 63–82.
- 29 Halleux R., “L’oro potabile: Dall’oro magico all’oro medicinale”, *KOS* 2, 12 (1985) 49–64.

Goa stones were apparently used as a remedy for numerous complaints such as poisons and as a charm against plague.³⁰ The creation of these ‘fake’ bezoars, therefore, seems not to have contradicted, but rather worked alongside the Jesuits’ interest in systematically collecting, recording, and disseminating medical recipes. In the collection of medical recipes *Coleccao de Receitas* from the Jesuit’s Library of Rome in 1766, we learn, for instance, how to produce such artificial bezoar stones. A recipe from the *Botica do collegio de Macao* indicates that they included ‘amber, musk, precious stones including emeralds, rubies, sapphires, topazes, garnets, white and red coral, ivory and scrapings of unicorn horn, stag horn and oriental bezoar as well as terra sigillata’.³¹

Elaborate containers of gold or silver were made to house these compound items in which they were then sold and exported to Europe [Figs. 11.2–11.4]. We will now take a closer look at three objects to address the function of the images engraved on bezoar stones and also the images that embellish the Goa stones’ containers. Far from being incidental ornamentation, these images appear to draw together a complex network of commerce, medicine, talismans, and marvels.³² A wearable bezoar stone wrapped in lavishly interlaced filigree was made for the duke of Alba, as the coat of arms at the centre indicates [Fig. 11.4].³³ The interlacing blossoms and boughs that encircle the object reiterate the notion that stone enclosed in the ornamental filigree functions as a giver of life. The delicate filigree in fact covers most of the bezoar stone itself, obscuring a view of the object; only at the end of the bezoar’s long protruding ‘beak’ is the object visible. While perhaps constructed in this manner in order to facilitate dipping the stone into a curative drink, the object’s case also serves to reference the object’s distant origin. The ‘foreign’ animals (some real, some fictive) embedded as figures in the metal filigree remind the beholder that this

30 Walker T., *The Dissemination of Tropical Drugs and Healing Techniques from India throughout the Portuguese Colonial Maritime Empire 1670–1830* (Dartmouth, MA: 2010).

31 Sameiro Barroso M. do, “Bezoar Stones, Magic, Science, and Art”, in Duffin – Moody – Gardner-Thorpe, *A History of Geology and Medicine* 193–208, at 206. Christopher Duffin has emphasised the gradual reduction of bezoar stone component in their analysis of the changes these ingredients experienced over time. Duffin C., “Lapis de Goa: The ‘cordial stone’”, *Pharmaceutical Historian* 40 (2010) 22–32. See also the publication of several impressive pieces from a collection at Oporto: Sameiro Barroso, M. do, “The Bezoar Stone: A Princely Antidote, the Távora Sequeira Pinto Collection—Oporto—Bezoari u Kolekciji Távora Sequeira Pinto u oporto (Portugal)”, *Acta medico-historica adriatica* 12, 1 (2014) 77–98.

32 Some thoughts on the containers are found in Duffin C., “Bezoar Stones and Their Mounts”, *Jewellery History Today* 16 (2013) 3–4.

33 The best overview about the filigree techniques used at Goa is by Vassallo e Silva N., *A ourivesaria entre Portugal e a Índia: do século XVI ao século XVIII* (Lisbon: 2008) 287–307.



FIGURE 11.3 *Anon. (artist), Goa stone and container (late seventeenth–early eighteenth century). Goa stone: compound of organic and inorganic materials, 3 cm (diameter); container: gold, 6.7 × 14.4 cm. New York City, NY, Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. nos. 2004.244a–d).*

IMAGE © THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, NEW YORK CITY, NY.

object originates from a world filled with marvels and objects imbued with potentially miraculous powers (*virtus*).

A direct reference to the immanent death appears in the inscription of another vessel enclosing a bezoar stone [Fig. 11.5]: ‘My soul hath thirsted after the strong living God; when shall I come and appear before the face of God? (*Palms* 42:3).’³⁴ These words face the person who would pour a drink infused

34 SITIVIT ANIMA MEA AD DEV(M) FONTE(M) VIVV(M) QVANDO VENIAM ET AP(P)AREBO ANTE FACIEM DEI. Inv. no. KK 913, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Kunstkammer.



FIGURE 11.4 Anon. (artist), Bezoar-pendant with the coat of arms of the Duke of Alba (last quarter of the sixteenth century). Bezoar and gold filigree, 16.2 × 3 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, *Kunstammer* (inv. no. KK_998).

IMAGE © KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM WIEN.

with bezoar elixir into his or her cup from this vessel—a person evidently filled with the fear of a painful death through poison. Looking inside the same vessel, at the bottom of this coconut cup, we find a bezoar stone attached with a golden chain.³⁵ Made in the second half of the sixteenth century with a handle of rhinoceros horn, the object is recorded in the 1607–1611 inventory of Rudolph II's *Kunstammer*, which was housed in Hradcany Palace in Prague.³⁶

35 The object is 23.2 cm high, KK Nr. 913, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Schatzkammer. Exhibited in Skopec M. (ed.), *Kunst des Heilens: Aus der Geschichte der Medizin und Pharmazie. Katalog der Niederösterreichischen Landesausstellung in der Kartause Gaming vom 4. Mai bis 27. Oktober 1991* (Vienna: 1991) 531 and Seipel, *Exotica*. See also Trnek H. (ed.), *Exotica: Portugals Entdeckungen im Spiegel fürstlicher Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Renaissance. Beiträge des am 19. und 20. Mai vom KHM Wien veranstalteten Symposiums* (Mainz: 2001).

36 'Compiled during Rudolph's lifetime, the inventory is organised systematically according to three divisions: *naturalia*, *artificialia*, and *scientifica*. Unlike other sixteenth-century inventories of German princely *Kunstammern*—such as the 1596 inventory of the archducal palace at Ambras and the 1598 inventory of the *Kunstammer* at the ducal residence in Munich—the 1607–11 inventory of the imperial *Kunstammer* often does not indicate the precise locations in the chamber'. Keating J. – Markey L. "Indian' Objects in Medici and Austrian-Habsburg Inventories: A Case-Study of the Sixteenth-Century Term", *Journal of*



FIGURE 11.5 *Anon. (artist), Vessel with mounted bezoar stone with the inscription "SITIVIT ANIMA MEA AD DEV(M) FONTE(M) VIVV(M) QVANDO VENIAM ET AP(P)AREBO ANTE FACIEM DEI" and stamped "I.T.B." (second half of the sixteenth century). Coconut, rhinoceros horn, bezoar, and gilded silver, 23.5 × 14.8 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstammer (inv. no. KK_913). IMAGE © KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM WIEN.*

What can be described as hybrid nature as suggested by Keating and Markey is not only the material combination of gold, bezoar, rhinoceros horn, and coconut, but also the object's 'Indian' origin.³⁷ Moreover, the 'hybridity' would seem to be epistemological as well, combining the Western motifs in the tradition of medieval Physiologus illuminations, Ceylonese ornaments, the biblical psalm, and its reference to what might happen after death. Such a mixed combination of references and origins to different parts of the earth and different layers of time seems to have exerted a seductive appeal on the ruling elites of the period.³⁸

However, this kind of taste for ornate, 'hybrid' goods evidently also faced popular criticism. In an engraving by an unknown master from 1569, the duke of Alba is portrayed wearing a strange hat and exotic armour. The devil's 'marionette', Cardinal Granvelle, blows 'inspirations' into the duke's right ear [Fig. 11.6].³⁹ The devilish powers themselves seem to be encapsulated in the animal faces that form part of the bellows' grip as well as in the grimacing creatures that appear at the diabolic peak of Alba's odd headgear, the spiky decoration of his shin guard, and last but not least the fantastic animals that decorate

the History of Collections 23, 2 (2011) 283–300 at 294–295. After entering the *Schatzkammer* in Vienna, the 'foreign' origin in India is lost in the record in the collection entry, as Keating and Markey point out: "Inventar der kaiserlichen Weltlichen Schatzkammer in Wien, 1750", *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 10 (1890) 255, no. 54. 'Ein grosze cocunusz, so einen weihwasserkassel formiert, stark auf alt arth mit fligenden und laufenden thiren verschnitten, worinnen ein bezoar und oben einen handhab, die ganze fassung silber und vergold, auf den obern reif eine inscription'.

37 For the terminology of 'Indian' in Western collection inventories see Keating – Markey, "Indian' Objects".

38 For the role of prints in mediating western European motives for Ceylonese ivory carving workshops (similar to the Portuguese–Benin ivory sellers) see Jordan Gschwend A. – Beltz J., *Elfenbeine aus Ceylon: Luxusgüter für Katharina von Habsburg (1507–1578)*, exh. cat. Museum Rietberg (Zurich: 2010) 20–22.

39 Muller F., *De Nederlandsche geschiedenis in platen, beredeneerde beschrijving van Nederlandsche historieplaten, zinneprenten en historische kaarten*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam: 1863–1882) vol. 1, no. 514, and Rijn G. van, *Atlas van Stolk, Katalogus der historie- spot- en zinneprenten betreffende de geschiedenis van Nederland*, 10 vols. (Amsterdam: 1895–1933) vol. 6, no. 408. For the various versions of the print see Pieken P. "Voor een vryen Staet". Die Niederlande, das Reich und 'Tyrrannen' in den Krisen Jahren 1572 und 1672", *DHM Magazin* 21 (1997) 1–52; for further versions of the scene in painting see Zijp R.P. van der, "Allegorie op de Tirannie van Alva", in Zijp R.P. van der et al. (eds.), *Geloof en Satire anno 1600* (Utrecht: 1981) 52. The scene depicts the modes of persecution, the inquisition, and the seventeen territories of the Netherlands held by him together with the cardinal Granvelle.



FIGURE 11.6 Anon. (engraver), *The Throne of the Duke of Alba (1569)*. Engraving, 22.5 × 28.5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijkmuseum (inv. no. RP-P-OB-79.002).
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM.

the duke's chair; the last of these hold metal chains that signify the subjugation of the enslaved Netherlandish provinces who here are figured as allegorical female figures. The duke of Alba's intention to reestablish political and religious 'order' cost an estimated 18,000 lives between 1567 and 1573 (at the same time, the Jesuits questioned the same number of people in a series of trials staged in Goa, between 1560 and 1774, in an attempt to establish a Catholic regime).⁴⁰ What was seen by common people as their ruler's pact with the devil finds expression in print in the hybrid forms that cross animals and humans. Vice versa, the ruler's fears of being poisoned—perhaps a quite logical anxiety in light of his much-hated regime—led to a desire for bezoar stones

40 Saraiva A.J., *The Marrano Factory: The Portuguese Inquisition and Its New Christians, 1536–1765*, augmented and revised by H.P. Salomon H.P. – I.S.D. Sassoon (Leiden: 2001) 345–347.

mounted either in a vessel with 'hybrid' ornaments into which liquid drinks could be poured, or set into a pendent that could be dipped into a drink.

The way in which the Jesuits in Goa produced their special brand of 'marvellous matter' appears to have aimed to achieve two effects. First, they tried to add as many ingredients as possible to endow the result with the potential for curing people. Secondly, they attempted to make the stones as heavy as possible, since their price tag was linked to their weight in gold. Furthermore, they embellished the golden balls with lavishly ornamented containers like those described above [Fig. 11.3]. Unlike the heavy, solid stones, however, these containers generally consisted of a finely crafted web of interlacing ornaments enclosing the 'bezoar' with exotic associations while at the same time affording small glimpses of the dark, potent, powerful object enclosed within, the allure of which increased through this combination of embellishment and concealment.

Objects that are distinctively and visibly foreign, strange, or made from rare materials automatically provide their viewers with conceptual dissonance and the premise for imitation of something absent, i.e. since they appear strange and foreign, they stand in for the places from which they might have come. With these explicit references to their foreign origin, they invite the beholder implicitly to ascribe *virtus* to them, which go beyond those known in his or her own world. In other words, these objects ignite a desire and are precious because of their rarity, a quality that also incites a demand for stories that explain the objects' mysterious origins, their use, and potential effects. These stories sometimes manifest themselves as prescriptive labels laced around the top or the neck of the object. In general, however, they remain more oblique, in the form of oral and written narratives that build on *topoi* sketched out in earlier accounts of similar objects. Especially in the pre-modern era, a kind of clash of cultures can be observed in these earlier narratives. While the expansion of trade and travel provided old countries with new objects, the knowledge used to explain these objects was often antiquated: collections of encyclopaedic knowledge collected centuries earlier was not necessarily equipped, however, for the more modern endeavour of sorting out and classifying the marvellous and the miraculous.⁴¹ Connecting old knowledge with new objects from newly explored territories necessitated the creation of new narratives, which could manifest themselves not only in text (and textual debate) like the compendia collecting the old and newly gathered knowledge about bezoar stones, but also in the new forms of the containers used to accommodate and use the objects within larger collections of marvels (*Wunderkammern*).

41 Daston L. – Park K., *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (Chicago, IL: 1998) and Greenblatt S., *Marvellous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford: 1991).

Such a connection of invisible powers enclosed in a visible object, emphasised through a figurative design, is comparable to the engraving on the stones mentioned in the *Picatrix* text. The Goa stones' containers' decorations are effectively creating an imaginary connection between the visible microcosm and the supernatural healing powers originating in the macrocosm, related through each object's container, explicitly referring to the enclosed bezoar stone and the imaginary worlds of the fictive creatures.

'Ambivalent' Containers and Transcendent Power

The Goa stones' 'semi-transparent' containers thus tended to veil their contents, but reveal it at the same time. The filigree adorning the Goa stones' containers also bore a certain resemblance to ornamented frames used for sacred objects [Figs. 11.7, 11.8]. These shared characteristics do not seem coincidental. Rather, the goa stones' containers seem designed to exploit the objects' multiple 'ambivalent' qualities in ways that draw together worldly and divine realms and thereby point to and amplify the objects' transcendent effects and powers. The containers' role becomes quite evident when one compares the origins of the effects attributed to bezoar stones with the origins of effects said to be exerted by other types of miraculous objects. It seems particularly relevant that the effects of the bezoar stones were often mediated through either filigree elaborated with animals, a figurative element, or a picture that mimetically imitated the origin of the poison, which the bezoar is said to counteract, like the engraved scorpion. As was made clear above, these figurative elements were neither secondary to, nor incidental to the potency of the bezoar stones as they were understood and received in the early modern world. Rather, these mimetic elaborations on and around the stones such as the sealing of the scorpion's image into the potion and the power invested into the object by the engraved picture were crucial aspects in securing the effect of the stone.

With regard to acts of 'sympathetic magic', the anthropologist Michael Taussig has suggested that we speak of the 'mimesis of the mimesis'. Taussig draws this idea—and elaborates upon it—from the two principles that the anthropologist James George Frazer had described in 1890 as guarantees of efficacy in magical acts. The first principle is the law of similarity: the law by which 'the magician infers that he can produce any effect he desires merely by imitating it'.⁴² This would suggest an understanding of the importance of engraving an image of a scorpion, as well as for administering a liquid potion

42 Frazer J.G., *The Golden Bough* (New York, NY: 1922) 13.



FIGURE 11.7 *Anon. (artist), Holy Face of Genoa (before 1380). Colour on textile applied on wood with a gold filigree frame, 29 × 19 cm (icon).*

IMAGE © CHIESA DI SAN BARTOLOMEO DEGLI ARMENI, GENOA.



FIGURE 11.8 Anon. (artist), *Double-sided icon with the image of the Madonna* (1359). Wood and gold filigree. Siena, Hospital Santa Maria della Scala.
IMAGE © SCALA IMAGE ARCHIVE.

to the human body in a manner analogical to the injection of the scorpion's poison. The second principle—and the one of more interest to Taussig—is the principle of contact or contagion. This principle holds 'that things which have once been in contact with each other continue to act on each other at a distance after physical contact has been severed'.⁴³ Taussig then complicates Frazer's somewhat simplistic tenet that 'like effects like' and analyses cases in which figurative formations mediate transcendent effects. Taussig is interested

43 Ibidem, quoted by Taussig M., *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (London: 1992) 52–53.

in recognising how power might be ‘passing [...] [i]nto a narrative journey of images’. As he writes, ‘It is the metamorphosing master-image, [...] that secures the journey into the image-world. How much more complex than Frazer’s “like effecting like” this magical power of the image now becomes!’⁴⁴

However, our cases involving bezoar stones complicate the picture even further, for their efficacy lies not just in a narrative journey of images. In dealing with bezoars, we have discovered, for instance via the *Picatrix*, how a narrative was embedded in the account of the stones’ production; we saw how this narrative linked micro and macrocosms through images and temporalities in ways aimed at ensuring the successful deployment of the objects’ healing powers; and we also noted the importance in this narrative played by transformative acts like that of sealing chewed incense and the liquification of matter. Each of these aspects involved a mimetic dimension, one that was not limited to figural images but rather involved multiple transformations in material, narrative, and temporal constructions. For example, the attribution of *virtus* to the object hinged on a narrative and material recreation of a celestial constellation (the scorpion) that ‘harnessed’ the power of the actual scorpion venom poisoning the patient’s body. The mimetic recreation of a moment (when the powerful ingredient was produced) combined with strong non-mimetic elements (e.g. the bezoar stones do not look like the animals that produce them) to produce a melding of that which Peter of Abano described as opposing principles. Only a conjunction of mimetic and anti-mimetic aspects in the creation of the bezoar-stone seal-ring can render the potion effective and release its mediating power.

As with the originals, copies of icons or miraculous objects that imitate the original and that are venerated at other sites rely on mimesis; however, these copies come with a description of their making and their translation and with multiple references to the site (and power) of their origin. Art historians have discussed these mechanisms of reproduction in the cases of the copies of the Mandyion or the Holy House of Loreto and many others (e.g. the shroud of Veronica, the Volto Santo of Lucca, to name just two). Yet less attention has been paid to the literal and conceptual framework that accompanied these evident fakes: the copies of a miraculous work were mediated through containers and frames [Figs. 11.7, 11.8].⁴⁵ The same mechanisms of enclosing the

44 Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity* 64.

45 For a discussion of forgeries in this period challenging the contemporary notions of ‘art’, see Rowland I., *The Scarith of Scornello: A Tale of Renaissance Forgery* (Chicago, IL: 2004); Wood C., *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago, IL: 2008); Gregory S. – Hickson S.A., *“Inganno”: The Art of Deception. Imitation, Reception, and Deceit in Early Modern Art* (Aldershot: 2012).

sacred in order to disclose the origins of its powers are also at play in the case of the 'fake' Goa stones. Legends, as well as the elaboration of the objects in the form of their frames and containers create a kind of network that links the objects to chains of multiple forms of production, reproduction, and replication. These links serve to attest to the authenticity or the miraculousness of the objects. In textual sources about sacred objects like chronicles and legends, it is the testimony of witnesses that serves this role. Those who have partaken in, or witnessed, the wonders performed by these objects are able to link their wondrous qualities narratively to visible evidence—i.e. to the object and/or its container. In the case of the golden containers from Goa, however, there are no associated legends or written accounts. What we find instead, however, are unicorns, griffins, winged monkeys, and other marvellous creatures inserted carefully into the web of the golden filigree that frames the stones. These embedded elements must assume the narrative functions normally performed by textual testimony. We know from letters regarding the exchange between Portugal and Goa that bezoar stones were considered to be part of a similar 'category' of objects as reliquaries, *agnus dei*, rosaries, old books, and medicines (all of these 'sacred' objects could be sent to Portugal free from any restrictions).⁴⁶ Viewed in this context, the elaboration of the Goa stone containers reveals an attempt by the Jesuits to emphasise the precious and marvellous qualities of the object inside the frame, the compound, faked matter of the stone. The combination of real animals like monkeys and invented creatures like griffins, in turn, highlights the ambiguity of the manufactured stone. For the intermingling of imagined and real creatures re-stages the curious nature of an object that is understood to possess 'real' powers and effects, although it is a man-made imitation of natural matter: a true admixture of '*naturalia*' and '*artefactum*'. Perhaps this explains why, while both man-made and natural bezoar stones were often enclosed in golden filigree cases, decorations featuring juxtapositions of real and fictive animals feature so prominently on the containers of the Goa stones.

Imitation (and transcendence) plays a key roles in the articulation of this dynamic: the imitation of other miraculous objects; the imitation of the divine creator who produced those objects; the imitation of the properties of miraculous objects, *and* the use of *topoi* deployed in legends about miraculous events in order to produce a frame that mediates the *virtus* of the object, whose

46 Borges, *The Economics of the Goa Jesuits, 1542–1759* 64: 'No one could send precious parcels, scents, containers of *aguila* (aromatic boxes), curios, medicines, pedras, escritorios, or tobacco of 20 xs. an arratel. One could however, send things like reliquaries, Agnus Dei, rosaries, old books (*cartapacios*), pedra bazar, and medicines'.

efficacy indeed derives from processes of mediation and imitation. Mediating the object's power, accessible through the glimpse of a shimmer from the inner darkness; meditating the described thresholds in their use. The absence in the case of the icon is necessary for the imaginary closure of the gap, the difference, the moment of comparison of the presence with the absence, the container's visual veiling of its content; the absence of the bezoar stone enclosed in the semi-transparent container is essential for veiling the nature of a 'fake', human *facta* or divine gifts, *naturalia*.

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PART 4

Relic Values



Naked Bones, Empty Caskets, and a Faceless Bust: Christian Relics and Reliquaries between Europe and Asia during Early Modern Globalisation*

Urte Krass

Early modern globalisation set into motion commodities of various kinds, among them relics, ‘person-objects’, moving body parts with a status somewhere between *actors* and *actants*.¹ While much is known about the quality and quantities of Christian relics that were shipped to the network of trading posts along the eastern trade route from Lisbon to Goa, Malacca, Macao, and beyond, less has been said about the containers in which the relics travelled and the receptacles in which they were placed at their destinations. This article examines these objects together with luxury containers made of mother-of-pearl or tortoiseshell that were produced by highly specialised craftsmen in Gujarat, Goa, and Japan to be exported to Lisbon and Madrid, where they were then used as reliquaries. Put briefly, in this contribution, the focus is placed on the material culture connected with the global relic traffic of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The venerated body parts of Christian saints had to be protected and kept somewhere during transport, and appropriately stored and displayed at their destinations. There must therefore have been plenty of interim and permanent receptacles for these precious travelling fragments. The importance of encasements cannot be underestimated and is currently recognised as a fruitful topic within the thriving research on pre-modern objects and things. Containment has been described as ‘one of the major conditions of the existence of “things”’: containers or vessels are not only things themselves, but they can also guarantee

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1 Geary P., “Sacred Commodities: The Circulation of Medieval Relics”, in Appadurai A. (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: 1986) 169–191; Latour B., *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: 2005).

the relative stability of their content over time and space.² And, of course, they express and shape the perception of what is kept within them.

For medieval and Renaissance Europe, we have a firm knowledge of the role that the iconography and materiality of reliquaries played in the perception and interpretation of what they contained.³ However, an investigation into the transformations of the visual and material culture of reliquaries from the time after the relics went global remains to be done. In 1940, Joseph Braun's compendium of Christian reliquaries was published, assembling approximately 4,000 existing reliquaries and 250 written sources, and taking into account nomenclature, materials, formal composition, and decorative elaborations of reliquaries during the course of the Middle Ages.⁴ A sequel to this standard work that focuses on the *global* history of this visual medium initiated by the Christian-European expansion since the fifteenth century is definitely a desideratum.

The following few pages will outline a way to consider this phenomenon by combining two topics that have hitherto remained practically unconnected: the dissemination of Christian saints' relics into the Asian domains of the Portuguese overseas possessions from the sixteenth century onwards and the simultaneous counterflow of sumptuous receptacles, manufactured mostly in Gujarat and Goa, but also in Japan and other places and destined for export to Iberia where they were quite often used to keep some of those ancient Christian relics that remained there. The underlying question is this: did Western relics shipped to the East and Eastern reliquaries shipped to the West circulate without ever meeting? Were tortoiseshell or mother-of-pearl caskets made in Gujarat also used as reliquaries at their places of origin instead of being exclusively made for export? Unfortunately, the written sources are mostly silent on such matters. The best way to learn more about the relationship between relics and reliquaries during the epoch of their global distribution is to take a closer look at the extant objects. What did those overseas receptacles that were shipped to Europe and served as reliquaries in Iberian collections look like? How did

2 Passage from the description of a new joint research and exhibition project "The Art of Containment" by the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz/Max-Planck-Institut and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, available from http://www.khi.fi.it/5307427/wolf_Containment (accessed: 16.01.2017).

3 Reudenbach B. – Toussaint G. (eds.), *Reliquiare im Mittelalter* (Berlin: 2011); Reudenbach B., "Reliquiare als Heiligkeitsbeweis und Echtheitszeugnis: Grundzüge einer problematischen Gattung", *Vorträge aus dem Warburg-Haus* 4 (2000) 1–29; Hahn C., "What Do Reliquaries Do for Relics?", *Numen* 57 (2010) 284–316.

4 Braun, J., *Die Reliquiare des christlichen Kultes und ihre Entwicklung* (Freiburg: 1940).

Christian reliquaries that were used in Goa, Rachol, Macao, and other places of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* look in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? And did Western reliquaries also travel to these places to be used there?

The breadth of this topic makes it desirable to highlight a few objects that are especially interesting in terms of their forms, material iconography, and ultimate integration into an organisational arrangement. The following remarks should thus be read as prolegomena to a future and more elaborate overview of the material.

Moving Body Parts

Relics were a very special freight on the ships travelling between Europe and Asia in early modern times. Missionary work demanded the use of Christian artworks and liturgical objects, and also of relics and reliquaries for the altars of the newly consecrated churches. Written sources tell us of the early existence of many and diverse Christian relics in Portuguese Asia that were handled and shown on special occasions.⁵ Hundreds of thousands of sacred body parts were shipped to newly conquered lands and trading posts along the sea route to Asia from the fifteenth century on.

Thanks to their specific properties, relics could perform their designated tasks already during shipping: they could prevent shipwreck, for example by being dipped into the water when danger occurred during the passage across the oceans, which made it doubly reasonable to take them on board.⁶ Aside from being desperately needed at their destinations, relics were often reported to have saved crew and cargo during rough sea voyages, and their sheer presence on the ships was believed to sanctify the places they travelled through and to transform them into Christian domains.⁷ The ships, in transporting

5 Wicki J., *Documenta Indica*, vol. 3 (Rome: 1954) 58, 97, 110–111. See also Ines G. Županov's chapter in this volume. The term 'Portuguese Asia' is of course misleading. The heterogeneous 'imperial edifice' set up by the Portuguese in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in disparate countries between the Cape of Good Hope and Japan can be better described as a shifting 'elaborate network of trade and power'. See Subrahmanyam S., *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500–1700: A Political and Economic History*, 2nd edition (Chichester: 2012) 1–11. For the concepts of a 'Luso-Baroque' domain and a 'Republic of Letters' see e.g. Mochizuki M.M., "The Luso-Baroque Republic of Things and the Contingency of Contact", *Ellipsis* 12 (2014) 143–171, at 145.

6 Wicki, *Documenta Indica* vol. 3, 111.

7 Francis Xavier had been ascribed this cohesive power already in his lifetime. It was his movements, his apostolic journey that had 'sanctified not only the newly acquired

relics, in a way became reliquaries themselves: vessels (the ships) containing vessels (the boxes) that were used to transport bodily vessels (the relics) containing the miraculous *virtus* of Christian saints.

While relics from Europe were brought to the contact zones in the East, those relics that had always been there were actually able to draw people to these remote places: the relics of St. Thomas in Mylapore worked as a strong magnet and as one of the key arguments for the Portuguese to explore and conquer the Indian subcontinent. Or, as Ines Županov has put it, the narrative around St. Thomas's relics formed 'a cartography of desire as a prelude to the desire of conquest'.⁸

St. Thomas's contact relics soon had to be protected from theft and from being taken home to Europe by faithful travellers.⁹ At the same time, large quantities of European Christian relics were shipped to the *Estado da Índia* to supply the increasing demand of the missionaries and faithful. Of special importance were the relics of St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins.¹⁰ Ursula's legend was intimately linked to seafaring and dangers in the contact zones, which made them, already on the hagiographical level, the perfect and predestined expansion relics. An even greater advantage was that the Cologne graveyard where Ursula and her numerous companions were believed to lie buried turned out to be a never-dwindling source for those in need of Christian relics. In contrast to most other ancient saints' bodies, even first-class relics like heads of the Virgins were available—chief relics that could become centre pieces in the newly founded churches in the overseas regions. The Iberian crowns' interest in Ursula's cult developed shortly after 1500, 'contemporary

territories through the foundation of religious institutions, improvement of social mores and Christianization, but also the vessels on which he travelled and the sea passages he ploughed through. Whatever he touched became a mark on the map of Portuguese possession, even if it proved to be a temporary one'. See Županov I.G., "The Prophetic and the Miraculous in Portuguese Asia: A Hagiographic View of Colonial Culture", in Subrahmanyam S. (ed.), *Sinners and Saints: The Successors of Vasco da Gama* (New Delhi: 1998) 135–161, at 149; Gupta P., *The Relic State: St. Francis Xavier and the Politics of Ritual in Portuguese India* (Manchester: 2014) 39.

8 Županov I.G., *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India (16th–17th Centuries)* (Ann Arbor, MI: 2005) 93.

9 Correa G., *Lendas da Índia*, vol. 2, part 2, ed. R.J. Lima de Felner (Lisbon: 1861) 789.

10 Osswald M.C., "The Society of Jesus and the Diffusion of the Cult and Iconography of Saint Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins in the Portuguese Empire during the Second Half of the 16th Century", in *A Companhia de Jesus na Península Ibérica nos sécs. XVI e XVII, espiritualidade e cultura* (Porto: 2005) 601–609.

to the peak of Portuguese overseas expansion'.¹¹ On a grand scale, relics of the Virgins were removed from Cologne and other German towns and brought to Portugal and Spain—and from there to the quickly growing overseas territories. In 1585, Ursula's cult was officially translated overseas, when the Third Council of the Province of Goa decreed 'that a special veneration should be given to the Eleven Thousand Virgins in the Archdiocese'.¹² The Jesuits played the decisive role in the spread of the Ursula cult. 'By the middle of the 17th century all Jesuit churches in the Portuguese missionary territories had at least one altar dedicated to the Eleven Thousand Virgins'.¹³ Another large group of relics finding their way to Asia were particles of the true cross.

However, not every relic had to be shipped to Asia as the new territories started to 'produce' their own sacred material. The first Christian saint whose whole and, at least initially, intact body could be worshipped in Portuguese Asia was St. Francis Xavier, the so-called Apostle of the Indies. He died in 1552 on Shangchuan Island on the southern coast of China, and in 1554 his body was taken via Malacca to Goa, where it was successively stripped of many smaller parts—like toes and fingers—that were sent to Jesuit branches and other places all over the world.¹⁴ The saint's body was divided, scattered, and made globally available. The biggest part that was cut off was his right forearm, which was sent to the Jesuit mother church Il Gesù in Rome in 1614. On its way to Italy, the arm is reported to have worked miracles from aboard the ship on which it travelled. Some years later, after the relic had been installed at its final destination,

11 Ibidem 602. In 1517 Emperor Maximilian sent the relics of one of the virgins, St. Auta, to D. Leonor, the sister of King Manuel. The sophisticated Retábulo de Santa Auta is today kept in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga. See <http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt/MatrizNet/Objectos/ObjectosConsultar.aspx?IdReg=248631&EntSep=3#gotoPosition> (accessed: 16.01.2017). For the success of Ursula and her virgins in Brazil see Carneiro da Cunha M., "Da Guerra das Relíquias ao Quinto Império", *Novos estudos de Cebrap* 44 (1996) 75–87, 80. See also Rose Mary San Juan's chapter in this volume.

12 Osswald, "The Society of Jesus and the Diffusion of the Cult and Iconography of Saint Ursula" 602.

13 Ibidem 605.

14 Schurhammer G., "Les reliques de Saint François Xavier et leur histoire", *Analecta Bollandiana* 40 (1922) 112–178; Županov, *Missionary Tropics* 35–86; Pinch W.R., "The Corpse and Cult of Francis Xavier, 1552–1623", in Gottschalk P. – Schmalz M.N. (eds.), *Engaging South Asian Religions: Boundaries, Appropriations, and Resistances* (Albany, NY: 2011) 113–132. Gupta, *The Relic State*; Brockey L.M., "The Cruellest Honor: The Relics of Francis Xavier in Early-Modern Asia", *The Catholic Historical Review* 101 (2015) 41–64; Sodini C., *I Medici e le Indie Orientali* (Florence: 1996); and Dias P., *Monumento Funerário de São Francisco Xavier na Casa Professa do Bom Jesus* (Coimbra: 2010).

the Jesuit preacher António Vieira proudly announced that Francis Xavier was now the first saint who was able to embrace the world—for his left arm was kept in Goa, the new ‘Eastern Rome’, and his right arm was retained in the centre of the Christian world: the old Rome. In an ‘immense embrace’, Francis Xavier was capable of bridging the distance between far-away Asia and the centre of Christian Europe.¹⁵ Thus, the movement of a saint’s body parts around the globe could be perceived as a means to empower him to take care of not only a part of Christianity but all the faithful worldwide.

Francis’s body was the first sacred body kept in Asia that ultimately supplied relics to be sent back to Europe on a larger scale. His body’s fragmentation was the starting point of a countermovement of relics from East to West. Those missionaries who died as martyrs while on dangerous mission trips in China or Japan also provided new relics. These men interpreted their work as equivalent to that of the first followers of Christ. They saw themselves as the new apostles, the legitimate successors of St. Thomas. When, in 1549, the first martyr of the Society of Jesus, Antonio Criminale, was fatally attacked by the locals on Cape Comorin on the southern tip of India, he became the role model for more than 300 Jesuits and members of other orders in all the missionised parts of the world who died as martyrs of their faith in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁶ Their cults and their relics were used as instruments for conversion and for the establishment of the Church in the new territories. By writing down the accounts of the martyrdoms, the Jesuits created ‘a veritable spiritual cartography that accompanied the technical cartography of the world’.¹⁷

Receptacles on the Move

While we may assume that Western relics were always shipped into the East within some kind of receptacle, one has the impression that lots of *empty* reliquaries-to-be travelled in the opposite direction, from East to West. Tortoiseshell caskets devoid of any contents seem to have travelled to Europe, where they were then often used to contain relics. These boxes were probably

15 Cited after Pereira J., *The Churches of Goa* (Oxford: 2012) 65.

16 Cymbalista R., “The Presence of the Martyrs: Jesuit Martyrdom and the Christianisation of Portuguese America”, *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church* 10, 4 (2010) 287–305, at 290; Leite S., *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: 1938).

17 Cymbalista, “The Presence of the Martyrs” 290.

made mainly in the Gujarat region.¹⁸ Some originate from Goa and, as has been recently discovered, at least one documented example was produced in Ceylon.¹⁹ The 'raw' tortoiseshell boxes received their silver mountings either in Goa or after their arrival in Lisbon, or at other places in Europe. Some of their new owners seem to have purchased the exotic containers specifically for the purpose of storing Christian relics.²⁰

The most prominent case is the casket given to Philip II of Spain (1527–1598) by his sister, Empress Maria [Fig. 12.1], who had acquired it in Lisbon between 1582 and 1583.²¹ Together with a very similar counterpart, Philip gave it to the treasure of the royal monastery of El Escorial. Since 1586, the two caskets have formed part of the relic altar in El Escorial, whose wings were painted by Federico Zuccari [Fig. 12.2].²² Their wavelike lids seem to echo the ocean from which their material originated and that they had to cross before they arrived at their destination.²³ Silver tablets ornate with bas-reliefs of tendrils and small animals cover all outer surfaces. The locks are rectangular. The wedge-shaped fittings at the corners show dragons producing flowers and small

- 18 Jordão Felgueiras J., "Uma família de objectos preciosos do Guzarate/A Family of Precious Gujarati Objects", in Vassallo e Silva N. (ed.), *A Herança de Rauluchantim/The Heritage of Rauluchantim*, exh. cat. Museu de São Roque (Lisbon: 1996) 128–155.
- 19 Crespo H.M., "Global Interiors on the Rua Nova in Renaissance Lisbon", in Jordan Gschwend A. – Lowe K.J.P. (eds.), *The Global City: On the Streets of Renaissance Lisbon* (London: 2015) 121–130, 123.
- 20 Ana García Sanz has gathered eleven objects dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that were made in India and Japan and designated to contain relics in monasteries that were founded by royal patrons in Spain. García Sanz A., "Relicários de Oriente", in Mola M.A. – Shaw Martínez C. (eds.), *Oriente en palacio: Tesoros asiáticos en las colecciones reales españolas* (Madrid: 2003) 129–134.
- 21 Ibidem 131; Seipel W. (ed.), *Exotica: Portugals Entdeckungen im Spiegel fürstlicher Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Renaissance*, exh. cat. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Milan: 2000) 172–174, no. 84.
- 22 Zarco Cuevas J., *Inventario de las alhogas, pinturas e objectos de valor y curiosidades donadas por Felipe II al Monasterio de El Escorial (1571–1598)* (Alicante: 2011) 642, no. 536, and 645, no. 546; Vassallo e Silva N., "Breve Historical do Santuário das Relíquias de S. Roque", in Brandão E. – Vassallo e Silva N. – Parra Martínez J. (eds.), *Esplendor e devoção: Os relicários de S. Roque* (Lisbon: 1998) 9–12, 11; Vassallo e Silva N., "Filipe I de Portugal e as artes do ouro e da prata", in *El Arte en las Cortes de Carlos V y Felipe II*, Jornadas de arte 9 (Madrid: 1999) 377–386, at 380.
- 23 Another association is made by García Sanz, "Relicários de Oriente" 131, and Jordão Felgueiras, "Uma família de objectos" 147, who both suggest that the rectangular corpus and the barrel-shaped lids of the tortoiseshell caskets resemble the form of Portuguese hour-book boxes.



FIGURE 12.1 Anon. (silversmith), Reliquary casket (end of sixteenth century). Silver and tortoiseshell, 13 × 30 × 19 cm. Madrid, Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial (inv. no. 10044687).

IMAGE © MONASTERIO DE SAN LORENZO DE EL ESCORIAL, MADRID.

animals. Mughul influences have been traced in these décor motifs.²⁴ The handles are made from cast silver. The silver hinges hint at a later restoration of the object somewhere on the Iberian Peninsula. The measurements of both caskets (14 × 30 × 20 cm) are remarkably large compared to other extant examples made from tortoiseshell.²⁵

When the twin caskets were incorporated into the relic cupboard in the Basilica of San Lorenzo de El Escorial, they became part of a collection with its own organisation and arrangement system: although the reliquary altars comprise a mixture of head and bust reliquaries, reliquaries shaped like

24 Vassallo e Silva N., "Pedras preciosas, jóias e camafeus: A viagem de Jacques de Coutre de Goa a Agra", in Flores J. – Vassallo e Silva N. (eds.), *Goa e o Grão Mogol* (Lisbon: 2004) 116–125.

25 Even though a slightly larger (18.5 × 36.0 × 24.2 cm) but otherwise very similar example from a private collection has recently been exhibited for the first time in Lisbon. See Jordan Gschwend A. – Lowe K.J.P., *A cidade global: Lisboa no Renascimento/The Global City: Lisbon in the Renaissance*, exh. cat. Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga (Lisbon: 2017) 165, no. 143.



FIGURE 12.2 *Anon. (artist) and Federico Zuccari (painter), Reliquary cupboard (1585–1588). Wings: oil on panel, 488 × 144.5 cm, closed cupboard: 488 × 289 cm. Madrid, Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial.*

IMAGE © MONASTERIO DE SAN LORENZO DE EL ESCORIAL, MADRID.

pyramids, arm reliquaries, and relic monstresses, they are not arbitrarily displayed, but their arrangement follows strict compositional guidelines. The incorporation of ‘introduced species’ into this collection required a pair, as the new tortoiseshell boxes had to meet the overall desire for symmetry in these cupboards’ display arrangements. We do not know whose relics these caskets contained, or if they contained relics at all; the inventories remain silent on that matter.

But there are other examples of tortoiseshell caskets used as reliquaries whose contents have been documented. The casket that became part of the treasure of the Lisbon Jesuit church São Roque sometime before 1588, for example, holds a heterogeneous relic mixture of saints of all times: early Christian martyrs, Roman saints, St. Louis King of France, parts of the Eleven Thousand



FIGURE 12.3 Anon. (silversmith), Reliquary casket (first half of sixteenth century). Tortoiseshell and silver, 13 × 21 × 14 cm. Lisbon, Museu de São Roque (inv. no. 1041).

IMAGE © MUSEU DE SÃO ROQUE, LISBON.

Virgins, and some earth from the Mount of Olives [Fig. 12.3].²⁶ Apart from its silver lock, it bears no other mountings. It is especially characteristic that in this object one cannot distinguish the different tortoiseshell plates by which it is formed; the appearance is that of one homogeneous plate, which could only be achieved by masterly artistic knowledge and the application of the ‘*técnica de soldagem*’, of welding different tortoiseshell plates by melting their edges together. In contrast to most other extant tortoiseshell caskets, here, clear and ‘blonde’ plates derived from the plastron or belly of the turtle have been used and not the plates from the back of the animal, the ‘*carapace*’, which are usually highly pigmented in shades of dark brown, amber, and red.²⁷ This object

26 Vassallo e Silva N., “Cofre: Goa, meados do século XVI”, in Levenson J.A. (ed.), *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal e o mundo nos séculos XVI e XVII*, exh. cat. Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga (Lisbon: 2009) 274, no. 123.

27 Hanlon G., “Tortoiseshell”, in Turner J. (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art* (New York, NY: 1996) vol. 31, 194–195, 194. The yellow underplates were traditionally most favoured by customers. And the best shell ‘has usually been considered to come from the East Indies, quality being dependent on transparency and thickness of the shell as color and markings’. See

was most probably a donation by a Jesuit from India or by some secular benefactor returning from the *Estado da Índia*. It is the oldest documented example in Portugal.

Another example in Burgos, in the monastery of Santa Clara de Medina de Pomar, was donated by the Constable Juan Fernandez de Velasco, Duke of Frias, in 1610, but acquired in Lisbon probably in 1580 or 1581.²⁸ Lisbon was the main hub for exotic caskets like these and other luxury objects.

Yet another tortoiseshell casket from the monastery of the Descalzas Reales has contained the heads of the third-century saints Cosmas and Damian since the seventeenth century. Underneath the thin tortoiseshell layer, painting shines through showing vegetation with a great variety of animals—antelopes, tigers, rabbits, deer, and peacocks—while on the lid appears a banquet with European and Asian participants. This profane iconography suggests that the original purpose of boxes of this type was to contain noble women's jewels and only in a second step did these ladies donate their boxes to convents where they assumed the function of reliquaries.²⁹

Boxes made from other 'exotic' animal material were used to house relics, too. Gujarat, aside from being the main production site for tortoiseshell objects, was also the origin of large quantities of mother-of-pearl caskets.³⁰ Lisbon Cathedral houses an exemplar holding the relics of St. Vincent.³¹ One of the simplest mother-of-pearl caskets in the Descalzas Reales monastery holds the relics of San Pietro martyr,³² a more elaborate casket in the same treasure contains a conglomerate of relics, among them parts of the fourth-century martyrs of Messina (Simplicius, Faustinus, and Beatrix) and of the seventh-century pope St. Martin.³³ These mother-of-pearl caskets were probably produced in different qualities and sizes to match the demands of different

Parsons J.J., "The Hawksbill Turtle and the Tortoise Shell Trade", in *Études de géographie tropicale offertes à Pierre Gourou* (Mouton: 1972) 45–60, 47.

28 Vassallo e Silva, "Cofre" 274, no. 124. This exemplar shows a fidalgo's family arms on the lock, which is another hint at the high ranks of those who possessed these boxes.

29 García Sanz, "Relicários de Oriente" 132, with further literature.

30 Digby S., "The Mother-of-Pearl Overlaid Furniture of Gujarat: The Holdings of the Victoria & Albert Museum", in Skelton R. (ed.), *Facets of Indian Art: A Symposium Held at the Victoria & Albert Museum on 26, 27, 28 April, and 1 May 1982* (London: 1986) 213–222.

31 Jordão Felgueiras J., "Reliquienkasten der Kathedrale von Lissabon", in Seipel, *Exotica* 149, no. 60. Other similar examples exist. See *ibidem* 149–157, no. 65, and 156–157.

32 García Sanz A. – Jordan Gschwend A., "Via orientalis: Objetos del Lejano Oriente en el monasterio de las Descalzas Reales", *Reales Sitios* 138 (1998) 25–39; Vassallo e Silva N. (ed.), *A Herança de Rauluchantim*, exh. cat. Museu de São Roque (Lisbon: 1996) 190, 193–196.

33 García Sanz, "Relicários de Oriente" 131.

consumer classes in Europe. These objects, too, received their silver mountings in Goa or after their arrival in Portugal.

Two Japanese Namban lacquer boxes with mother-of-pearl inlays used as reliquaries can also be found in the monastery of the Descalzas Reales. One casket keeps parts of the habit and the hemp shoe of the new saint St. Teresa, the other holds the relics of St. Valerius who was particularly venerated within this monastery.³⁴ Another lacquer and mother-of-pearl casket from sixteenth-century Japan was used as a reliquary and is kept today in São Roque in Lisbon, deriving from the altar of the Holy Martyrs.³⁵

One Gujarati mother-of-pearl casket in the Descalzas monastery that houses the relics of St. Margaret yields especially interesting insights into the relationship between relics and reliquaries and the selection criteria on the side of the purchasers [Fig. 12.4].³⁶ The casket measures 32 × 50 × 26 cm and has a base with four wooden feet and a bevelled, pyramid-style lid. It is made of teak wood covered in black mastic and inlaid with fragments of mother-of-pearl, pearls, and gemstones. The symmetrically arranged flower, tree, and tendril motifs produced by the shimmering inlay work are rooted in Mughul artistic traditions. This example can be called the perfect match between relic and reliquary as the saint's name in both Greek and in Persian means pearl.³⁷ One may presume an awareness of this accordance on the part of the customers, the nuns of the Descalced. The existence of at least one other, earlier reliquary for St. Margaret, in faraway Prague made from mother-of-pearl (from European freshwater pearl), might hint at a traditional consciousness of the onomastic coincidence.³⁸

34 Ibidem 132–133.

35 Morna T., “Cofre-relicário”, in Levenson, *Encompassing the Globe* 365–366, no. 172.

36 Digby, “The Mother-of-Pearl Overlaid Furniture”; Jordão Felgueiras, “Uma família de objectos”; García Sanz – Jordan Gschwend, “Via orientalis”; Seipel, *Exotica* no. 65.

37 In Latin sources, the shell is called *conchis margaritifera*, in Persian, pearl is *murwari*, *muwara*, or *mirwareed*. For the theory that the Greek word *margarites* derives from ‘some oriental word like the Sanskrit maracata or the Persian mirwareed’ see Kunz G.F. – Stevensson C.H., *The Book of the Pearl: The History, Art, Science, and Industry of the Queen of Gems* (London: 1908) 8. Name and properties of the pearl are given as the origin for St. Margaret's name in the most widely used collection of saints' lives, the *Golden Legend* by James of Voragine from around 1260. For the ‘pre-scientific biology’ and multi-layered discourse centring around the pearl and the female name see Heckscher W.S., “Is Grete's Name Really so Bad?”, in Heckscher W.S., *Art and Literature: Studies in Relationship*, ed. E. Verheyen (Baden-Baden: 1985) 57–63.

38 The object dates to 1406 and is kept in Prague Breunau in the treasure of the monastery of St. Adalbert and St. Margaret; Fricke F., “Matter and Meaning of Mother-of-Pearl: The Origins of Allegory in the Spheres of Things”, *Gesta* 51 (2012) 35–54, at 43, fig. 12.



FIGURE 12.4 Anon. (artist), Reliquary casket (mid-sixteenth century). Mother-of-pearl, teakwood, lacquer, and copper, 26 × 50 × 32 cm. Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional, Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales (inv. no. 00612591). IMAGE © MONASTERIO DE LAS DESCALZAS REALES, PATRIMONIO NACIONAL, MADRID.

'Very Novel Things': Tortoiseshell Arrives in the World of Reliquaries

What made these caskets worthy of being used as containers for ancient European Christian relics was their materiality and craftsmanship. In the case of the tortoiseshell caskets, their novel material probably affected the decision to place relics in them. Animal material has always been highly appreciated in the world of Christian reliquaries. Caskets and receptacles made from ivory, walrus tooth, nautilus shell or mother-of-pearl, wisent horn or bullhorn, and ostrich eggs had been in use for a long time in Europe.³⁹ During the age of the so-called first globalisation, novel animal materials were gladly welcomed into this material culture.⁴⁰ Other than mother-of-pearl from Asia whose materiality

39 Braun, *Die Reliquiare des christlichen Kultes* 113–136.

40 Featherworks from South America were another neobiont in the European world of sacred images, as well as objects made from rhinoceros horn or hippo skin. Fane D. –

did not differ substantially from European freshwater pearls, tortoiseshell must have been perceived as an astonishing 'neobiont' in the world of the European reliquaries. The question of why the faithful so often decided to encase the venerated human body material within receptacles made from animal material, why they in a way fused 'biomass' to fuel the relic cult, is worthy of being more thoroughly examined on another occasion. Bringing into the discussion terms from the languages of biology and ecology may raise awareness of the fact that the present topic has aspects that make it suitable also for anthrozoology or ethnobiology research. The objects here dealt with can tell us a lot about the relationships between people, biota, and environments.

Since the second half of the sixteenth century, collecting miraculous things made from animal material was of particular interest for the *Wunderkammern* of noble and erudite collectors. Parallel to its integration into the reliquary world, tortoiseshell from Asia made its first wider post-antique appearance in profane furniture from Augsburg and Antwerp between 1580 and 1600, often in combination with mother-of-pearl decoration elements. The glossy, honey-coloured surface of tortoiseshell and its remarkable formability corresponded with the tastes of a new elite that loved to possess and display objects of intense chromatic quality, ostentatious forms, and exquisite materiality.⁴¹

The existence of this material had been known since antiquity. Romans and later Ottomans had imported furniture with tortoiseshell inlays from China.⁴² Pliny the Elder, besides offering some fantastically implausible information about the lives and loves of sea turtles, had already mentioned—if only in one sentence—the practice of 'cutting tortoiseshell into plates and using it to decorate bedsteads and cabinets'.⁴³

Interestingly, the writer of the 1596 inventory of the Ambras Kunstkammer in Tyrol, which held the collection of Ferdinand II (1529–1595) did not recognise tortoiseshell as he obviously did not know this material: instead he

Russo A. – Wolf G. (eds.), *Images Take Flight: Feather Art in Mexico and Europe, 1400–1700* (Munich: 2015).

41 Ruotolo R., "Arredi e oggetti con la tartaruga nel Seicento", in Arbace L. (ed.), *L'arte della tartaruga: Le opere dei musei napoletani e la donazione Sbriziolo-De Felice* (Naples: 1994) 11–22, at 13. For wonder and the marvellous as essential elements in art see Greenblatt S., *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago, IL: 1991) 79.

42 Hanlon, "Tortoiseshell" 195.

43 The man who according to Pliny invented the technique was a certain Carvilius Pollio, 'a man of lavish talent and skill in producing the utensils of luxury'. Pliny, *Natural History*, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: 1947) vol. 3, book 9, 191.

speaks of a substance ‘von gegossnem glass oder erd’ (of cast glass or earth).⁴⁴ Knowledge about this material, so it seems, had to be slowly reacquired since the end of the sixteenth century. To spare the Ambras cataloguer’s honour, it is fair to remark that it is a physical characteristic of tortoiseshell plates, ‘welded to any desired thickness, shape, or size’, that when they are heated and softened, they resemble cast materials.⁴⁵

Those who had a chance to observe the manufacturing of tortoise shells in Asia itself had, of course, a more comprehensive knowledge of these processes.⁴⁶ Gaspar Correia mentions a ‘Cambay’ and mother-of-pearl bed given to Vasco da Gama by the sultan of Malindi as early as 1502.⁴⁷ João Barros describes the Gujarat region of the 1530s and its skilled artists who work in ivory, mother-of-pearl, tortoiseshell, and other materials.⁴⁸ Garcia de Orta, writing in 1563, calls their tortoiseshell products ‘very novel things’ (‘cousas muyto frescas’).⁴⁹ Jan Huygen van Linschoten, whose records date from 1583–1588, writes of

al sortes of deskses, Cubbords, Coffers, Boxes, and a thousand such like devises in Leade [inlaid] and wrought with mother of Pearl, which are carried throughout al India, especially to Goa and Cochin, against the time that the Portingals shippes [come] thether to take in their lading.⁵⁰

The French navigator Pyrard de Laval, in 1602, observed that in the Gujarat villages Cambay and Surat objects made from tortoiseshell including ‘muy belos cofres e caixas ornadas de prata’ were manufactured, ‘so clear and polished that there does not exist anything more beautiful because these turtle shells

44 Trnek H., “Objectos exóticos nas Kunstkammer dos Habsburgos respectivos inventários e conteúdos”, in Trnek H. – Vassallo e Silva N. (eds.), *Exotica: Os descobrimentos Portugueses e as câmaras de maravilhas do Renascimento*, exh. cat. Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian (Lisbon: 2002) 39–67, at 49–50.

45 Parsons, “The Hawksbill Turtle and the Tortoise Shell Trade” 46.

46 A good overview of those sources mentioning the fabrication and the early inventories listing objects from tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearl can be found in Jordão Felgueiras, “Uma família de objectos”.

47 Correia G., *Lendas da Índia*, ed. R.J. Felner de Lima (Lisbon: 1858) vol. 1, 287.

48 *Ásia de João de Barros: Dos feitos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente*, 4ª década (Lisbon: 1946) 256.

49 Orta Garcia de, *Colóquios dos simples e drogas he cousas medicinais da India* (Goa, Johannes de Endem: 1563) Colóquio 35, fol. 141v.

50 Huyghen van Linschoten J., *Voyage to the East Indies*, ed. A.C. Burnell – P.A. Tiele (London: 1885) vol. 1, 56.

are polished by nature'.⁵¹ He also mentioned the flourishing inland trade, writing that tortoiseshell was 'sought after by all the Kings, Lords and Rich People of the Indies'.⁵² From Diogo do Couto's (1542–1616) *Soldado Prático*, we learn that the silver mountings were later added to the tortoiseshell caskets in Goa.⁵³

By the time the tortoiseshell caskets arrived in Europe, turtles and sea turtles had existed in European visual and material culture for a long time.⁵⁴ In the world of the emblems, the turtle has a quite ambiguous and contradictory meaning, ranging from positive attributions like domesticity, wisdom, persistence, and invulnerability of virtue to negative characteristics like being obsessed by love and afterwards punished painfully for lust, bearing the burden of sins on its back, and of course inertia.⁵⁵ The ambiguous connotations given to turtles by the erudite elite who spent time discussing emblems differed from the unanimous popularity of the turtles' 'product', the desirable objects made from glossy tortoiseshell in the context of profane and sacred coeval collections.

When tortoiseshell caskets were used to contain relics, one connotation that might have been also involved in the perception of the material is the knowledge (or inkling) of the extreme pain of the turtles that sometimes were deprived of their scutes when they were still alive, suspended over a bed of hot embers.⁵⁶ Subliminally, this might have been perceived as a parallel to the martyrdoms of some of the human beings whose mortal remains were to be

51 Jordão Felgueiras J., "Cofre-relicário Surate" in Trnek – Vassallo e Silva, *Exotica* 134–135, no. 35.

52 *The Voyage of François Pyrard to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil*, ed. A. Gray, vol. 1 (London: 1887) 348.

53 Couto D. de, *O soldado práctico*, ed. M. Rodrigues Lapa (Lisbon: 1980) 82.

54 'It was one of the earliest trade items to reach the markets of ancient China and the Mediterranean from the Indian Ocean and the Eastern Archipelago'. Parsons, "The Hawksbill Turtle and the Tortoise Shell Trade" 45, 50: 'It is one of the most frequently mentioned commodities in the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, a guide to the Eastern trade written sometime between 40 AD and 70 AD'. In modern times, the first picture of an identifiable loggerhead turtle appeared in the fourth volume of Conrad Gessner's *Historia animalium* of 1558. Gessner also mentions and describes two exemplars of Mediterranean loggerheads that had been found on the beaches of 'mare nostro' in recent times. See *Conradi Gesneri medici Tigurium Historiae Animalium Liber*, vol. 4: Qui est de piscium et aquatiliū animantium natura (Zurich, Christoph Froschauer: 1558) 1131–1143, at 1133–1134. For pre-Linnaean turtle literature see the useful bibliography compiled by G.J. Rhodin Andres on the homepage of the Chelonian Research Foundation: www.chelonian.org/pre-linnaean (accessed: 03.01.2017).

55 Henkel A. – Schöne A. (eds.), *Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: 1967) 607–615.

56 Parsons, "The Hawksbill Turtle and the Tortoise Shell Trade" 48.

kept in these boxes. A precondition for this idea is, of course, some knowledge of the material on the side of the beholder which, as we have seen, cannot always be taken for granted.

Reliquaries Made in the East for Relics Arriving from the West

Only rarely were European relics sent on their journey to Asia already encased within precious reliquaries. Ines G. Županov in her chapter in this volume discusses a controversy that occurred in 1575, in which the fact that much money was spent in Europe for rich adornments of some relics to be exported to Asia was sharply criticised by the Jesuit missionary Alessandro Valignano. It would have been, writes Valignano, much cheaper to have suitable reliquaries manufactured on the spot in Asia.⁵⁷

When European Christian relics were transported to the East, they were very likely encased within interim receptacles, probably robust shipping boxes.⁵⁸ Even though these were probably not their permanent repositories, it has been noted that simple wooden travel boxes from Iberia used for transport of all kinds of goods have found their repercussions in the forms of the materially more sophisticated caskets produced in Asia for liturgical equipment and also for relics.⁵⁹ This has even been presumed for one of the most elaborate Christian reliquaries made in Goa for inland use: the precious silver casket for the surplice of St. Francis Xavier has also assumed the travel-box shape [Fig. 12.5] as have other caskets belonging to this group and kept in the Jesuit church of Bom Jesus in Goa.⁶⁰

The formal impact the mundane travel boxes are believed to have exerted on the development of box shapes throughout the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* (and beyond) is remarkable: Ceylonese ivory caskets adopted this shape,⁶¹ and so did Japanese lacquer boxes with mother-of-pearl inlays made for export to

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- 57 Županov I.G., "Managing Sacred Relics in Jesuit Asia (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries)", in this volume, quotes from the letter of Alessandro Valignano to Mercurian, Goa, 20 Nov. 1577, in Wicki J., S.J. – Gomes J., S.J. (eds.), *Documenta Indica* (Rome: 1981) 10, 1028.
 - 58 Loureiro R.M., "Chinese Commodities on the India Route in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries", in Jordan Gschwend – Lowe, *The Global City* 77–87, at 81.
 - 59 Jordão Felgueiras, "Uma família de objectos".
 - 60 Vassallo e Silva N., *A ourivesaria entre Portugal e a Índia: Século XVI ao século XVIII* (Lisbon: 2008) 188–191.
 - 61 Jordan Gschwend A., "Die Königreiche Portugal und Kotte: Diplomatie und Handel", in Jordan Gschwend A. – Beltz J. (eds.), *Elfenbeine aus Ceylon: Luxusgüter für Katharina von Habsburg (1507–1587)*, exh. cat. Museum Rietberg (Zurich: 2010) 33–45, at 38.



FIGURE 12.5 Anon. (artist), *Reliquary for the surplice of Saint Francis Xavier* (late seventeenth century). Silver relief on wooden structure, 15.5 × 22.5 × 12.5 cm. Old Goa, Basilica of Bom Jesus.

IMAGE © BASILICA OF BOM JESUS, OLD GOA.

Europe like those discussed above. While boxes produced in Japan before the arrival of the Portuguese and also those that were concurrently made for inland commerce always had flat lids,⁶² the form of the vaulted lid, as it is explained, derived from the Iberian travel boxes, where it was applied to prevent the rain

62 Morna, “Cofre-relicário”. Japanese called this form *Kamabocogata*, which means ‘casket in the form of a filled fish’. The term ‘coffer’ for boxes of this shape is much later, not even the Dutch used it in their *facturen*. See Impey O. – Jörg C., *Japanese Export Lacquer 1580–1850* (Amsterdam: 2005) 147–148. According to these authors, later Japanese boxes with half-cylindrical lids copy Dutch wedding chests.

from forming puddles on the surface: barrel-shaped lids ensured that rain simply dripped off the caskets and did not permeate the wooden containers. An everyday object whose form derived from its practical and unspectacular use during the crossing of the oceans and thus from the profane culture of seafaring was, according to this theory, adopted and quoted in highly precious luxury caskets that were produced in different parts of Portuguese Asia for sophisticated requirements and uses both in Christian contexts overseas and in Iberia.

Glancing back to Europe and its centuries-old reliquary history, we find that examples of this specific form—"Truhenreliquiare mit tonnenartig gewölbtem Deckel"—are, in fact, quite rare: if they are found at all, they date from post-medieval times.⁶³ This specific form, thus, did not have a genuine history within the European cult of relics during the previous centuries.

More common were caskets with lids in the form of cut-off pyramids that constituted the main group of coffer-shaped reliquaries in Europe since the tenth century.⁶⁴ This form, also assumed by parts of the Japanese lacquer boxes and Ceylonese ivory caskets mentioned above, is believed to be of Islamic origin,⁶⁵ but it also has a European tradition, admittedly one that can mostly be explained by Islamic influences: we find this specific form especially in Byzantine reliquaries from the late tenth to the twelfth centuries and also in Siculo-Arabic ivory reliquaries from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Nevertheless, there had, previously, been coffer-shaped reliquaries with lids in the form of cut-off pyramids that can not be traced back to Byzantine or Siculo-Arabic models.⁶⁶

It is relatively difficult to decide whether artists who manufactured barrel-shaped boxes in the disparate places of Asia in the sixteenth or seventeenth century referred to the silhouettes of Iberian travel coffers.⁶⁷ Neither can we say with certainty whether those truncated-pyramid lids made in Asian production centres must be seen as more related to similar forms from the Islamic world or as connected to a broader tradition or tendency within the customer

63 Braun, *Die Reliquiare des christlichen Kultes* 194–195. They seem to have come 'in fashion' in Italy during the fifteenth century.

64 Ibidem 186. As the oldest extant examples (tenth century) of this form stem from Castile, an Islamic context is, however, even here probable.

65 Jordão Felgueiras J., "Cofre-relicário", in Trnek, *Exotica* III, no. 18: 'A sua forma paralelepédica com tampa troncopiramidal tem origem islâmica, sendo de uso corrente anterior à chegada dos portugueses ao Oriente'.

66 Braun, *Die Reliquiare des christlichen Kultes* 193.

67 We may, however, note that many of the byzantine and siculo-arabic coffer-shaped reliquaries had been produced for profane use—and only later assumed their role as receptacles for Christian relics. See ibidem 193–194.

elites in Europe. It is probably safe to assume that these objects, like so many other globally circulating luxury objects of the epoch, tend to be 'hybrid' creations brought about by a process of melting iconographies, stylistic details, and formal languages from different (likewise heterogeneous) cultures, a process that yielded at times even accidental convergences.

St. Geracina's Faceless Head Reliquary

In written sources, receptacles for relics used in Portuguese Asia are called 'cassectas' or 'caxinhas', which suggests their being shaped like bigger or smaller boxes.⁶⁸ But we also know of reliquaries in other forms. In 1549, the head of Ursula's companion St. Geracina, Queen of Sicily, arrived in Goa.⁶⁹ Especially for this occasion, a confraternity of Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins was installed at the College of S. Paulo Velho, and one of the existing side altars in that church was re-consecrated to the Virgins' cult and adorned with a rich oil retable. In 1552, Viceroy D. Afonso de Noronha, as the first member of the newly founded confraternity, ordered an engraved silver monstrance to preserve Geracina's head 'in a decent manner and distinguish it from the other relics'.⁷⁰ He 'gave silver for a custody wherein to encase [the relic]'.⁷¹ The range of forms that could be meant by 'custódia' is considerably broad. For example, the 'custódia relicário' from the Museu de São Roque in Lisbon that was made in Macao takes on a mixed form between ostensory and reliquary. Ten oval glass receptacles that once contained small relics are arranged as if they would circle around the host.⁷² Luckily, Geracina's reliquary is known from at least one photograph dating back to 1934 [Fig. 12.6].⁷³ It shows only one side of the

68 Wicki J. (ed.), *Documenta Indica*, vol. 3 (1553–1557) (Rome: 1954) 309–310.

69 Ibidem vol. 1 (1540–1549) (Rome: 1948) 301–303.

70 Vassallo e Silva, *A ourivesaria entre Portugal e a Índia* 188; Brockey L.M., *The Visitor: André Palmeiro and the Jesuits in Asia* (Cambridge, MA: 2014) 605, refers to the letter of Luis Fróis, S.J. to his companions in Coimbra, Goa, of 1 December 1552, in Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. 2 (Rome: 1950) 475: '[...] ordenar alguma cousa com que foce mui veneranda'.

71 'O Viso-Rey [...] deu prata pera huma costodia em que a encastoasem'. Fr. Ludovicus Frois S.I. Sociis conimbricensibus, Goa, 1 December 1552, in Wicki, *Documenta Indica* vol. 2, 476.

72 Pereira F.A.P. – Coutinho M.I.P. – Leite A.C., *A Arte e o Mar*, exh. cat. Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian (Lisbon: 1998) 139, no. 114.

73 Bragança Pereira A.B., "História religiosa de Goa (1542–1557)", *Oriente Português* 10 (1934–1935) 501. The reliquary had been kept in the Sé Cathedral in Goa until its disappearance after 1942. Telles R.M., "Sé primacial e patriarcal de Goa", *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* 55 (1942) 92–128, at 106–107.



FIGURE 12.6 *Anon. (silversmith), Reliquary containing the head relic of St. Geracina (1552). Silver. Current whereabouts unknown, kept in the Sé Cathedral of Goa until at least 1942.*

object which is made from silver and (probably completely) ornate with images. The object's form is that of a cylinder with a hemispherical upper closure and a narrow base, resembling in its overall shape a stout mushroom. While the roundly vaulted upper part makes associations to the form of a cranial calotte, the reliquary does not present the viewer with a face. Instead, the visualisation of Geracina's legend extends across the whole cylinder. On the photograph we can see five women in identical girdled dresses and ruff, standing in front of what seems to be a drawn curtain. One might suggest that at the front, in the middle of the group, there appears either the protagonist Ursula or the donator of the relic stored in this reliquary, Geracina, in the midst of her children, and other women. It is remarkable that reference to the whole group of martyrs, the 'corporate body' that the Virgins form in the minds of the beholders,⁷⁴ is present even in Goa, far away from the cult's centre in Cologne. In Cologne and other German and European places, this 'distinct group appearance' had been achieved by providing the large numbers of existing reliquary busts with strong physiognomic similarities. Here, in Goa, where Geracina's head is the only one and her reliquary cannot be flanked by other similar ones to visualise her being part of 'a band of sisters', the collective body has, nevertheless, been represented, and in a singular way: by replacing the face—which without exception all European reliquary busts of Ursula's companions show—by the depiction of a group of standing women.

The other half of the lateral view that the photo offers is occupied by a ship sailing with billowed sails across the ocean, whose waves are minutely chiselled into the precious material as well as the roundish rocks of different sizes in the foreground. The base bears a palmetto frieze decoration, and on the upper closure of the object we can discern cherubim and clouds. As separating lines between the cylinder and the base and cover, silver pearl bands run around the object. These borders can also be seen running around the small opening on the front. Obviously, at one time the privileged faithful could open the round lid to see and possibly also touch a part of the cranium relic while beholding the chiselled figure of the saint and her companions at the front side of the reliquary. Geracina's head reliquary in Goa definitely functions differently than its European predecessors, which all have reliquary openings in the middle of their chests.

74 Montgomery S.B., *St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins of Cologne: Relics, Reliquaries and the Visual Culture of Group Sanctity in Late Medieval Europe* (Bern: 2010) 64–70.

The vaulted upper part recalls the shape of a head and the small base perhaps that of a neck. Such a 'hinted head reliquary' is not known from Europe. Faces were always there, no matter if it was a head or a bust reliquary.⁷⁵ The specific nature of the Goan example is even more evident when you compare it to the many head reliquaries for Ursula's companions that were made in Cologne and elsewhere in Europe. The quite uniform group of wooden busts with sweet, smiling faces made in Cologne, as well as the other reliquary busts displayed as single pieces in other towns, lend the naked bones within them a surrogate visage and enable a face-to-face exchange between the saint and the beholder in front of the reliquary.

As Geracina's head reliquary is, to my knowledge, the only at least photographically testified silver reliquary for a saint's head made in Christian Asia, it is difficult to jump to conclusions from its idiosyncrasies. One is tempted, however, to ascribe its facelessness to a predilection for didactic narration over the presentist power of an image's gaze.

The former existence of a group of three head reliquaries from Macao, also made from gilded metal, is known only through a textual source: the Jesuit visitor to Asia André Palmeiro took part in a procession in honour of St. Francis Xavier that moved through the streets of Macao on 3 December 1629. To promote peace between the discordant parties of the Macanese society, Palmeiro not only offered a precious arm relic of Francis Xavier to the governor of the bishopric of Macao, he also invited the former's opponent, the bishop of Japan, to carry 'one of the gilt reliquary busts containing the heads of the three beatified Jesuit martyrs of Japan while he and a veteran missionary [...] carried the other two'.⁷⁶ Here we find evidence of the existence of gilt reliquary busts, 'meios corpos dourados' (gilt half-bodies), for the three Jesuits that suffered martyrdom together with six Franciscans and seventeen Japanese Christians in Nagasaki in 1597, and who had been beatified only in 1627. It is very likely that these reliquaries were crafted in Goa, the main centre for the manufacture of goldsmithery in the *Estado da Índia*, and then shipped to Macao. Whether these reliquaries showed faces like Western bust reliquaries or resembled Geracina's faceless 1552 reliquary can no longer be established.

75 See Braun, *Die Reliquiare des christlichen Kultes* 475–508.

76 Brockey, *The Visitor* 278–279. In the source, a letter by André Palmeiro to Muzio Vitelleschi, written in Macao in December 1629 (Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu Jap-Sin 161-II, fol. 116v), the exact formulation is 'levamos as tres cabecas dos santos martyres de Japam mettidas emhús meios corpos dourados'.



FIGURE 12.7 *Anon. (artist), Reliquary bust of St. Margaret of Antioch (sixteenth or early seventeenth century). Polychrome and gilded wood, 73 × 34 cm. Old Goa, The Museum of Christian Art (Convent of Santa Monica) (inv. no. 01.1.1a).*
IMAGE © THE MUSEUM OF CHRISTIAN ART (CONVENT OF SANTA MONICA), OLD GOA.

If we want to look at other reliquary busts made in Asia and for local cult purposes, we have to make do with the extant—but later—wooden examples like that of St. Aloysius or the one of St. Margaret [Fig. 12.7].⁷⁷

St. Margaret's Contrasting Domiciles in Madrid and Rachol

As Margaret of Antioch, along with Thomas and Francis Xavier, was one of the patron saints of Asia, pieces of her body can be found in India. One reliquary bust is kept today in the Museum of Christian Art in Goa and was originally housed in the Jesuit seminary in Rachol. The existence of this bust gives us the rare opportunity to compare two reliquaries of the same saint that were both made in India, one, as mentioned above, for export to Europe, and the other to be kept in India [Figs. 12.4, 12.7].

The three-quarter reliquary bust from the Museum of Christian Art in Goa was obviously fashioned after a European—perhaps Portuguese or Iberian—model. Apart from its headgear and other details that reveal the Indian origin of its artist, the overall composition of the object reminds us of the reliquary bust that Nicolaus Gerhaert van Leyden made for the same saint around 1465.⁷⁸ However, one also finds more contemporaneous comparable examples like a reliquary bust from Spain for the relics of Santa Emerenciana [Fig. 12.8]. This sculpture dates from 1615 and was made by Claudio Yenequi, a goldsmith from Saragossa who himself took older Spanish reliquary busts as his models.⁷⁹ Thus, if we are looking for models for the Indian bust of St. Margaret, they might have been quite recent Iberian artefacts like Yenequi's: both busts arise from octagonal bases, both show the saint in three-quarter section with oval relic openings in the middle of the chest; the garment, in both busts, is belted tightly under the breast, and the treatment of the cloth and its folds are similar: both women wear medallions and a crown in their curled and upswept hair, and both have relatively large hands. The one significant difference is that St. Emerenciana's eyes are wide open while St. Margaret's are cast down and nearly closed. This is

77 Mayias Fernanda M. – Mendes Pinto M.H., *Museum of Christian Art: Convent of Santa Monica, Goa* (Lisbon: 2011) 74–78.

78 Van Leyden's bust of St. Margaret is made from walnut wood and bears traces of its former polychromy. It is kept at the Art Institute Chicago (Kate S. Buckingham Endowment, inv. no. 1943.1001). <http://www.artic.edu/aic/collections/artwork/48715> with literature (accessed: 01.01.2017).

79 http://www.enciclopedia-aragonesa.com/voz.asp?voz_id=13106 (accessed: 01.01.2017).



FIGURE 12.8 *Claudio Yenequi, Reliquary bust of Santa Emerenciana (1616). Silver, gilded silver, and precious stones, 69 × 60 cm. Teruel, Cathedral of St. Mary of Teruel.*
IMAGE © CATHEDRAL OF ST. MARY OF TERUEL.

explained, on the one hand, by the ‘narration’ of the bust: Margaret looks down at the dragon that lies in front of her and that she, according to the legend, defeated by making the sign of the cross (in our bust, with the left index finger). On the other hand, one could argue that the question of open or closed eyes in religious artworks was a hot topic in Rachol, where the majority of the population consisted of men and women who had until recently venerated Hindu gods and interacted with sacred images in a way that the Christian authorities strictly rejected. *Darśan*, the exchange of glances with the deity’s image was central within Hindu image practice, which makes it probable that closed eyes in Christian images made in India were meant to prevent these images from being animated in an inappropriate way.⁸⁰ While Geracina’s faceless head reliquary of 1552 [Fig. 12.6] seems to be an expression of an extreme struggle with this topic, the much later wooden reliquary bust of St. Margaret seems to have been made within an artistic and cultic context that was more at ease with the gaze of the image and possibly knew how to ‘domesticise’ it, namely not by depriving the saint of her own face but by showing her with downcast eyes.⁸¹ St. Margaret’s reliquary bust once formed part of a large niched reliquary taking up an entire wall of the sacristy in the Rachol Seminary Church [Fig. 12.9].⁸² Today this collection—in a way the Rachol version of the Escorial cupboard—comprises only anthropomorphic objects: arms, full figures, half figures, and three-quarter figures: there are no ‘abstract’ reliquaries speaking to the beholder solely by displaying material iconography, no caskets, coffers, or boxes. However, we must be aware that this existing collection does most probably not represent the original setting but only what has remained after centuries of destruction culminating in the military actions of 1961 that ended Portuguese rule in its Indian enclaves. Beyond that, the drain of ‘Indo-Portuguese’ artworks into European antiquities markets had been considerable long before this date.

80 Eck D.L., *Darśan: Seeing the Divine Image in India* (Chambersburg, PA: 1985); Saviello A., “Transzendenz in transkultureller Perspektive. Die indo-portugiesischen Elfenbeinfiguren des Guten Hirten, Teil 11”, *Indo-Asiatische Zeitschrift* 17 (2013) 57–70, at 62.

81 The ‘taming’ of the saint’s gaze in his or her reliquary had been practised for centuries. See e.g. Reudenbach B., “Körperteil-Reliquiare: Die Wirklichkeit der Reliquie, der Verismus der Anatomie und die Transzendenz des Heiligenleibes”, in Bleumer H. et al. (eds.), *Zwischen Wort und Bild: Wahrnehmungen und Deutungen im Mittelalter* (Vienna: 2010) 11–31, at 30. For solutions to this problem in fifteenth-century saints’ busts and portraits see Krass U., *Nah zum Leichnam: Bilder neuer Heiliger im Quattrocento* (Munich – Berlin: 2012) 167–181.

82 Mendes Pinto M.H., “Bustos-relicário”, in Mayias Fernanda – Mendes Pinto, *Museum of Christian Art, Convent of Santa Monica, Goa 74*.



FIGURE 12.9 *Photography of a reliquary niche in the Patriarchal Seminary of Rachol, Goa.*
IMAGE © DINODIA PHOTOS/ALAMY STOCK PHOTOS.

Always bearing this in mind, a comparison between St. Margaret's two reliquaries suggests that while the nuns from the Descalzas Reales monastery in Madrid preferred and welcomed the specific characteristics of the materiality of mother-of-pearl for the new encasement of their St. Margaret relics, in Rachol the choice fell on an anthropomorphically shaped reliquary like those that had been in use for centuries in Europe, having (had) their heyday in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.⁸³

Even though it is difficult to speak of tendencies when the objects are so few and the selection of written sources is so narrow, we could try to phrase an observation: the mother-of-pearl casket ended up as a reliquary for St. Margaret's

83 Braun, *Die Reliquiare des christlichen Kultes* 421. Bust reliquaries showing the saint's upper body and waist only appeared in the second half of the fifteenth century. In Portugal, reliquary busts played a major role in the renewal of the Cistercian convent of Alcobaça as late as 1669–1672. Eighty-two reliquary busts belonged to the retable system that formed a 'densely populated wall' and has been interpreted as a 'humanization of transcendence' as called for by the Tridentine resolutions. See Vilhena de Carvalho M.J., "O relicário de Alcobaça", in Castro Henriques A. de (ed.), *Josefa de Óbidos e a invenção do Barroco Português*, exh. cat. Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga (Lisbon: 2015) 123–127.

remains in the convent in Madrid. The fact that mother-of-pearl had been related to the saint's name, and that it was a material that had long been charged with Christological and Marian meaning and was now available in more robust qualities and also in greater quantities than before, were probably the reasons for this decision. Besides these connotations, mother-of-pearl implied exotic materiality, and the non-European craftsmanship the casket exhibited served perfectly for the visualisation of the detached sphere of heavenly Jerusalem, where the eternal intercessors were imagined to be. The casket can thus be read as a follower and a close relative of those reliquaries that produced and displayed the strangeness, foreignness, and unfamiliarity of the inhabitants of heavenly Jerusalem by embedding antique gems, antique masks, or Persian silk fragments into their structures. Unfamiliar materials had always been employed to create anti-mimetic, anti-naturalistic, and distancing effects in Christian saints' reliquaries.⁸⁴ Golden shimmering surfaces, gemstones, and antique *spolia* are the forerunners of tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearl. What had to be shown through the reliquaries was the 'dual citizenship' of the saint, his or her double presence on earth and in heaven: although the saint's body parts were stored inside the receptacle in front of the faithful beholders, the relics achieved their *virtus*, their miraculous efficacy, only because the saint herself was no longer 'of this world', but had instead become an otherworldly creature after her soul had been moved up to the heavens and assumed a celestial body that could no longer be described and grasped with human terms.⁸⁵

Even more clearly than mother-of-pearl, tortoiseshell must have been perceived, in Europe in the sixteenth century, as alien, 'exotic', and unfamiliar. The hitherto unknown aesthetic quality and the visual effects of this animal material could be perfectly used to show the otherworldly qualities of the saints and their detached heavenly dwellings.

Tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearl coffer-shaped reliquaries were even used to encase holy heads in them.⁸⁶ Anthropomorphic reliquary busts like that of St. Margaret from Rachol are more approachable than these 'abstract' and mute caskets and seem to be an expression of a fundamentally different, if not

84 Fricke B., *Ecce Fides: Die Statue von Conques, Götzendienst und Bildkultur im Westen* (Munich: 2007) 143.

85 Reudenbach, "Reliquiare als Heiligkeitsbeweis und Echtheitszeugnis" 17–21; Krass, *Nah zum Leichnam* 41–44.

86 Namely, those of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, see above. For evidence of saints' heads placed in Namban lacquer boxes around 1600 see Impey O., "Namban: Laca japonesa de exportação para Portugal", in *O mundo da Laca: 2000 anos de História*, exh. cat. Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian (Lisbon: 2001) 105–114, at 110.

outright old-fashioned concept of sainthood and relic cult. However, it may be possible that the conception and perception of the Rachol bust reliquary did not differ as much from that of the reliquary casket in Madrid. In fact, the reliquary bust might have been produced with similar ideas in mind. It was only that, in this part of the world, mother-of-pearl caskets did not necessarily represent alterity and were not the appropriate choice for the visualisation of detached, sacred, unattainably distant spheres. The reference to European, or perhaps rather Iberian, reliquary forms was probably made intentionally to visually join and continue occidental traditions and because in Goa, anthropomorphic reliquaries were precisely perceived as something different, unfamiliar, and ‘not of this world’.

While caskets made from tortoiseshell or mother-of-pearl were held in high esteem by early modern royal and ecclesiastical relic collectors in Spain and Portugal and elsewhere in Europe, it seems that in the newly Christianised territories, taste—and missionary practice—required receptacles that looked more ‘European’—or perhaps Portuguese/Iberian. Serge Gruzinski has observed that ‘westernized’ art in the contact zones ‘ended up being in a sense “purer” or more Eurocentered than its European source or reference.’⁸⁷ But, as I said, I would suggest not to interpret this ‘Europeanness’ as simple imitation of styles and iconographies from the ‘centre’ or Christendom. While the concurrent Iberian use of simple chests or coffers as reliquaries that—if at all—convey information about their contents only through their material iconography might provide evidence of a new and sophisticated taste, at least at the Iberian courts and convents, it can be argued that in India, the general aim was the same: to visualise the distance and otherworldliness of the venerated beings. Even if preciously worked tortoiseshell or mother-of-pearl caskets might not have been used to house relics *in* India, this does not necessarily mean that the most precious and most artfully crafted objects were not regarded as appropriate for use in Indian churches or convents. Wooden reliquaries like that of St. Margaret might have been produced with the same idea that undergirded the use of Asian caskets as reliquaries in the West: to show the ‘otherness’ of the represented saint. How could one better demonstrate that a saint was not

87 Gruzinski S., “Art History and Iberian Worldwide Diffusion: Westernization/Globalization/Americanization”, in Dossin C. – Kaufmann T.D. – Joyeux Prunel B. (eds.), *Circulations in the Global History of Art* (Farnham, Surrey: 2015) 47–58, at 54: ‘[...] as if the European image, its possession and contemplation, served to reassert the position of the ruling milieus, and the abyss dividing them from the Indian masses. And hence to act as a barrier against mixtures that would have ended up dissolving the European contribution in a dangerous lack of differentiation’.

from the world of the beholder than by giving her the 'unfamiliar' form of a reliquary bust? The idea of 'otherworldliness' found disparate expressions in different cultural contexts.

The Reliquary in the Age of Globalisation: Conclusions

If we imagine a satellite view of all the new moves that Christian relics made from the sixteenth century on, we would see many lines running from Europe, especially from Cologne, where the countless relics of Ursula and her 11,000 companions were kept, to the centres of the establishing Iberian overseas territories. The lines leading to the Portuguese trading and missionary centres in the *Estado da Índia* would be very strong. We would discern considerably thinner lines leading from Mylapore, where Thomas's relics had been discovered, to Western spots, and some lines of medium thickness connecting the repositories of the new Christian martyrs' relics in India, China, and Japan; other thin lines would additionally lead from these places to European churches and cities, to Il Gesù in Rome, for example, where Francis Xavier's arm relic landed. The satellite view would disclose the global dimensions that Christian relic traffic had acquired since the beginning of the sixteenth century. Zooming in on one of the ships that brought relics in one or the other direction, one would perhaps remark that captain and crew were glad to have this cargo on board, as they felt safer when their ship assumed the role of a floating reliquary.

The very notion of movement has been inscribed into some of the reliquaries we have analysed: the undulating lids of Philip II's tortoiseshell caskets echo the ocean, and large quantities of luxury containers manufactured in Asia imitate, as we have heard, the form of Iberian overseas travel boxes. This is one aspect that has to be taken into account when dealing with the material culture brought forth by global relic traffic: the reality of the journey becomes intrinsic in the materiality and aesthetics of the receptacles.

Reliquaries had always incorporated alien, exotic, 'otherworldly' materials to emphasise the immeasurable value of its contents. It was by virtue of the general openness of the medium that overseas mother-of-pearl products and the novel material of tortoiseshell could be integrated into this system without problems. Especially tortoiseshell, whose extraction and processing were still largely unknown in Europe in the sixteenth century, might have been conceived as carrying connotations of a mysterious, miraculous substance, so alien and beyond comprehension that it perfectly matched the concept and perception of sainthood.

As to those reliquaries that were used in Christian churches in the *Estado da Índia*, it is important to know that exporting appropriate permanent containers for these relics from Europe to the overseas territories was perceived as being much too expensive and even foolish considering the cost-effective solution that existed on the spot: no less a figure than Alessandro Valignano is our authority for this attitude. The existence of highly specialised workshops of goldsmiths in India is the main reason for the absence of European-made reliquaries in Christian churches in Portuguese Asia.

As a result, the early examples of reliquaries made in the *Estado da Índia* are expressions of highly experimental approaches on the part of the local artists. The task of fabricating receptacles worthy of storing venerated Christian relics resulted in a multitude of solutions of which, unfortunately, we are left with probably only a very small portion of remnants. We must be grateful that at least one photo of St. Geracina's faceless 'hinted head reliquary' has survived, as this reliquary is possibly one of the earliest examples of an idiosyncratic solution that can only be understood against the background of the intersection of Hindu and Christian image practices. A totally different form, such as the coffer for St. Francis Xavier's surplice, can be interpreted as still another attempt to solve the task, this time by copying those containers that emerged in great quantities from the European vessels and whose form, at their places of origin, had not been associated with relic cult. Further exploration of this field will surely bring forward other exceptional objects offering each of them different solutions to the difficult task of producing a visual media without local precursors and within diverse societal and cultural microcosms.

Differences in form or material of reliquaries, though, do not necessarily coincide with differences of the underlying concepts. In fact, the comparison between St. Margaret's two reliquaries has yielded illuminating insights into this phenomenon, attesting that probably the same concepts of sainthood resulted in very different visualisations on both sides of the oceans. While in Madrid, the exotic shimmer of mother-of-pearl decoratively inlaid in black mastic and the foreignness of style and craftsmanship made a Gujarati casket the perfect repository for St. Margaret's relics, in Rachol it was the alterity of an anthropomorphic wooden reliquary bust of Iberian or 'European' character that could best express the detached and otherworldly status of the saint.

As we have no knowledge of an example of a tortoiseshell or mother-of-pearl casket used as a reliquary in Asia, we may assume (carefully, of course, and always considering the potential loss of many objects that once existed there and the scarcity of written sources) that these boxes did not play a role within Christian relic cult in the *Estado da Índia*. A bidirectional trade can thus be traced: relics, mostly without a permanent container, travelled to the East

and reliquaries-to-be travelled empty to the West to be filled with relics only there. And the most exiting and unpredictable experiments can be observed when naked bones arriving from the West received new receptacles in the East. Those reliquaries are the results not only of careful heuristic processes but also of successful processes of negotiation between all persons and groups involved.

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Vassallo e Silva N., *A Herança de Rauluchantim*, ex. cat. Museu de São Roque (Lisbon: 1996).

Wicki J. (ed.), *Documenta Indica*, vols. 2 and 3 (Rome: 1950 and 1954).

Zarco Cuevas J., *Inventario de las alhogas, pinturas e objectos de valor y curiosidades donadas por Felipe II al Monasterio de El Escorial (1571–1598)* (Alicante: 1999).

Županov I.G., “The Prophetic and the Miraculous in Portuguese Asia: A Hagiographic View of Colonial Culture”, in Subrahmanyam S. (ed.), *Sinners and Saints: The Successors of Vasco da Gama* (New Delhi: 1998) 135–161.

Županov I.G., *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India (16th–17th Centuries)* (Ann Arbor, MI: 2005).

Virgin Skulls: The Travels of St. Ursula's Companions in the New World

Rose Marie San Juan

Few European religious objects crisscrossed the world with as much confidence as the relics of the virgin companions of St. Ursula. Even before any of these relics had been taken to the 'New World' in the late sixteenth century, the virgins had already infiltrated territories previously unknown to Europeans. Christopher Columbus was only the first to name a grouping of unknown coastal islands after the eleven thousand virgins that according to legend accompanied St. Ursula on a pilgrimage to Rome and were killed on their return to Cologne. In the 'New World' they traversed even greater distances, passing one coastline after another, and giving their imprecise name, in some cases only briefly, to the Virgin Islands in Antilles, the southern point of the continent later to be known as Cabo de Hornos, and the northern coastal islands eventually renamed Saint-Pierre and Michelon.¹ For Columbus it may have been the large number of islands and their proximity to each other that suggested the name, while for Ferdinand Magellen it was probably the recognition of the danger of the coastline at the southern tip of the unknown continent, but all shared one idea, the uncertainty of number, kind, and identity, in effect the idea of being not just unknown but unknowable.² The companions of St. Ursula were well known for being unknown, for being impossible to count and impossible to tell apart.³ It is all the more intriguing that when the Jesuit missionaries started to circulate relics across the world, they actively promoted the relics of the virgins, and when directing these to the missions in Brazil, they delimited the choice from a wide range of available bone relics to the skull

1 Columbus named the Virgin Islands in 1493 on his second voyage; in 1520 Magellan named Cape Horn 'Cabo de las 11,000 Virgines', and Joao Alvares Fagundes named the group of islands off the south coast of Newfoundland 'Las Onze mil Virgines'. See Johnson D., *Phantom Islands of the Atlantic* (New York, NY: 1994) 199, n. 2; Montgomery S.B., *St Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins of Cologne: Relics, Reliquaries and the Visual Culture of Group Sanctity in Late Medieval Europe* (Bern: 2010) 40–41.

2 Montgomery, *St Ursula* 99–115.

3 Ibidem 117–136.

relic. In this essay, I propose to consider how the reconstitution of the relics of St. Ursula's companions in the 'New World' altered the possibilities of what relics could produce. In particular I will consider attempts by missionaries to deploy skull relics to communicate with indigenous people in Brazil, especially those that maintained rituals focused on human bone. Instead of the imposition of one form of ritual on the other or the resistance of one people to the other, I will explore the extent to which each adapted to the other and assimilated something new to their established practices. Written accounts of these rituals are scant but I hope to make a case for what the relics themselves have to say, mindful that this is a voice forged within distant and disorienting travel, gaps in cultural exchanges, and the silence and indecipherability of bone.

A remarkable journey with remarkable effects was long ensconced within the legend of Ursula and her companions.⁴ According to Jacopo Voragine, whose early thirteenth century account is fully developed from separate earlier sources, Ursula, the daughter of the King of Britannia, demanded three-years of travel in order to be free of earthly concerns before she agreed to marry a neighbouring prince.⁵ The princess requested eleven ships in which to carry herself and her designated female companions, 11,000 in total, all of whom she consecrated to celibacy within the first day of the three years. With time to spare, she concentrated on the journey and 'thanks to a favourable wind, they reached a port in Gaul called Tiel and from there travelled to Cologne' where an angel appeared to Ursula in her sleep.⁶ The angel instructed her to undertake a pilgrimage to Rome, giving directions to the city of Basel where Ursula was to leave the ships and continue by land. More people joined the virgins during their journey, to the point that members of the Roman militia, seeing the great accumulation of followers, feared the spread of Christianity. They arranged for soldiers to meet the travellers in Cologne and attack them like 'wolves that pounce on sheep'.⁷

When the legend appeared in late fifteenth century narrative painting, the long journey by ship and the proliferation of people that joined the pilgrimage came to the foreground. The well-known 1456 fifteen-panel narrative produced in Cologne for the church of St. Ursula represents the navigation of the Rhine

4 On the legend and cult of St. Ursula and her companions, see Montgomery, *St Ursula* 11–17; Kauffmann C.M., *The Legend of Saint Ursula* (London: 1964) 9–11; Zehnder F.G., *Sankt Ursula: Legende Verehrung Bilderwelt* (Cologne: 1985) 13–41.

5 Varazze I. da, *Legenda aurea* (Florence: 2007) vol. 2, 1206–1211.

6 Ibidem 1208–1209: 'grazie al vento propizio, giunsero a un porto della Gallia che viene detto Tiel e da li arrivano a Colonia'.

7 Ibidem 1210–1211: 'lupi che inferiscono sulle pecore'; Voragine dates the account to 238.

in ships occupied by young women, countless in number and enthusiastic as seafarers.⁸ It is not surprising that the virgins would become patrons of mariners or that they would, given time, extend their journey to territories beyond Europe.⁹ In the painted cycle, the journey itself produces effects of dislocation, especially by the last panel in which the ships return to Cologne and those on board are massacred [Fig. 13.1]. Cologne, no longer the point of departure or of arrival, becomes the threshold between life and death. This crucial process of transition is itself, like the journey, disorienting. While physiognomic similarity binds the young women together and seems to deny their demise and dispersion, the diverse kinds of brutal attacks suggest otherwise.¹⁰

Yet, the future reconstitution of the dead virgins as an undifferentiated sacred collective is already present in these images. In the fifteenth century St. Albans Chronicle, martyrdom is reduced to one form of execution, namely



FIGURE 13.1 *The Master of 1456, The Arrival in Cologne and The Massacre of St. Ursula and Her Companions (1455/60). Paint on wood, 54.5 × 162 cm (each). Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum (inv. no. WRM 715).*

IMAGE © WALLRAFF-RICHARTZ-MUSEUM, COLOGNE.

8 Montgomery, *St Ursula* 122–124; Kauffman, *The Legend of Saint Ursula* 14.

9 Montgomery, *St Ursula* 40, 55.

10 Ibidem 123; see also 159 for link between violent deaths and the promotion of the relics in Cologne.

decapitation [Fig. 13.2].¹¹ The virgins are beheaded one by one as they compliantly walk down the plank of the ship. The change is sudden and radical, dividing not only life from death but also body from relic. Interestingly it is the severed head that has already been drained of flesh tones and stands upright on the cloth, while the rest of the body is horizontal and retains the colours and gestures of the living. The head, then, is given the task of evoking the crucial transition to the state of relic. In the sixteenth-century Cologne cycle of St. Ursula in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the episode of the virgins' massacre focuses on a severed head that takes on a more liminal role [Fig. 13.3]. A variety of tortures are imposed on the virgins, but the making of the martyr demands



FIGURE 13.2 Anon. (artist), *Manuscript page from the St. Albans Chronicle with The Massacre of St. Ursula and Her Companions* (fifteenth century). Paint on paper, ca. 23 × 15 cm. London, Lambeth Palace Library (MS 6 f. 34r).

IMAGE © LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY, LONDON.

11 St. Albans chronicle, Lambeth Palace Library, ms. 6, fol. 34r.



FIGURE 13.3 *The Master of the St. Ursula Legend, The Martyrdom of St. Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins (ca. 1492). Oil on canvas, 163.3 × 232.4 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. no. 5938-1857).*

IMAGE © VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, LONDON.

death through decapitation.¹² Yet the head on the lower centre of the painting is both dead and alive, still bleeding and looking at the scene of shared death, but also entirely apart from the rest of her body and reclining as if sliding towards death. The head retains a surface resemblance to the other virgins but also suggests a deeper kind of resemblance, to the skull beneath.

As with most Christian narratives death does not stop change, rather it increases it through the making of the relic. The 1106 discovery of a hoard of bones in Cologne's civic walls led to the identification of the burial ground of Ursula and her companions.¹³ Scholars agree that this was probably a Roman graveyard, but the incident catapulted the small devotion of the virgins in the area of Cologne to a large European-wide cult. Scott Montgomery has noted

12 Cohen E., "The Meaning of the Head in High Medieval Culture", in Santing C. – Baert B. – Raninger A. (eds.), *Disembodied Heads in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, Intersections 28 (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2013) 59–76, at 59.

13 Montgomery, *St Ursula* 19–20.

that the cult of the virgins was entirely dependent on the finding of the bones in Cologne, and that textual accounts were produced for the purpose 'of fleshing out bones', rather than the other way around.¹⁴ This initial attempt to animate the human remains was by no means the end of the journey but it established some key directions.

Reports on the relics of the virgins always stress numbers, with many locations vying with each other to increase their holdings numerically.¹⁵ By the end of the sixteenth century at least twenty-five heads were kept in Florentine churches and 276 heads and sixty-one bodies or body parts in collections in Spanish Flanders. The Spanish royal collection of relics included about seventy heads of the virgins and when these were gifted to important visitors it was always in clusters.¹⁶ Various churches in Rome claimed to have a cluster, as if a single relic of the virgins could never be enough. In Santa Prassede, relics associated with Ursula's virgins were conjoined with the church's other relics of martyrs and virgin martyrs. With their name remaining the generic designation for female martyrs, the Cologne relics became incorporated into other groupings of early Christian martyrs and now form an indistinguishable collective.

The accumulative effect of numerous yet anonymous relics was well served by the head reliquaries produced in Cologne from 1300 to 1450.¹⁷ Montgomery argues that the lifelike appearance of these reliquaries, including their sculptural form, illusionistic polychrome wood, and collective modes of display, produced a sense of presence that forged a close relation between worshipper and relic.¹⁸ The well-known example in The Cloisters in New York represents a female figure from the shoulders upwards, with the head and upper body fully elaborated through ornamentation [Fig. 13.4].¹⁹ The relation between relic and reliquary is mimetic; the upper part of the head has a compartment in which the relic—a portion of a small skull—was kept. There are variations within this kind of reliquary but their overall kinship is unmistakable and not simply due to physical resemblance. One of a pair of reliquaries kept in Santa Maria

14 Ibidem 4.

15 Ibidem 26; on the trade of St. Ursula's relics in the Reformation, see Hendrix S.H., *Martin Luther: Visionary Reformer* (New Haven, CT: 2015) 59; Johnson T., *Magistrates, Madonnas and Miracles: The Counter Reformation in the Upper Rhine* (Farnham, Surrey: 2012).

16 Alemparte J.F., *La leyenda de las Once Mil Virgenes, sus reliquias, culto e iconografía* (Murcia: 1991) 169.

17 Montgomery, *St Ursula* 38.

18 Ibidem 59–63.

19 Bagnoli M. et al. (eds.), *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics and Devotion in Medieval Europe* (London: 2010) 195.



FIGURE 13.4 Anon. (artist), *Reliquary bust of a female Saint originating from the Southern Netherlands (1520–1530)*. Painted and gilded oak, 42.4 cm (height). New York City, NY, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters* (inv. no. 59.70)
IMAGE © THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, THE CLOISTERS, NEW YORK CITY, NY.

Novella in Florence has various compartments which house various types of bone relics not only of St. Ursula and two of her companions, but also of two other female virgin saints.²⁰ In this instance, then, the relation between relic and reliquary is not mimetic, both because the reliquary includes different kinds of bone and because it does not ‘flesh-out’ the bones of a single virgin.

20 Montgomery, *St Ursula* 73–74; on the relation between relics and reliquaries, see Bynum C.W. – Gerson P., “Body-Part Reliquaries and Body Parts in the Middle Ages”, *Gesta* 37, 1 (1997) 3–7, at 4.

Instead, the reliquary forges a collective relic, one that could include any number of bones that shared a particular identity, even as general as a female virgin martyr.

The endless supply of bones from Cologne may have raised doubts about authenticity, especially after the Reformation, but the relic is inherently an entity that seeks its own duplication.²¹ Even so, the virgins' relics marked a considerable departure from established ideas of the unique sacred remnant. Christian relics always had to forge a particular identity while remaining separate from the everyday world and becoming integrated into a new location.²² A persistent strategy for this contradictory double move was the journey of the relic, especially an illicit journey. The early Christian dispersion of bodily fragments of saints from the holy land to Europe was frequently conceptualised through a type of literary genre known as 'translatio' or translation, that recounted the circumstances of the theft of the relic and its removal to a new setting;²³ this narrative has been interpreted as a process of translation, not only from one place to another, but also from one state to another. The theft and flight of relics did not bring relics into question, on the contrary they provided the necessary transition that transformed bones into relics.

In this respect, the introduction of relics to the 'New World' brought new challenges, especially because these relics undertook a different kind of journey. Instead of being transported, however illicitly, from a distant place to one that welcomed and celebrated its presence, the relic now was expected to leave in order to undertake evangelical work in a location where it had little ability to speak. Scholars of Spanish and Portuguese America agree that while religious objects were transported to the 'New World' under the assumption that Christianity would fill a religious void, missionaries quickly adjusted as they learned about local cultural and religious practices.²⁴

Leandro Karnal argues that distinctions of materiality became crucial in attempts by missionaries to forge exchanges with indigenous communities in the Americas. He points out that most of the relics taken to Mexico were

21 Hahn C., "What Do Reliquaries Do for Relics?", *Numen* 57 (2010) 284–316, at 295.

22 Freeman C., *Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe* (New Haven, CT: 2011).

23 Geary P.J., *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: 1978; revised edition, 1990).

24 Karnal L., "Les reliques dans la conquête de l'Amérique luso-espagnole", in Boutry P. – Fabre P.A. – Julia D. (eds.), *Reliques modernes: Cultes et usages chrétiens des corps saints des Réformes aux révolutions* (Paris: 2009) vol. 2, 735; also Castelnau-L'Estoile C. de, "Le partage des reliques: Tupinamba et jésuites face aux os d'un missionnaire chaman (Brésil, début du xviii siècle)", in Boutry – Fabre – Julia, *Reliques modernes*, 751–775, at 751–752.

contact relics—a thorn from Christ's crown, a piece of St. Paul's robe—and that these were introduced through the staging of processions already familiar to indigenous communities.²⁵ In Brazil, however, there was no established tradition of procession, and when these were first staged, only the Portuguese attended.²⁶ Moreover, the relics brought from Europe to Brazil were mostly bone relics, including the knee of St. Sebastian, the leg of St. Bras, part of the collar bone of St. Christopher, and at least eight heads of the Eleven Thousand Virgins.²⁷

The Jesuit focus on bone relics pertained particularly to the cluster of missions in Guaraní territory, and included exchanges with the Tupinamba who were already known in Europe for cannibalistic practices.²⁸ There is still a debate in anthropology as to whether the Tupinamba and their neighbouring communities, including the much larger Tupiniquim nation, incorporated human bone in their ritual practices, just as there is still a debate as to whether they actually practised cannibalism. The two questions, however, are not unrelated. Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile notes that in Europe news of the use of human bone in this part of the world was overshadowed by news of cannibalism.²⁹ Yet travellers' accounts frequently include remarks on the prominence of human bone in indigenous cultures in Brazil. Luiz Figueira, who worked in one of the Jesuit missions, mentions in one of his letters to headquarters in Rome that the Tapuia thought it was disrespectful to bury their dead in the ground and that for this reason they ate them, including the bone.³⁰ He also contrasts them to the Tupinamba who are said to put bones of ancestors and enemies on display in mounds that stress their large numbers.³¹

Yet there was already a debate about the practices of the Tupinamba, given that they, like the Europeans, had learned from their exchanges with other cultures. According to Jean de Léry, the Huguenot explorer who in 1556 spent time in Tupinamba territory, the Tupi saved the skulls of those they ate and piled them up to show foreigners: 'when the French visit that is what they show,

25 Karnal, "Les reliques" 733–735.

26 Ibidem 734–735.

27 Ibidem 735; Castelnau-L'Estoile, "Le partage des reliques" 755.

28 On these missions, known also as reductions and located between present day Paraguay, Brazil, and Argentina, see Ganson B., *The Guaraní under Spanish Rule in the Rio de la Plata* (Redwood City, CA: 2003).

29 Castelnau-L'Estoile, "Le partage des reliques" 765.

30 Ibidem 765–766.

31 Ibidem 768.

these fleshless skulls as trophies'.³² He adds that these displays of the eating of the body right down to the bone were strategic and intended to demonstrate to Europeans their ferocity, but that they were not part of their own practices. Indeed, de Léry criticises the propensity of European maps to represent human skulls at entry points of Tupi villages. Even this acknowledgement that bone was central to exchanges between Europeans and Tupinamba suggests that the Christian relic and the cannibal were already intertwined. Peter Hulme has argued that residual bones are archetypal in cannibal tales, which usually entail Europeans stumbling upon a deserted scene of human bones, a cooking pot, and strewn utensils.³³ The accumulation of skulls becomes the aftermath of cannibal rituals directed to Europeans, much as the skull becomes the afterlife of the sacred body directed to the Tupinamba.

There is no disputing this crucial link in the image that more than any other sealed the European idea of the Tupinamba as zealous cannibals [Fig. 13.5]. This engraving, representing a cannibal performance witnessed by Hans Staden, brings to a climax the account of Tupinamba cannibalism in Theodore de Bry's 1592 *Americae tertia pars*.³⁴ An agitated group chews on body parts as members eagerly surround the grill upon which more body parts are roasting over a stoked fire. Each cannibal is extended through the limb they are in the process of consuming. The women gnaw on arms and legs, and keeping with Léry's account, the older women are particularly aggressive in this activity.³⁵ In each instance the severed limb is inserted within their own body as if contiguous with it but forming a new multi-limbed creature. The link between the limb and body is different for the male figures. The fragmentation of the body is exposed and even flaunted, as the flesh bleeds and the inner bone projects beyond the flesh. Instead of being sutured to the body, the limb is held to the mouth. Bones are not shown de-fleshed, yet they are visible and appear cut rather than separated from other bones, underlying the destruction of the body's structure. But the fleshy fragments also appear to be animated, as blood flows from the grill and hands grip its edges. They thus perpetuate the idea

32 Léry Jean de, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil (Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil, 1578)*, trans. and introduction by J. Whatley (Berkeley, CA: 1990) 127.

33 Hulme P., "Introduction", in Barker F. – Hulme P. – Iversen M. (eds.), *Cannibalism in the Colonial World* (Cambridge: 1998) 2–3.

34 Hans Staden's account of his time among the Tupinamba was published in 1557 with images, which served as a source for the De Bry engravings of the Tupinamba. See *Hans Staden's True History: An Account of Cannibal Captivity in Brazil*, ed. N. Whitehead (Durham, NC: 2008).

35 Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil* 126.



FIGURE 13.5 *Theodor de Bry (engraver), Cannibal feast, in Johann Staden von Homburg, America Tertia Pars: Memorabile provinciae Brasiliæ historiam continens [...]* (Frankfurt am Main, Sigmund Feyerabend: 1592). Engraving, 29.36 × 22.55 cm. London, British Library.

IMAGE © BRITISH LIBRARY, LONDON.

of the bone as something whole in itself, which, as with relics, stands for the person. Léry, ever attentive to detail, claims that the Tupinamba did not use a spit to roast animals as was the case with Europeans, and instead used a grill, but in this instance, the attempt at ethnographic accuracy turns cannibalistic violence into the sacrificial act of the martyr, for instance the grilling alive of St. Lawrence. And of course, the cannibal's excessive desire to consume the body of another becomes the desire of the Christian to commune with the sacred relic. Relics become the other side of cannibalism, not simply because of the violence implied in the cutting and consuming of human bodies but also because ultimately they produce collective bodies through uncontrollable incorporation. Within the context of European religious conflict, this image can easily be read as constantly doubling the cannibalised human body, produced both by 'New World' cannibals and 'Old World' Catholics.

This double vision permeates most exchanges around bones between Europe and America. A case in point is the disappearance of the bodily remains of the Jesuit missionary Francisco Pinto in 1607 in the northern part of Guarani territory.³⁶ Castelnau-L'Estoile discusses the incident and offers a convincing argument about how Pinto was incorporated into the Tupinamba cult of the shaman in which bone remains were used to communicate with the dead.³⁷ The incident evokes the traditional conceptualisation of the stolen relic and thus the relic in transition. But with Pinto the process of transition, from one site to another and from one status to another, was to become alarmingly uncertain, as the very nomadic aspects of missionary work impinged on the potential to produce relics that could sustain an exclusive Christian identity. Castelnau-L'Estoile argues that Francisco Pinto's bones, while always remaining missing, could function simultaneously within two belief systems.

The Jesuit deployment of the skull relics of St. Ursula's virgins was not limited to Brazil. The religious order transported containers of human bone in long voyages and many relics of Ursula's virgins were taken to Goa and other parts of India.³⁸ They were very prominent in the enormous collection of relics gathered by Dom Joao de Borja, son of General of the Society of Jesus Francisco Borgia, during his years in Rome and Prague, and left in 1588 to the church of Sao Roque in Lisbon.³⁹ It contained 108 bone relics of the virgins of St. Ursula, including eighteen heads, many arms and other body parts, and numerous unidentifiable pieces.⁴⁰ During the years that Borgia served as General, the Portuguese colleges, both in Europe and in the missions, were equipped with relics, including a considerable number of skulls of the Eleven Thousand Virgins.⁴¹ Some relics were excavated from the catacombs and submitted to new archaeological scrutiny.⁴² Others had a less secure provenance but through their dangerous travels gained credibility.

36 Castelnau-L'Estoile, "Le partage des reliques" 758–768.

37 Ibidem 753.

38 Osswald M.C., "The Society of Jesus and the Diffusion of the Cult and Iconography of Saint Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins in the Portuguese Empire during the Second Half of the 16th Century", in *A Companhia de Jesus na Península Ibérica nos sécs. XVI e XVII espiritualidade e cultura* (Porto: 2005) 601–609; see also Ines G. Županov's chapter in this publication.

39 Castelnau-L'Estoile, "Le partage des reliques" 754–755.

40 Osswald, "The Society of Jesus" 603.

41 Castelnau-L'Estoile, "Le partage des reliques" 755.

42 Ibidem 754.

An important instance is an incident promoted by the Jesuits in which relics were destroyed while being transported from Lisbon to Brazil.⁴³ According to Jesuit sources, on 14 July 1570 a Portuguese ship bound for Brazil carrying Father Ignatius de Azevedo and thirty-nine companions with supplies from Rome for the missions was attacked by a Protestant ship from Navarre. Numerous accounts, produced especially to establish the status of martyrs for the Jesuits, tell of a fierce attack that ended with the Jesuits and their missionary apparatus being thrown into the ocean. All accounts insist that Father Azevedo had worked hard in the late 1560s to acquire a number of miracle-working images to take to Brazil. In the 1640s, the Jesuit Juan Eusebio Nieremberg claimed that Azevedo was the first to acquire the licence to have a copy of the image of the Virgin kept in Santa Maria Maggiore,⁴⁴ which was believed to be painted by the hand of St. Luke and to be the authentic carrier of the presence of the Virgin.⁴⁵ Nieremberg mentions another important relic that Azevedo transported to Brazil together with the image of the Virgin:

donogli molte Reliquie, e fra le alter la Testa d'una S. Vergine della Compagne di S. Orsola [...]. Il Patre zeveo s'era gia dichiarato col Borgia di voler per sua guida in quella spedizione la Regina del Cielo, e ne desiderava un'Immagine da portar seco, simile a quella dipinta da San Luca, che si venera nella Basilica Liberiana, detto volgarmente S. Maria Maggiore.⁴⁶

In 1743 Antonio Cabral published all the documents used to argue the case for martyrdom, including a sixteenth-century account of the actions of the Huguenots in the aftermath of the attack, in which a suggestive distinction is forged between the miraculous survival of the image of the Virgin and the destruction of the skull of one of Ursula's virgins:

43 San Juan R.M., *Vertiginous Mirrors: The Animation of the Visual Image and Early Modern Travel* (Manchester: 2011) 125–156.

44 Ibidem 141–143.

45 Belting H., *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. E. Jephcott, (Chicago, IL: 1997) 64–69; Noreen K., “The Icon of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome: An Image and Its Afterlife”, *Renaissance Studies* 19 (2005) 660–672.

46 Nieremberg J.E., *Ideas de Virtud en Algunos Claros Varones* (Madrid, Maria de Quiñones: 1643) 248: ‘they were given many of the relics, amongst them the head of a Holy Virgin of the Companions of St. Ursula [...]. Father Azevedo had already informed Borgia that he wanted the Queen of Heaven for his leadership in this expedition, and he wanted an Image to carry away, similar to the one painted by St. Luke, which is venerated in the Liberian Basilica, commonly called S. Maria Maggiore’.

Giacomo Soria si fece portare Avanti tutte le casse a loro appartenenti, e alla sua presenza le faceva aprire. Ma non così presto ne vedeva il contenuto; che prorompendo in orribili bestemmie: Via di qua, diceva, queste ridicole superstizioni: [...] Fu trovata fra l'altre una cassetta con questa iscrizione: Capo d' una delle Compagne di Sant' Orsola donato dal Sommo Pontefice Pio v, Questa scoperta mise in gran brio tutta la brigata, e ogn' uno studiava, come potessero far servire quell venerabile Cranio a più licenzioso trastullo. Per un pezzo se lo mandarono per le mani a guisa di palla. Indi co' piedi si diedero a farlo rotolare per tutta la nave: E finalmente l'appesero ad un'antenna, e fu per molti giorni il soggetto, e lo scopo di mille indegnissime buffonate. Dopo essersi sfogati bene, finirono quell giorno con buttar in mare quant' avevan trovato di sacro, e di divoto.⁴⁷

The skull, through its inversion from sacred to mundane and, in the work of the text, back again, was able to produce a silent yet distinct voice, what Michel de Certeau has argued is the speech of the one designated as 'other', a speech that depends on retaining proximity to the materiality of the body and a transformative potential.⁴⁸ The skull shifts, not only from sacred to mundane, but also from distant to proximate. In Cabral's report, the Huguenot attack on the skull relic starts on a ship in the middle of the ocean but ends in the 'Old World', where other such relic skulls are said to be used by Protestants as a ball for games played in the town square. The effect is akin to that of Jean de Léry's account of Tupinamba cannibalism, which at the end suddenly shifts from the 'New' to the 'Old World', and is compared favourably to the French atrocities reported to have taken place during the St. Bartholomew Massacre of 1572.⁴⁹ The

47 Cabral Antonio, S.J., *Relazione della Vita, e Martirio del Venerabil Padre Ignazio de Azevedo* (Rome, Antonio de' Roffi: 1743) 164–168: "Giacomo Soria asked for all cases belonging to them to be brought in front of everyone and in their presence to be open. But not sooner he saw the contents that he broke into horrible blasphemies: Get these out of here, he said, these ridiculous superstitions [...]. They found among the others a box with this inscription: Head of one of the Companions of St. Ursula donated by Pope Pius V. This discovery put into great furore the entire brigade, and each studied how they could transform the venerable skull into the most licentious games. First they threw it with their hands like a ball. Then with their feet they roll it all over the ship: And finally hung it to a mast, and for days it was the subject of a thousand indignant antics. Having vented, they ended the day by throwing it overboard".

48 Certeau M. de, "Montaigne's 'Of Cannibals'", in *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other*, trans. B. Massumi (Minneapolis, MN: 1986) 67–79, at 74–75.

49 Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil* 131–133.

cannibal, like the martyr, speaks through bodily performance, and as Michel de Certeau has so eloquently argued, is able to cross boundaries that brings remarkable resonance to their silent speech.⁵⁰

The mocking of religious objects, specifically the head of one of St. Ursula's companions, is avenged by the survival of the image of the Virgin carried by Azevedo, which manages to complete its journey in spite of itself being attacked and thrown into the sea. According to Gilles-Francois de Beauvais's 1744 French edition of the life of Azevedo, the image eventually found its way to Brazil, in particular to the noviciate of Coimbra, where it was prodigious because it was immersed in both martyr's blood and sea water.⁵¹ If the image manages to reach Brazil against all odds, it is in part as substitute for the skull, which was forcibly brought down from its sacred place but which would itself soon be substituted by others.

The parallels between the account of the Jesuit martyrs and the account of St. Ursula and her companions are not coincidental: the journey by ship, the dangers of the journey, the embodied experience of martyrdom, and perhaps most importantly, the conception of a collective martyrdom [Fig. 13.6]. In Jesuit accounts all attempts to make each martyr distinctive fails as inter-subjectivity becomes the symbolic centre of the incident. Scholars agree that the resurgence of the cult of St. Ursula and her companions in the seventeenth century can be attributed to the Jesuits and their attempts to revitalise the concept of the martyr.⁵² Indeed, the legend, with its extended travels and violent collective deaths, enabled the Jesuits not only to argue for a new form of martyrdom but also to map countless acts of martyrdom, through multiple publications, within the expanding geographies of their missions.⁵³

The loss of the skull is compensated not only by the survival of the miraculous image of the Virgin but also by a heightened desire for the virgin skull. Jesuit annual reports sent back to Rome now become insistent in requesting other virgin skulls to replace those lost at sea or in other kinds of attacks, just as the loss of the martyrs becomes a call for other Jesuits to follow and repeat the same missionary journey. Two such skulls arrived in Brazil in 1575 and 1577 one after the other.⁵⁴ In 1583 father Christovao de Gouveia charged with bringing

50 Certeau, "Montaigne's 'Of Cannibals'" 73–77.

51 Beauvais F. de, *The Lives of St Peter of Alcantara and of the Ven. Father Ignatius Azevedo of the Society of Jesus* (London: 1856) 369.

52 On the Jesuits and cult of St. Ursula and Eleven Thousand Virgins, see Osswald, "The Society of Jesus" 601–609.

53 Montgomery, *St Ursula* 43, 165–171.

54 Castelnau-L'Estoile, "Le partage des reliques" 755.

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Le Martyre des trente neufallans au Bresil.



FIGURE 13.6 Anon. (engraver), *Massacre of the forty Jesuit Martyrs*, in Louis Richeôme, *La Peinture spirituelle* [...] (Lyon, Pierre Rigaud: 1611). Engraving, 23.11 × 30.48 cm. Rome, Biblioteca Angelica.
IMAGE © BIBLIOTECA ANGELICA, ROME.

a relic of the Holy Cross to the college in Salvador of Bahia also managed to acquire another virgin skull.⁵⁵ The skulls become interchangeable and stand for each other as well as for the Jesuit martyrs themselves. Even the need for substitution due to an accumulation of violent incidents re-enacts both the martyrdom and the abject state of bone, which is always open for reconsideration and reconstitution.

Travel itself put considerable pressure on the status of bone relics and kept the relation between martyr and cannibal always in place. If the presence of the cannibal was evoked, both by the Tupinamba and the Europeans, in the accumulation and display of skulls, the new kind of martyr produced through missionary travel turned out to have similar associations. The remains of Jesuits that had died in the context of missionary work not only in the Americas but also in Asia were shipped back on a regular basis to Rome for official verification of martyrdom.⁵⁶ These journeys were unpredictable at best, and more often than not boxes of bones would be lost at sea, or deposited somewhere until they could be shipped again. The prolonged travel undermined the possibility that the human remains would be officially recognised and ultimately left them without status or designated place of display. Yet this practice of collecting the remains of numerous unknown bodies, of fragments that can never be identified or reconstituted into a verifiable body, was crucial to the Jesuit reconception of martyrdom. It became necessary to find temporary places for the human bones that arrived in Rome, and just as collections of relics brought together various virgin martyrs within a single reliquary, the nomadic Jesuit bones were conjoined in boxes and decorative display formats that could only bring visibility to the startling accumulation of bones [Fig. 13.7]. In effect, this produced a doubling of the practices of display of skulls that Léry attributes to the Tupinamba in their encounters with the French. The Jesuit bones, and especially skulls, were also installed in cabinets of curiosities including in the Collegio Romano in Rome, and some were even housed, however temporarily, in collections of anatomical and ethnographic displays [Fig. 13.8].⁵⁷

Bone, as opaque, indecipherable matter, is particularly susceptible to shifts of categorisation, and the early modern mixture of bone relics with other non-religious bones has as an important counterpart in the ways relics were introduced in Brazil by the Jesuits. When the skull relics were displayed in the

55 Ibidem 755.

56 Županov I.G., *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India (16th–17th Centuries)* (Ann Arbor, MI: 2005) 147–171.

57 Mulcahy R., “El Arte Religioso y su Funcion en la Corte de Felipe II”, in *Felipe II: Un Monarca y su época: Un príncipe del Renacimiento* (Madrid: 1998) 159–183.



FIGURE 13.7 *Photograph of a reliquary with two skull relics of Jesuit martyrs. Rome, Il Gesù.*
IMAGE © ROSE MARIE SAN JUAN.



FIGURE 13.8 *Photograph of various skulls in the Cabinet of Anatomy, Montpellier.*
IMAGE © ROSE MARIE SAN JUAN.

colleges, for instance in Bahia where the virgins had become official patronesses, they were fitted with a support of gilded silver, paid for by the Portuguese congregation, as reported in a letter to Rome in 1603.⁵⁸ When taken out in procession and used in ceremonies in the villages, no such covering was used.⁵⁹ These are not just relics exposed to be simply bone and thus familiar in their materiality, but objects that could be introduced into local rituals precisely because they were made of human bone.

For the Jesuits it was imperative to claim, at least to the officials in Rome, that the relics were very effective in advancing the goal of Christian conversion. This is evident in many of their reports, for example in a 1592 letter requesting more virgin skulls: 'they have much excited the devotion of the inhabitants of Brazil and have thus made much progress with their souls'.⁶⁰

But in trying to argue for such successes, the reports reveal the constant loss or rejection of the relics and introduce doubt to the effectiveness of the process. In the more official settings, for instance the College of Bahia, processions and theatre performances were organised honouring the virgins as patron saints, for instance on the occasion of the arrival of three heads in 1584.⁶¹ From the reports to Rome, this event seems to have followed the usual course of Catholic performances, including the re-enactment of the dream of St. Ursula in which an angel appeared to her and told her to undertake a pilgrimage to Rome. Karnal argues that the Jesuits through the college in Bahia attempted to introduce processions that were linked to local events; they did so by drawing on indigenous musical practices and introducing the kind of European instruments—flutes, sitars, and string arm instruments—that the Jesuits used in their religious educational sessions with local people. But it is clear that the events in question shared a great deal with the celebrations around bone carried out by the Tupinamba themselves. In one procession in a village near Bahia celebrating the invention of the cross, the locals had constructed a cross of bones, and the Jesuit account states: 'the Indians did dance and sang around it in their own manner, and from time to time they would bow to the cross held by one priest'; the account explains that otherwise it was like one of the Tupinamba's feasts and that although the missionaries were unable to understand the chanting, they were willing to introduce something new into these events but only 'from time to time'.⁶² The indecipherable sounds and gestures

58 Castelnau-L'Estoile, "Le partage des reliques" 755.

59 Ibidem 755.

60 This letter is quoted by Karnal, "Les reliques" 754.

61 Osswald, "The Society of Jesus" 606.

62 Karnal, "Les reliques" 735.

would make the greatest impression. As Michel de Certeau points out, Jean de Léry as a Protestant may have been committed to the written word, but he reveals that what still haunts him, years after his return to Europe from Brazil, is the chant performed during Tupinamba rituals, which he could not understand but needed to try to record and remember.⁶³

There is evidence to suggest that these encounters produced considerable contestation.⁶⁴ The Tupinamba practices of using bones to communicate with the dead was itself not without conflict, especially once the shaman started to challenge the Jesuits for taking over their role.⁶⁵ A similar situation arose with Jesuits' attempts to intervene in the Tupinamba's use of medicinal plants, especially the yerba mate, which was administered by shamans.⁶⁶

The Jesuit strategy of slow infiltration and reconstitution indicates strategies that go beyond what is usually revealed to officials in Rome. An unusual incident in July 1576 involving one of the virgin skulls kept in Bahia reveals the extent to which exchanges involving bone relics relied on communication through the transformative potential of materiality. Father Tolosa from Bahia received permission to take one of the skull relics on his journey by ship along the coastline to Pernambouc in order to show it during his visit to a local community.⁶⁷ As the ship reached its destination it caught fire, obliging everyone to disembark leaving everything behind, including the relic. When it was found that the box with the relic remained undamaged it was declared a miracle. The miracle was then associated with the load of refined sugar that the ship was carrying and which was salvaged. The effect between the two—bone and sugar—was deemed to be mutual for it was recognised that they were linked through their material properties. Not only was the production of sugar in the territory declared to be under divine approval, but the relic itself was said to have been saved through its resemblance and proximity to the sugar. In keeping with Carolyn Walker Bynum's argument that the materiality of relics undergoes its own transformation, the de-fleshed skull was endowed

63 Certeau M. de, "Speech, or the Space of the Other: Jean de Léry", in Certeau M. de, *The Writing of History*, trans. T. Conley (New York, NY: 1992) 209–243.

64 Ganson, *The Guarani under Spanish Rule* 39.

65 Castelnau-L'Estoile, "Le partage des reliques" 758.

66 Prieto A.I., *Missionary Scientists: Jesuit Science in Spanish South America, 1570–1810* (Nashville, TN: 2011) 77–87.

67 Castelnau-L'Estoile, "Le partage des reliques" 756.

with life-giving force by being refilled with granules which when brought together might start to resemble it.⁶⁸

The de-fleshing of the skull, a process implied in Léry's account of how the Tupinamba confronted the French with 'fleshless skulls', is what finally distinguishes the relics of St. Ursula's virgins in the 'New World'. If the reliquaries of Cologne seek to restore and animate the body by encasing it in flesh, hair, and costume, the virgin skulls in the 'New World' reversed the process by de-fleshing it from the outside in. The focus on the skull signals first and foremost the act of decapitation, and its importance within Christianity as the ultimate form of martyrdom.⁶⁹ Severing the head from the body was considered the most decisive way to end life, by separating the soul from the body and identity from the dead.⁷⁰ The head on its own, and especially the face, retains the possibility of identity and certainly the tradition of the skull within *memento mori* reveals the extent to which human beings project presence onto, and empathise with, the face.⁷¹ This is precisely what the Cologne head reliquaries count on as the striking liveliness of the face and expression suggest the animation of the relic itself. These reliquaries, however, also do not evoke the violent separation of head and body, as they include the full neck and upper part of the chest. In the case of the skull relic, the desire to recognise the face and empathise with some sense of the living person is of course still there, but the location of the face in the other world, and the refusal to fill in any aspect of what is lacking, bring to this exchange a perplexing opacity.

It is suggestive that the virgin skulls taken to Brazil, unlike those taken to Asia, which in any case included bones other than skulls, were not placed in head reliquaries or other kinds of reliquaries, except for those that were kept in the main church of Bahia.⁷² They were kept in boxes transparent enough to have the shape of the skull, and the cut above the neck, within full view. The skull relics reduce all possible variations between the virgins. They literally become interchangeable through their resemblance at the level of materiality.

The skulls are about a body already de-fleshed and left only with an emptied interior. It is not only a return to the martyr body—the decapitated body—but also to a community of martyrs in which one is replaced by another without

68 Bynum C.W., *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York, NY: 2011) 17–22, 71–79.

69 Cohen, "The Meaning of the Head in High Medieval Culture" 59–76, especially 59.

70 Ibidem 64.

71 San Juan, R.M., "The Turn of the Skull: Andreas Vesalius and the Early Modern Memento Mori", *Art History* 35 (2012) 958–975.

72 Osswald, "The Society of Jesus" 604–605.

concern for individual specificities. In the case of the skull, some facial recognition may emerge but only to confront the unknowingness of death. The skull as a sign of decapitation brings with it the ultimate form of anonymity, in the sense of earthly identity, and of unknowability in the sense of being in a state beyond what can be reached, physically and through the imagination.

The image of decapitation also raises the question of the voice, as the cut is not only the removal of breath but also of the ability to emit sound.⁷³ The overt removal of the voice brings to the skull the poignancy of being exiled from its given voice but for this very reason able to accommodate other voices. In effect, the skulls of the virgins, due to their movements from the sacred to the profane, and back again, had an unusual range of voices within the possibilities given to relics. In the 'Old World' the skulls were repeatedly used to mock the cult of relics, and their sacredness was inverted, and turned into the profane, the superstitious, and the blasphemous. On the other side of the Atlantic, in Brazil, other virgin skulls spoke in much more inscrutable ways, becoming partly translators of Tupinamba bone rituals, and partly agents in combining, amongst other things, indigenous rituals of the dead, Christian notions of salvation, and even the colonial production of refined sugar.

In their long journeys, the relics of the companions of St. Ursula forged a model for a new kind of relic, one in which a collective force replaced the traditional individual sacred body. This had long been a potential within the legend of St. Ursula and its ongoing circulation of relics, but it was realised when the relics started to travel to the 'New World'. It was then that the voice of the skull relic started to be intertwined with the voice of a new kind of imaginative entity, the cannibal. Conjoined but not the same, the two acquired new volatility. By tracing these circuits of movement and inversion—sacred to mundane, full to empty, 'Old' to 'New' Worlds—objects that were conceived as Catholic relics reveal a potential to produce a new kind of language.

Perhaps the most radical way in which the relic was altered was by being displayed in the context of other rituals focused on human bone, the rituals of the Tupinamba. This very proximity had its effects. The skulls became more about what is lacking in bone, and the need of filling it in; for this very reason, the relic also generated more attentiveness to the materiality of bone and its ability to transform into other matter through proximity. Within this frame, the skulls produce another kind of relic, one that partakes of other ways of constructing separation between low and high, far and near. It is perhaps the

73 Baert B., "The Johannesschüssel as Andachtsbild: The Gaze, the Medium and the Senses", in Santing C. – Baert B. – Raninger A. (eds.), *Disembodied Heads in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, *Intersections* 28 (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2013) 117–160, at 145–148.

very otherness of the skull, the inability to breach the separation between the living and the dead, that points to the possibility of cross-cultural exchange. The sacred may be vulnerable when it comes into contact with a different set of beliefs, but the focus on materiality—human bone—brings up the implications of mixtures, or the moments in which recognition of shared concerns may emerge.

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Relic or Icon? The Place and Function of Imperial Regalia*

Akira Akiyama

Even though the studies of Christian and Buddhist art have long had respective traditions, only rarely are their research results compared. This essay attempts to take up a comparative religious art historical investigation.¹ There is no guarantee that such a comparison will bring about remarkable results; however, through the process of comparing it is possible, by juxtaposing different perspectives on similar kinds of objects, at least to gain some stimuli, ideas, and expertise *vis-à-vis* the fields of both Western and Japanese or East Asian art historical research. We thus explore here the regalia of the Holy Roman Empire, *Reichskleinodien* or *Reichsinsignien*, and the imperial regalia of Japan, *Sanshu-no-Jingi* (Three divine objects). Regalia are some of the most popular objects in many cultures, and are often newly made at the coronation of a sovereign. In this respect the imperial regalia of the Holy Roman Empire and of Japan make interesting exceptions, because in both cases they have a long tradition and history. By comparing the dynamics of portable sacred objects—their translation into different local contexts—we discover that regalia function as both relics and icons to differing degrees in various situations. Further still, the ambiguity of place in the series of moves, compounded by issues of visibility, complicates the function of sacred imagery. While relics are principally not duplicable, but dividable, icons are not dividable, but duplicable. Japanese imperial regalia, in contrast to those of the Holy Roman Empire, have not only a relic-like character, but also an icon-like character.

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1 Cf. Akiyama A. – Kitazawa-Tomizawa K. (eds.), *Interrelationship of Images and Relics in Christian and Buddhist Culture* (Tōkyō: 2009); Akiyama A. – Kitazawa-Tomizawa K. (eds.), *Miraculous Images in Christian and Buddhist Culture* (Tōkyō: 2010); Akiyama A. – Kitazawa-Tomizawa K. (eds.), *Image and Vision in Christian and Buddhist Culture* (Tōkyō: 2012).

Imperial Regalia of the Holy Roman Empire

In 1506 Albrecht Dürer wrote from Venice a letter to his close friend Willibald Pirckheimer to tell his mother to go to the 'Heiltum(sfest)', a feast of relic ostension, in order to sell his prints.² In reality the items exhibited at the feast were the imperial regalia of the Holy Roman Empire. However, from the formulation employed by Dürer we can assume the citizens of Nuremberg at the time regarded the regalia as almost the same as relics. The imperial regalia of the emperors and kings of the Holy Roman Empire [Fig. 14.1] consist of the imperial crown, imperial orb, imperial sceptre, imperial sword, ceremonial sword, imperial cross, holy lance, coronation vestments, and reliquaries with relics.³ It seems that initially the quantity of regalia was not so large. According to the *Res gestae Saxoniae* of Widukind of Corvey, for example, on his deathbed in 918 Conrad I said to his brother Eberhard:

Take these regalia, the holy lance, golden buckles with a mantle and a sword of old kings, and the crown, go to Heinrich [Henry I] and conclude peace, thereby you will be able to have him as your ally forever.⁴

After the canonisation of Charlemagne in 1145, the relic character of the imperial regalia gradually increased. When two German kings were elected at the same time in 1314, Frederick the Fair of Habsburg had the imperial regalia exhibited in Basel in 1315 in order to emphasise his legitimacy. This time the holy lance, Charlemagne's crown, two swords, a holy nail, a large particle of the holy cross, and a tooth of Saint John the Baptist were shown with the archbishop of Cologne giving an address, stating, 'whoever holds the imperial relics should be the king, and no one should call the one without them king'.⁵

² Rupprich H. (ed.), *Dürer Schriftlicher Nachlass*, vol. 1 (Berlin: 1956) 48, 52.

³ On the imperial regalia of the Holy Roman Empire see Fillitz F., *Die Insignien und Kleinodien des Heiligen Römischen Reiches* (Vienna: 1954); Schramm P.E. – Mutherich F., *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser: Ein Beitrag zur Herrschergeschichte von Karl dem Grossen bis Friedrich II. 768–1250* (Munich: 1962); Schramm P.E. – Fillitz H., *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, vol. 2, *Ein Beitrag zur Herrschergeschichte von Rudolf I. bis Maximilian I. 1273–1519* (Munich: 1978); Kühne H., *Ostensio Reliquiarum* (Berlin – New York, NY: 2000); Keupp J. et al., "... Die keyserlichen Zeychen ...": *Die Reichskleinodien—Herrschaftszeichen des Heiligen Römischen Reiches* (Regensburg: 2009).

⁴ Schober K., "Die repräsentative Funktion der Reichsinsignien und ihr Bedeutungswandel im Spätmittelalter", in Keupp et al., "... Die keyserlichen Zeychen ..." 74–75.

⁵ Kühne, *Ostensio* 86.



FIGURE 14.1 *Various artists, Imperial Regalia of the Holy Roman Empire, so called "Reichskleinodien" (eighth–twelfth century). Various materials including gold, precious stones, and relics. Vienna, Hofburg, Imperial Treasury.*
IMAGE © KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM WIEN.

This trend was developed further by Emperor Charles IV of Luxembourg, who had a mania for collecting relics from all over Europe. When, in 1350, he acquired, peacefully, the imperial regalia from Louis V of Wittelsbach, a son of the late Emperor Louis IV, he brought them to Prague, where he decided to create a new holy city, where he believed that his relic collection would contribute greatly to his plan to consecrate the city. In the context of this project, he established in Prague, from 1356, with the permission of Pope Clement VI, an annual relic exhibition as a religious feast named 'The Feast of the Holy Lance and Holy Nail'.⁶ During the reign of the emperors of Luxembourg some relics were even added to the imperial regalia, like a fragment of the tablecloth of the Last Supper, a particle of the towel Christ used for washing feet, and a piece of cloth belonging to John the Evangelist.⁷

When the imperial regalia were brought to Nuremberg in 1424, they were treated almost as relics.⁸ Participants in the exhibition of the regalia were granted great indulgence, making this feast quite attractive to the public. Although some of the imperial regalia were brought to Aachen or Rome for the coronations of German kings or emperors, citizens' primary interest lay in their relic character in Nuremberg. Perhaps because of this, no replicas of the imperial regalia were made until the nineteenth century.⁹

Imperial Regalia of Japan

The Japanese imperial regalia are called the *Sanshu-no-Jingi* (*shinki*) or *Mikusa-no-kandakara*, which means three divine objects.¹⁰ They each have a mythological origin and to some extent are still shrouded in mystery. They comprise:

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- 6 Machilek F., "O Felix Lancea: Beiträge zum Fest der Heilige Lanze und der Nägel", *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins für Mittelfranken* 92 (1984) 43–107.
 - 7 On the exhibition in Prague, see Kühne, *Ostensio* 106–132.
 - 8 On the imperial regalia in Nuremberg see Schnellbögl J., "Die Reichskleinodien in Nürnberg 1424–1523", *Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 51 (1962) 78–159; Kühne, *Ostensio* 133–152.
 - 9 Pohlit P., "Nachbildungen der Reichskleinodien", in Keupp et al., "... Die keyserlichen Zeychen ..." 87–96.
 - 10 On source materials for *Sanshu-no-Jingi*, see Teikoku Gakushiin (Imperial Academy) (ed.), *Teishitsu-seido-shi* vol. 5 (Tōkyō: 1942) and *Kojiruien, Teiō-bu* (Tōkyō: 1896) vol. 1, 47–168. Cf. Inada T., *Sansyu-no-jingi: Nazo meku Tennō-ke no Hihō* (Tōkyō: 2007); *Sansyu-no-jingi: Tennō-ke no Symbol (Rekishi-dokuhon 2008–06)* (Tōkyō: 2008); Watanabe D., *Ubawareta Sanshu-no-jingi: Kōi-keisyō no Chūsei-shi* (Tōkyō: 2009). In English, see Holtom D.C., *The Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies with an Account of the Imperial Regalia* (Tōkyō: ca. 1972).

1. *Yata-no-Kagami*, Eight *ata* Mirror (1 *ata* = 18.4 cm)
2. *Ame-no-Murakumo-no-Tsurugi* sword, a sword of the gathering clouds of heaven
3. *Yasakani-no-Magatama* jewels, comma-shaped curved stone beads assembled as long necklace-like accessories.

According to some old chronicles, *Kojiki* (712) and *Nihonshoki* (720), the sacred mirror was made by the supposedly female deity Ishikoridome-no-Mikoto, and the jewels by the deity Tamanoya-no-Mikoto, who was also called Ame-no-Akarutama.¹¹ The sword had been found by the heroic god Susanō-no-Mikoto, who was a younger brother of the highest-ranking deity of Japan, the sun goddess Amaterasu. Having killed Yamata-no-orochi, a giant snake with eight heads and eight tails, Susanō-no-Mikoto found the sword in one of the snake's tails and gave it to his sister Amaterasu.¹² Thus, these regalia were also believed to be divine or contact relics and *acheiropoieta*.

When Amaterasu sent the god Amatsuhiko-Hikoho-no-Ninigi-no-Mikoto (Ninigi-no-Mikoto), who became a founder of the imperial family, to rule the earth, she gave him these three objects, saying, 'Regard this mirror as if it were my spirit and respect it as if worshipping me'.¹³ According to a source assembled in *Nihonshoki*, Amaterasu said to the father of Ninigi-no-Mikoto, Ame-no-Oshihomimi-no-Mikoto, 'when your children see this mirror, see it as if they see me. They and this mirror should be together on the same floor, in the same room, and they should revere the mirror diligently'.¹⁴

Thus these objects became the imperial regalia and their transmission through the generations became indispensable for the imperial family. However, because these objects remained invisible, we can only speculate on the form of each treasure from excavated ancient artefacts. For example, an archaeologist has assumed that the *Yata-no-Kagami* mirror could be similar to a mirror [Fig. 14.2] excavated at the Hirabaru ruins in Fukuoka, because its diameter is approximately 46 cm, its circumference thus 144.44 cm, which is close to 8 *ata* (8 × 18.4 cm).¹⁵ Some scholars also believe the form of the

11 Kurano K. – Takeda Y. (eds.), *Kojiki Norito* (Tōkyō: 1958) 80–81 (*Ishikoridome, Tamanoya*); Sakamoto T. et al. (eds.), *Nihonshoki*, vol. 1, 117 (*Ishikoridome, Amanoakarutama*).

12 *Kojiki* 88–89; *Nihonshoki* 124–125.

13 *Kojiki* 126–127.

14 *Nihonshoki* 152–153.

15 Eno M., "Kagami no Kenkyū kara kangaeru", in *Rekishi-dokuhon* 2008–2006, 80–87. Cf. Harada D., *Jitsuzaisita Shinwa* (Tōkyō: 1966).

Ame-no-Murakumo-no-Tsurugi may have been like that of the sword excavated from the Fujinoki ruins [Fig. 14.3], though this is still in dispute.¹⁶

Today the imperial regalia are still required at the enthronement ceremony for Japanese emperors. However, among the three treasures, the mirror gradually acquired a higher status, and became too esteemed and solemn an object to move or translate, so that at the enthronement ceremony of the current emperor, only the sword and jewels were brought to the imperial throne and set beside the emperor.



FIGURE 14.2 Anon. (artist), *Mirror No. 10* (Naikō-kamon-kyō) excavated from Hirabaru ruins (early third century). Bronze, diameter: 46.5 cm. Fukuoka, Itonokuni Hakubutsukan.

IMAGE © SHINJINBUTSUŌRAISHA.

16 Fujita K. "Tsurugi no Kenkyū kara kangaeru", in *Rekishi-dokuhon* 2008–2006, 88–95.



FIGURE 14.3

Anon. (smith), Sword with sheath excavated from Fujinoki tomb (late sixth century). Iron and gilded bronze, ca. 76 cm. Nara, Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo fuzoku Hakubutsukan.

IMAGE © SHINJINBUTSUŌRAISHA.

Translation of the Original Regalia

Two of the three imperial regalia in the imperial palace are not the originals, but replicas. Until the era of the tenth emperor, Sujin (97–30 BCE), both the *Yata-no-Kagami* mirror and the *Ame-no-Murakumo-no-Tsurugi* sword were stored in the imperial palace as Amaterasu had ordered. However, the miraculous power of the mirror seems to have been so strong that it damaged the health of the emperor. It was therefore moved to a shrine at Kasanui-mura by a princess of the emperor and an imperial priestess, Toyosuki-iri-hime.¹⁷ Then, during the reign of the next emperor, Suinin (29 BCE–70 CE), his princess and an imperial priestess, Yamato-hime, translated it, stopping at many sites—which were called *Moto-Ise* (Ex-Ise)—over a number of years, before eventually arriving at the place where the Ise Shrine was later built.¹⁸

The *Ame-no-Murakumo-no-Tsurugi* sword also had supposedly similar miraculous power as the mirror and was thus moved outside the imperial palace by Toyosuki-iri-hime.¹⁹ And just like the mirror, it was brought to the Ise Shrine by the imperial priestess, Yamato-hime. When a legendary heroic prince, Yamato-Takeru-no-Mikoto, was ordered to conquer the eastern land by his father, the twelfth emperor, Keikō, Yamato-hime gave the sword to the prince. After his triumph, and in order to commemorate his campaign, the sword was named *Kusanagi-no-Tsurugi*, meaning ‘Grasscutter’ sword, based on an episode in which he had miraculously survived fires on the plain thanks to the sword.²⁰ After his death, the sword was dedicated by his widow to the Atsuta Shrine.²¹

Duplicated Regalia

According to *Kogo-shūi* (807), when the tenth emperor, Sujin, translated the *Ame-no-Murakumo-no-Tsurugi* sword from the imperial palace, the replica *Katashiro*, meaning a ‘represented form’, was made that was destined to be stored in the palace instead of the original. At the same time, Sujin also had a replica of the *Yata-no-Kagami* mirror cast before its translation from the palace. These replicas were called *Mamori-no-Mishirusi*, imperial symbols for

17 *Nihonshoki* 238–239; Nishimiya K. (ed.), *Kogoshūi* (Tōkyō: 1985) 37–38.

18 *Nihonshoki* 269–271; *Kogoshūi* 39.

19 *Kogoshūi* 38.

20 *Kojiki* 212–215; *Nihonshoki* 304–305.

21 *Nihonshoki* 312–313.

protection.²² Since then, the mirror and the sword stored in the imperial palace have been replicas, while the *Yasakani-no-Magatama* jewels remained the originals.

The fact that the mirror and the sword in the imperial palace are replicas apparently did not decrease the value of the imperial regalia. The relationship between the originals and the replicas are variously called: *Honshin* (main body)—*Besshin* (another body); *Syōtai* (standard body)—*Bettai* (another body); or *Chikaki-Omamori* (near guardian)—*Tōki-Omamori* (far guardian).²³ However, it seems the existence of the originals were sometimes forgotten, even by court nobles, as demonstrated in the following passage from *Jinnō-shōtō-ki* (ca. 1339), by Kitabatake Chikafusa, who emphasises possession of the imperial regalia as the token of legitimacy of emperorship:

People must be clearly informed about the nature and history of the imperial regalia. One hears that those not so informed believe the mirror met destruction in either the *Tentoku* or *Chokyū* eras of the ancient age and that the *Kusanagi* sword was lost in the sea at Dannoura. This is absolutely untrue. We regard the original regalia as vital to the very existence of our country and as the seedbed of its virtue. So long as the sun and the moon continue to traverse the heavens, we can be secure in the knowledge that none of the regalia are missing. How can there be any doubt about this when Amaterasu in her mandate has stated: 'The imperial institution shall prosper eternally with heaven and earth themselves'. We must continue to have absolute faith that there will be such prosperity in the future.²⁴

Miracles of the Original Regalia

It is often recorded in ancient chronicles that the originals of the imperial regalia had a miraculous power that was difficult for human beings to control. Besides damaging the health of the emperor or other people, it is stated in the *Daijingu-syozouji-ki* (twelfth century) that in 791, as the buildings of the Ise

²² *Kogoshūi* 38.

²³ Okada Y., "Ise Atsuta Ryō Jingū no Jingi to Kyūchū no Jingi tonō Kankei", in *Shintō-bunkakai* (ed.), *Sengo Shintō Ronbun Senshū* (Tōkyō: 1973) 107–128.

²⁴ Valery H.P. (trans.), *A Chronicle of Gods and Sovereigns: Jinnō Shōtōki of Kitabatake Chikafusa* (New York, NY: 1980).

Shrine burnt, the shining *Yata-no-Kagami* mirror flew from the building *Shō-den* to the top of a nearby mountain.²⁵

The *Ame-no-Murakumo-no-Tsurugi* sword also performed miracles. In 688 the sword was stolen from the Atsuta Shrine by a priest named Dōgyō, who tried in vain to flee with it to Korea due to a storm.²⁶ According to *Owari-no-kuni-Atsuta-Daijingū-Engi* (late twelfth century), a chronicle of the Atsuta Shrine, Dōgyō stole the sword from the shrine, but the sword itself mysteriously came back. When he stole it for a second time and crossed the sea to Korea, a miraculous storm prevented him from sailing further. Although he tried to throw the sword overboard, he found it impossible to let go. Terrified by the phenomenon, he surrendered, and the sword was brought back to the imperial palace.²⁷ However, the sword did not remain in the palace for a long time. When the fortieth emperor, Tenmu (673–686), contracted a serious illness, it was discovered through an augury that the cause of the disease must have been the sword. Consequently, the sword was again sent to the Atsuta Shrine.²⁸

Miraculous Replicas

Duplicate regalia, not only the originals, also performed miracles. For example, the replica of the *Yata-no-Kagami* mirror is attributed with a particularly animated character. *Fusō-ryakki* (ca. 1100) reports that during a fire at the imperial palace in 960, no one was able to rescue the *Yata-no-Kagami* mirror from the *Onmyō-den* building, where it was stored. However, on the next day the mirror was found undamaged on the roof of another building.²⁹ According to *Gōke-shidai* (early twelfth century), by Ōe no Masafusa, the flying mirror crashed against a cherry tree and a courtier, Fujiwara Saneyori, caught it in his sleeve.³⁰ The same source tells us that during another fire a court lady successfully threw her short coat to catch the mirror, which was flying away from

25 *Daijingū-syozouji-ki*, article of 791, tenth year of Enryaku, Manuscript of University of Ehime, available from <http://www.lib.ehime-u.ac.jp/SUZUKA/242/index.html> (accessed: 11.09.2016).

26 *Nihonshoki* vol. 2, 370–371; cf. *Kogoshūi* 46–47.

27 Teikoku Gakushiin, *Teishitsu-seido-shi* vol. 5, 33–34.

28 *Nihonshoki* vol. 2, 478–479; also in *Owari-no-kuni-Atsuta-Daijingū-Engi* (*Teishitsu-seido-shi* vol. 5, 34).

29 *Fusō-ryakki* 26 (*Teishitsu-seido-shi* vol. 5, 35).

30 *Goke-shidai* 11 (Iso M., “*Kojidan*, ‘Dairi-shōbō ni Naishidokoro Nyokan Musō no koto, Shinkyō zanketsu motomeizuru koto’ (1–49) wo yomu”, in Asami K. (ed.), *Kojidan wo yomitoku* (Tōkyō: 2008) 128–129).

a building. Following this miraculous event, it became the rule that the imperial regalia should be treated principally by court ladies, later called *Naishi* [Fig. 14.4]. According to *Shaku-nihongi*, a commentary of *Nihonshoki* compiled between 1274 and 1301, a scratch was found on the surface of the rediscovered mirror. This was interpreted as the mirror having been copied from the original in the Ise Shrine. People believed that the original mirror was damaged when it had been used to bring the supreme sun goddess Amaterasu out of the Amano-Iwato Cave, in which she had shut herself, and that when Emperor Sujin had the original duplicated in the first century BCE, the scratch had also been copied.³¹

As a result of a number of fires at the imperial palace, the duplicated *Yata-no-Kagami* was damaged further. When the mirror was heavily damaged during the fire of 1005, courtiers discussed whether it should be recast or not.³² While some argued that a new mirror should be cast with remaining particles of the burned mirror, others wanted to preserve the remaining parts as they were.³³ It is reported that during the dispute, miracles were performed, and it seems the latter opinion was adopted.³⁴ Finally, in the fire of 1040 the mirror was crucially destroyed. According to *Shun-ki*, a diary of Fujiwara Sukefusa (1007–1057), the mirror could not be retrieved from its repository and only parts of it were salvaged.³⁵ Subsequently two of the court ladies, administrators of the mirror, received a divine message in their dreams and on the next day found two golden grains, which were remains of the mirror. They also gathered ash and soil, as if they were contact relics, from the area in which the two grains had been found.³⁶ Although it had lost its form as a mirror, from that time on the duplicated *Yata-no-Kagami* mirror in the imperial palace was treated not only as an invisible icon but also as a relic. The rest of the mirror, including the grains, were preserved in a newly made *Karabitsu*, a Chinese-style chest, decorated with gold and silver.³⁷ The possibility of making a new mirror was no longer discussed.

31 *Shaku-nihongi* 7 (*Teishitsu-seido-shi* vol. 5, 35–36).

32 *Shoyū-ki*, a diary of Fujiwara Sanesuke from 982 to 1032, entry of 17.11.1005 (*Teishitsu-seido-shi* vol. 5, 40–41).

33 *Midō-kanpaku-ki*, a diary of Fujiwara Michinaga from 998 to 1021, entry of 03.07.1006 (*Teishitsu-seido-shi* vol. 5, 38–39).

34 Saiki R., “11 Seiki ni okeru Tennō-ken-i no Henka”, *Kodaibunka (Cultura Antiqua)* 60, 4 (2009) 71.

35 *Shun-ki*, entry of 09.09.1040 (*Teishitsu-seido-shi* vol. 5, 42–45).

36 *Shun-ki*, entry of 10.09.1040 (*Teishitsu-seido-shi* vol. 5, 45–46).

37 *Shun-ki*, entry of 28.09.1040 (*Teishitsu-seido-shi* vol. 5, 47).



FIGURE 14.4 *Sumiyoshi Jyokei*, Court ladies with a sword and a casket of jewels from the first roll of the scroll “*Nenjū-gyōji-emaki*” (seventeenth century copy of an original from the twelfth century). Colour on paper, 1517.5 × 45.6 cm. Private collection.

IMAGE © AKIRA AKIYAMA.

Invisibility of the Regalia

Because the original mirror and the original sword became objects of worship at the shrines, they were kept completely out of sight. But the replicas in the palace were also kept off display. Even an emperor was not normally allowed to see them directly. When the fifty-seventh emperor, Yōzei (876–884), tried to draw the sword, he saw something gleaming in his palace and, surprised, stopped his action. He also tried once to open the casket of the jewels, but it emitted white smoke and the emperor cast it aside.³⁸ Almost the same episodes are told as deeds of the sixty-third emperor, Reizei (967–969).³⁹ When samurai warriors of the Genji clan drew out the casket of the *Yata-no-Kagami* mirror from the Chinese-style container and tried to open it at the battle of Dannoura in 1185, some felt dizzy and others bled from the nose.⁴⁰ After the fire of 1291 at the Atsuta Shrine, the casket of the *Ame-no-Murakumo-no-Tsurugi* sword was found by a priest. When he opened the lid a little, he saw red silk cloth. Guessing from only this slight clue that the holy sword should be wrapped in the cloth, he immediately closed the casket's lid.⁴¹

Enthronement Ceremony without the Imperial Regalia

The imperial regalia are today still considered indispensable to the enthronement ceremonies for Japanese emperors. Among the three treasures, the *Yata-no-Kagami* mirror, as stated earlier, gradually acquired a status that kept it from being moved. Today it remains in the repository called *Kashiko-dokoro*—which means the place people feel awed—in the imperial palace, while the sword and the jewels are still transportable. At the enthronement ceremonies of the current emperor, the sword and the jewels, although they remained out of sight in their respective caskets, were brought to the imperial throne, *Takamikura*, and set beside the emperor.

38 *Kojidan* (a compilation of narratives and anecdotes by Minamoto Akikane, 1212/1215) 1–4, 4 (Kawabata Y. – Araki H. (eds.), *Kojidan, Zoku-Kojidan* (Tōkyō: 2005) 12–13).

39 *Zoku-Kojidan* (a compilation of narratives and anecdotes, 1219) 1–2, 2 (Kawabata – Araki, *Kojidan, Zoku-Kojidan* 604).

40 *Genpei-seisui-ki* (a war chronicle of the Genji and Heike clans) 43 (*Teishitsu-seido-shi* vol. 5, 85–86).

41 *Towazugatari* (memoires of a court lady Nijō, ca. 1313). Cf. Inada, *Sanshu-no-Jingi* 156–157.

In 1183, the eighty-second emperor, Go-Toba (1183–1198), was allegedly the first emperor to be enthroned without the imperial regalia.⁴² Following definitive defeat against the hostile Genji clan, the Heike clan had taken the child emperor, Antoku (1180–1185), along with the imperial regalia, when they fled from Kyōto. The imperial court then had to continue as ‘the imperial court without the regalia’ for 645 days, until at least two of the objects, the mirror and the jewels, were brought back to the court on 25 April 1185.⁴³ Consequently, because the cloistered former emperor, Go-Shirakawa, wanted to elevate Antoku’s younger brother, Go-Toba, to the position of emperor by decree, the new emperor had to forgo the traditional ritual of the transmission of the imperial regalia at the enthronement ceremonies.

As a result, the validity of the enthronement ceremonies absent the regalia was discussed intensively among the court nobles.⁴⁴ A predominant opinion was that the regalia would be returned in the near future according to God’s will, because they were not made by human hands, but were gifts from heaven. People regarded the imperial regalia like *acheiropoieta* in Europe.

Nyozai-no-gi Ritual

In order to compensate for the loss of the regalia, the nobles of the imperial court decided to perform a new enthronement ceremony in the form of the *Nyozai-no-gi* ritual.⁴⁵ *Nyozai* means in this context ‘as if he is present’.⁴⁶ The *Nyozai-no-gi* ritual was supposedly derived from the *Nyozai-no-rei*, or *Nyozairei*, practice, which had been established in the era of the sixty-first

42 Tani N., “Gotoba-tennō Zaii kara Insei-ki niokeru Jingi-seisaku to Jingikan”, *Kodaibunka* 60, 2 (2008/2009) 23–42.

43 Ibidem 24.

44 Ibidem 24–29.

45 On *Nyozai-no-gi*, see Hori Y., “Tennō no Shi no Rekishitekiichi: ‘Nyozai-no-gi’ wo Chūshin ni”, *Shirin* 81, 1 (1998) 38–69; Teikoku Gakushūin (ed.), *Teishitsu-seido-shi*, vol. 3 (Tōkyō: 1939). On *Nyozai-no-gi* for the enthronement ceremony, see Tani, “Gotoba-tennō Zaii” 26–27.

46 The concept *Nyozai* had its origin in ancient China. Cf. the *Analects*, an anthology of the works of Confucius (521–479 BCE): ‘Confucius held a ceremony for the repose of his ancestors as if they were present (*Jutsai* = *Nyozai*). When he offered prayer for gods, he did so as if they were there. He said, “If not doing so, I feel that the rites were not held.”’ (*Analects* 8.3.12).

emperor, Suzaku (930–946).⁴⁷ Because this emperor was enthroned at the age of eight, courtiers introduced a reed blind in front of the emperor in the palace. Because the blind made the child emperor invisible to the court nobles, there was no need for him always to be present. In this way courtiers could hold regular rituals and ceremonies without the presence of the emperor. They behaved as if he was there in front of them. Hence, this kind of imperial ritual was dubbed *Nyozai-no-rei*.

In 1036, the sixty-eighth emperor, Go-Ichijō (1016–1036), died while still emperor, so court nobles applied *Nyozai-no-rei* to the dead emperor. Because an interregnum had to be avoided, they behaved as if the late emperor was still alive, until the enthronement of the new emperor, Go-Suzaku. Since then, this ritual has been called *Nyozai-no-gi*, and has often been applied when a current emperor has died before a new one's enthronement. This ritual perhaps reminds us of banquets in medieval France that introduced a wax figure of a dead king, although in eleventh-century Japan no such image was used.

At the imperial ceremonies of Emperor Go-Toba, without the *Ame-no-Murakumo-no-Tsurugi* sword in 1185, people decided to apply this kind of ritual also to the regalia, because the sword was lost at the battle of Dannoura. Principally the new emperor had to be guided by the court ladies, *Naishi*, who held caskets which contained the sword and the jewels. Whether a court lady would proceed with a container without the sword in it, or only with empty hands, was discussed in depth by the court nobles. In consequence Go-Toba was led by two court ladies, one had a casket with the jewels and another held nothing.⁴⁸

A Provisional Conclusion

In comparison to the relatively static imperial regalia of the Holy Roman Empire in Nuremberg, the Japanese imperial regalia appear to have both a relic-like and an icon-like character. While the Japanese regalia have a mythological origin and seem to have been considered contact relics of deities, their replicas gained a status similar to that of the originals. Thus, not only the originals, but also the replicas were animated and performed miracles, just like Christian icons of various locations.

47 On *Nyozai-no-rei*, see Mitsuda S., “Heianjidai Chūki no Dairi niokeru Misu no Shiyō-hō: Nyozairei”, *Nihonkenchikugakkai-taikai Kōen-kōgai-shū* (2012) 835–836.

48 Tani, “Gotoba-tennō Zaii” 28.

How could the replicas of the Japanese imperial regalia gain almost the same status as the originals? A similar tendency is recognisable in the tradition of the hidden Buddha statues in the Buddhist temples of Japan. For example, according to local legends, the first Buddha statue was brought from India via Korea to Japan in the sixth century and afterward to Zenkō-ji temple in Nagano in the seventh century. Allegedly this statue, the image of the Amitabha triad, is today still preserved there as *Zettai-Hibutsu*, an absolute secret Buddha statue.⁴⁹ Commandments of the temple required the absolute secrecy of this statue. Neither public, nor priests including the head priest, were allowed to see the original statue. While the original has never been exhibited, a replica, referred to as *Omaedachi*, 'a statue standing before the original', is publicly shown once every six years, just like the 'vier grossen Heiligtümer' in Aachen. Thus, in this case the replica was regarded as the most holy object and achieved a status similar to that of the original. At least 200 copies of this type of statue, called *Zenkō-ji*-style Amitabha triad statues, still survive, and function the same as icons in Christian cultures.

One difference between the two cultures, then, concerns the rhetoric of disclosure and concealment of the sacred objects. Their visibility was not always required in Japan. Rather their concealment seems to have enhanced their aura, obscuring the divide between functioning as a relic or as an icon. Compared to Christian cultures, the secrecy of the most holy objects was highly respected in Japan, as is the case of the original imperial regalia and the hidden Buddha statues.

Scientific approaches to the imperial regalia have generally not been made until now, with only a few exceptional cases. According to *Shiojiri* (1697), a vast collection of essays by Amano Sadakage, the *Ame-no-Murakumo-no-Tsurugi* sword was only taken out of its casket and measured for the first time in 1686, after a fire at the Atsuta Shrine.⁵⁰ However, aniconism was not adopted in Japan. Instead, in order to enhance the aura of the hidden originals, replicas played an important role, using their multiple locations to consolidate power under the guise of secrecy. As substitutes of the holy originals, in the course

49 On the Amitabha triad statues, see McCallum D.F., *Zenkōji and Its Icon: A Study in Medieval Japanese Religious Art* (Princeton, NJ: 1994). On *Hibutsu*, see Rambelli F., "Secret Buddhas (Hibutsu): The Limits of Buddhist Representation", *Monumenta Nipponica* 57, 3 (2007) 271–307; Horton S.J., *Living Buddhist Statues in Early Medieval and Modern Japan* (New York, NY – Houndmills: 2007) 156–192; Suzuki M., "Hibutsu (Hidden Buddha): Living Images in Japan and the Orthodox Icons", *Okayama University Research Project Reports* 17 (Okayama: 2011) 5–24.

50 *Shiojiri* (1697) (Inada, *Sanshu-no-Jingi* 161–162).

of time replicas gradually adopted a status similar to that of the originals. On 2 June 2016, an empty Chinese-style chest, a *Karabitsu*, was found within the precincts of the Nikō Shrine, a Shinto shrine in Utsunomiya city.⁵¹ It was supposed that a principal object of worship had been contained in the chest. However, no priest from the shrine knew what kind of holy object might have been contained in the chest, and thus the thief could not be accused of theft of an object of worship. Secrecy of the holy is supposedly still maintained in Japan.⁵²

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⁵¹ *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 02.06.2016.

⁵² On secrecy as a peculiarity of Japanese culture, see Scheid B. – Teeuwen M. (eds.), *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion* (New York, NY: 2006).

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Relics Management: Building a Spiritual Empire in Asia (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries)

Ines G. Županov

When Francis Xavier (1506–1552) embarked on a journey from Rome to Goa in 1540 he had only one shirt, as Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) discovered, quickly ordering some more clothes to be packed for this very first Jesuit missionary sent on a long tortuous journey without return.¹ Just a few years later, in 1544, Loyola himself faced a difficult decision concerning the role of poverty in the new religious order he was setting up and for which he was writing the *Constitutions*.² Should the Jesuits accept donations and endowments, or should they keep the virtue of poverty as a ‘strong wall of religion’?³ This question kept Ignatius in prayer night after night in front of a small portrait of Jesus and the Virgin Mary.⁴ The problem with money and possession is a core predicament at the heart of all religious institutions. As Peter Brown recently argued, the Christian Church invented a successful formula by siphoning off ‘secular’ wealth into its coffers through the invention of a heavenly spiritual treasury for which the monetary down-payment started during one’s earthly existence. That sin was a debt was an idea present from the beginning, in the Gospels of Luke and Matthew, and the monetary option became the only solution.

On the wings of the burgeoning affective spirituality of the Catholic Reformation, Francis Xavier, just like Ignatius, despaired over money, which he perceived as dangerously enmeshed in social obligations. ‘The one who takes [money], will be taken by the other’.⁵ The ideological mission on which he embarked was to give and provide for the universal salvation of each and every

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- 1 Schurhammer G., S.J., *Francis Xavier, His Life, His Times, India (1506–45)*, trans. J. Costelloe, S.J. (Rome: 1973) vol. 1, 555–556.
 - 2 Mostaccio S., *Early Modern Jesuits between Obedience and Conscience during the Generalate of Claudio Acquaviva (1581–1615)* (Farnham, Surrey: 2014) 70, 78.
 - 3 Bowersock G.W., ‘Money and Your Soul’ (review of Peter Brown’s *The Ransom of the Soul: Afterlife and Wealth in Early Western Christianity*, Harvard University Press, 2015), *The New York Review of Books* 62, 9 (2015) 928–930.
 - 4 Mostaccio, *Early Modern Jesuits* 70.
 - 5 Xavier F., *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliaque eius scripta (1535–52)*, eds. G. Schurhammer – J. Wicki (Rome: 1944) vol. 2, 99 (hereafter EX).

person, and to make individuals enrich the universal Catholic Church—all this ideally without touching (temporal) money himself.

The story of how Xavier and his coreligionists—who succeeded in building a ‘spiritual’ empire that comprised not just the souls saved, but also colleges, churches, hospitals, libraries, and all kinds of valuables—might just as well be told from its ending, when the Society of Jesus was dismantled by the Catholic monarchies and the Pope, and their possessions in Portugal and the Portuguese empire were auctioned off on the orders of the Marques de Pombal (1699–1782).⁶ A casual glance at a rather dull list of objects enumerated in the inventory of the Basilica Bom Jesus and the Casa Professa in Goa in 1935, only a fraction of the riches it contained in the middle of the eighteenth century, reveals the vestiges of the former splendour of the gold and silver reliquaries, candleholders, and similar objects studded with precious stones.⁷

In fact, already in 1589, a concerned Jesuit warned the General of the Order in Rome, Claudio Acquaviva (1543–1615), that the Professed House of Goa was excessively decorated.⁸ In his response in 1595, the General recommended moderation, and in 1597, while the cornerstone of the Jesuit basilica Bom Jesus was laid, Nicolau Pimenta (1546–1614), the Visitor, gave a written order that the church should not be decorated with figures and gold.⁹

The opulence of Jesuit churches such as the Bom Jesus, which became a pilgrimage site after it began to house the body of Francis Xavier within its walls, is obviously due to the centripetal pull of gifts and endowments by the faithful, from the poorest of the poor to the richest of the rich. It was through gifts of various objects—reliquaries, portraits, sculptures, tombs—immobilised in the interior of the churches, that the fervent Christians established the relationship with their chosen saints and patrons. As the endowments poured in, these objects became bigger, more ornamented, and were encased in precious metals [Fig. 15.1]. Every gift also brought a web of relationships, based on patron and client arrangements, with which the Jesuits surely acquired more public visibility and importance, but were also bound by them, as Xavier lucidly remarked early on.

6 Borges C.J., *The Economics of the Goa Jesuits 1542–1759: An Explanation of Their Rise and Fall* (New Delhi: 1994) 125–138.

7 Teles R.M., “Inventário da Casa Professa de Bom Jesus”, *Buletin do Instituto Vasco da Gama* 53 (Bastorá: 1942) 130–146.

8 Wicki J., S.J. – Gomes J., S.J. (eds.), *Documenta Indica* (Rome: 1981) vol. 15, 373 (hereafter *DI*). See also Osswald C., *Written in Stone: Jesuit Buildings in Goa and Their Artistic and Architectural Features* (Goa: 2013).

9 *DI* 18, 809.



FIGURE 15.1 *Various artists, The tomb of Francis Xavier consisting of a marble pedestal and silver casket with a separate small silver reliquary (seventeenth century). Old Goa, Basilica of Bom Jesus, side chapel.*

IMAGE © INES G. ŽUPANOV.

Missionary orders scattered throughout the world under the patronage of the Iberian monarchies, and later under the Roman Propaganda Fide and the French king, were caught between the need to preserve at least a façade of poverty, on the one hand, and on the other the need to expand their financial portfolios and possessions. Different, context-sensitive methods—sometimes called ‘cultural accommodation’—were devised when confronted with the Protestants in Europe or against Buddhists in Japan, Confucian scholars in China, the Mughal court in India, or settler colonies in Brazil, and they proved to be very expensive ventures, which added further difficulty in resolving the poverty/opulence dilemma.

One of the solutions—already attested in the history of religious expansion—was to employ a wide range of material objects that combined, in varying degrees, both an aesthetic form and a sacred substance, in addition to the crude but quantifiable materiality of wood, stone, silver, cloth, as well as human bones, flesh, blood, and the like. What is important about these objects is that they can be endowed with an exorbitant value at one point and none or very little at another. Except for the casings in which they were kept, the sacred relics contained in them come close to the definition of ‘money’. While having no intrinsic value (without faith or trust), they become both means and unit of exchange and the way to store riches.

In building a ‘spiritual empire’ these objects are the only tangible and quantifiable currency available. Although they are destined to circulate, they are also subject to ‘capture’ and immobilisation [Figs. 15.2, 15.3]. A certain degree of inertia inherent in these objects is also attested in Patrick Geary’s study of relics, all of which are in search of a shrine or church, and move only when their value is not ‘recognised’ properly. Poor management of ‘sacred objects’ could result in their loss. What needed constant care was the ensemble of affects employed to tie the object and the community together. The steady or even growing value of a relic or a saint depended on emotions the community invested in the relationship and showcased through rituals, apologetic literature, and the production of images and ‘secondary’ sacred objects such as postcards, figurines, amulets, pendants, and similar items. Now in effigy, a relic may therefore continue its nomadic existence and engage in new conquests.

In this chapter, I will look into a few selected episodes of Jesuit ‘relics management’ [Fig. 15.4]. The question I pose is how the ebb and flow of these ‘sacred objects’ constituted or added ‘value’—spiritual and economic—both to particular locations and to the Catholic spiritual network.¹⁰ And yet this value

10 These objects were based on need, not on desire, in the way that one covets luxury products. However, they also contributed to the creation of sociability and commercial



FIGURE 15.2 *Anon. (artist), Relics with no visible names of the saints as parts of the side altar (seventeenth century). Gilded wood. Old Goa, Basilica of Bom Jesus.*
IMAGE © INES G. ŽUPANOV.



FIGURE 15.3
Anon. (artist), A relic as a part of the side altar with no visible name of the saint (seventeenth century). Gilded wood. Old Goa, Basilica of Bom Jesus.
IMAGE © INES G. ŽUPANOV.



FIGURE 15.4 *Photograph of a store room with 'precious' objects. Old Goa, Basilica of Bom Jesus.*
IMAGE © INES G. ŽUPANOV.

could just as easily disintegrate when the magical and enchanted circle linked by its umbilical cord to the Catholic Church and to universal *Christianitas*, with Rome at its centre, had been broken.¹¹

By looking into only a sample of documents from the Jesuit archives and from the first missionary century, my aim is to follow these objects as they pass through texts witnessing the construction of various, sometimes temporary, sometimes long-lasting, communities of affects and faith in Portuguese Asia.¹² My argument is that between the early sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century, the Jesuits not only quickened the flow of these objects, they also managed its quantity and quality, and modulated the publicity accorded to them in the apologetic texts.¹³ Most importantly, from around the middle of the seventeenth century the Jesuits, often torn between service to a community and demands from metropolises such as Lisbon and Rome, tried to keep a lid on the important relics and preserve them in one place.

'A Piece of Wood for the Love of God!'

It has been argued that the Portuguese and other Europeans continued to run a trade deficit when dealing with Asia in the early modern period, and that there were different ways to surmount this initial negative economic conjunction. The inflow of American silver bullion and territorial conquests were among them. Since the temporal conquest turned out to be relatively rare and impractical in most of the places, spiritual conquest by way of Catholic proselytism became an important economic booster, and it also had something to do with the export of special kinds of valuable objects. Sacred relics, rosaries, crosses and *agni Dei* for private ownership, public display, and worship circulated in the early modern Catholic world in the metropolises and in the overseas imperial territories, leaving behind trails of sacred energy, written about in texts, sculpted in stone, celebrated in processions, painted in pictures, wrought in

networks. See Berg M. – Eger E. (eds.), *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (Basingstoke: 2003).

- 11 Cymbalista R., "Relíquias sagradas e a construção do território cristão na Idade Moderna", *Anais do Museu Paulista* (new series) 5, 14, 2 (São Paulo: 2006) 11–50, at 16.
- 12 The political and cultural role of the relics, from late antiquity and through the medieval period, has been admirably studied in particular by Brown P., *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, IL: 1981).
- 13 See also Cymbalista, "Relíquias sagradas".

silver, even dissolved at the bottom of the ocean. The value of these objects that travelled the world on the very same ships bringing silver bullion to Asia is difficult to define in terms of quantifiable financial capital, but it was referred to by all interested actors as 'treasure' (*tesouro*).¹⁴

Of course some of the relics were encased in precious materials such as 'a gold-plated monstrance (*custodia dourada*) filled with relics' or another 'with a golden cross inside with the relic of the wood of Christ's cross' (*cruz d'ouro dentro na custodia com o lenho da cruz de Christo*) [Fig. 15.5].¹⁵ What is interesting is that these two monstrances were brought to the Portuguese fortress in Kollam on the Malabar Coast in 1572 by the Jesuit Provincial Pedro Riera (Buenaventura, 1526–1573) who was on his way to Europe after having to deal with some 'scandals' that occurred among the Jesuits in Macau.¹⁶ According to fragmentary sources, Riera dealt with and managed to stop Juan Bautista de Ribera (ca. 1524–1594) a quarrelsome Jesuit newcomer, from entering the Chinese hinterland without permission. In order to accomplish what he wanted, Ribera took all his possessions from the Jesuit residence and gave them to the 'lay people' (*seculares*) for safe keeping before taking off one night through the window.¹⁷ Among these were books, clothes, and relics. Besides being disobedient, Ribera is also known for having brought one of the heads of the Eleven Thousand Virgins to Melaka in 1567.¹⁸

From this slice of an unruly Jesuit's *vita*, it is clear that sacred objects such as 'relics' were ubiquitous and faithful missionary companions, zig-zagging from one Jesuit mission or residence to another. It is impossible to produce the full list and the itineraries they took through Asia and throughout the world. If we add the relics that must have also accompanied other missionary orders, Portuguese ecclesiastics, and probably some of the Catholic pious lay travellers, we have potentially millions of tiny little bones, pieces of cloth or writing, splinters of the true cross, and many other varieties constantly moving into, through, and out of Asia. These invisible and unaccountable objects were obviously employed as personal protectors to be kept close to one's body.

14 *DI* 8, 629. Rego to members in Europe, Kollam [Coulano], 7 Jan. 1573, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Goa 12 II, fol. 39v.

15 *DI* 8, 629.

16 Riera perished in a shipwreck on the way to Europe in 1573.

17 *DI* 8, 768.

18 *DI* 8, 490 (ft. 12) and *DI* 7, 254, 358, 514. On the cult of Eleven Thousand Virgins see Montgomery S.B., *St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins of Cologne: Relics, Reliquaries and the Visual Culture of Group Sanctity in Late Medieval Europe* (Oxford: 2009).



FIGURE 15.5 *Anon. (silversmith), Reliquary with the relic of the Holy Thorn (end of the seventeenth century). Silver, 48.5 cm (height). Old Goa, The Museum of Christian Art (Convent of Santa Monica).*

IMAGE © THE MUSEUM OF CHRISTIAN ART (CONVENT OF SANTA MONICA), OLD GOA.

Unlike public relics enshrined in particular places, towards which the pilgrims undertook journeys for the sake of what Peter Brown called a *therapy of distance*, for the missionaries in Asia a relic was a *therapy for distance*.¹⁹ For a missionary, it was a personal friend that warded off the dangers inherent in travel through foreign counties, and in particular the perils of shipwrecks. If a bundle of emotions were attached to such material objects—of need, care, and ownership—thus making them invaluable, they were also the ultimate resource used to pay for safe passage: especially when thrown into the sea in order to calm the waters or solicit good winds. Some of the most frighteningly dramatic scenes described in traveller's diaries were sudden violent storms and shipwrecks. There is a whole genre of these narratives, a *História trágico-marítima*, named after one of the popular collections of such stories.²⁰

When the first of the relics or 'heads' of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, identified in later documents as St. Gerasina, arrived in Asia in 1548, its first deed was to save from peril the ship on which it was transported. The *Galega* was stuck on a reef at ebbtide when 'as a good pastor in place of Christ our Redeemer', a Jesuit, António Gomes (d. 1554), brought out the head and made a procession with candles lit and prayers, at which point the ship slowly resumed its course.²¹ Having passed the first test and proved its divine *potentia* by both managing nature and the community, the same relic would also head the confraternity of Eleven Thousand Virgins at the College of São Paulo Velho in Goa with Viceroy D. Afonso de Noronha (1550–1554) becoming its first member. In its honor, an oil retable had been commissioned for the side altar consecrated to the cult of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, and a silver monstrance was specifically ordered as an appropriate recipient for such a treasure. Within only a few years, the confraternity counted 2,000 members.²² A female branch of the confraternity was also set up through donations and testamentary endowments by the pious Catholics, some of whom were locally converted women.²³ The head therefore became an important fundraiser.

19 Brown, *The Cult of Saints* 87. Cronin M., *Translation and Globalization* (Routledge: 2003) 9.

20 Gomes de Brito Bernardo, *História trágico-marítima, em que se escrevem chronologicamente os naufragios [...]* (Lisbon, Off. da Congregação do Oratório: 1735–1736).

21 *DI* 1 430.

22 Fróis to companions in Coimbra, Goa, 1 Dec. 1552, *DI* 2 461.

23 Osswald M.C., "The Society of Jesus and the Diffusion of the Cult and Iconography of Saint Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins in the Portuguese Empire during the Second Half of the 16th Century", in *Congresso Internacional Os Jesuítas no Espaço Português*, vol. 2 (Porto: 2005) 601–609, at 607. On the virginal martyrs and the cult of virginity encouraged by the post-Tridentine Church, see Ditchfield S., "An Early Christian School of Sanctity in Tridentine Rome", *Storia d'Italia, Annali* 16 (Torino: 2000) 189.

Not only was the feast of St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins (21 October) celebrated in Goa from that time onwards with great pomp, it officially became the date of the beginning of the school year in St. Paul's College, with various decorations made by the students—from paintings and poems (epigrams) written and posted along the walls in Greek and Latin, to rugs and tapestries, and other 'inventions' for which, according to the famous Jesuit writer Luís Fróis (1532–1597), 'the native boys have natural talent and inclination'.²⁴ The date itself became 'auspicious' since it was used for organising collective baptismal ceremonies or for people coming to ask for baptism. Thus in 1562, on 21 October, the Jesuits baptised 196 people in Bassein, while in Goa three years earlier, some 200 'gentiles from the village of São João, which is called Carambolim' came to the Jesuit college in Goa to ask for baptism.²⁵

The sheer number of full heads or bones that were easily extracted from among the Eleven Thousand Virgins in Cologne played in favour of their popularity and rapid transmission all over the globe in the early modern period.²⁶ For example, already in 1517 one of the virgins, Santa Auta, arrived in Lisbon by sea as a present to the Queen D. Leonor (1458–1525) from the Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519).²⁷ After Goa, heads and bones of the virgins arrived in Mozambique (1560), Melaka (1567), Daman (1581), Bassein (1584), but also Bahia (1575) in Brazil where by 1654 there were more of these relics in Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo.²⁸

Another prodigious source of relics, which, just like the Eleven Thousand Virgins, had been popular at least from the time of the publication of Voragine's *Golden Legend*, and had travelled far and wide in the early modern period, was the 'wood' (*lenho*) or a piece of the Holy Cross [Fig. 15.5].²⁹ According to John Calvin (1509–1564) in his *Treatise on Relics* (1543), the

24 Fróis to companions in Coimbra, Goa, 12 Nov. 1559, *DI* 4, 294–295.

25 Teixeira mentions that a 'tiny bone' of the Eleven Thousand Virgins is venerated on the major feast day. Teixeira to Lainez, Bassein, 1 Dec. 1561, *DI* 5, 290 and 295. Cabral to Portuguese members, Bassein, 2 Dec. 1562, *DI* 5, 628.

26 Saved from the Protestants in northern and central Europe, relics were channelled towards their safe haven in the southern Catholic monarchies and then onwards to the overseas colonies. Lazure G., "Possessing the Sacred: Monarchy and Identity in Philip II's Relic Collection at the Escorial", *Renaissance Quarterly* 60, 1 (2007) 58–93.

27 Falcão J.A., "Santa Úrsula", in *Entre o céu e a terra: arte sacra da diocese de Beja*, exh. cat. (Beja: 2000) 216–218.

28 Osswald, "The Society of Jesus" 605.

29 Both of these relics acquired fame through the expansion of the readership of Voragine J. de, *La légende dorée*, ed. A. Boureau (Paris: 2004).

references to the pieces of cross in churches and cathedrals would fill the whole volume while the things themselves would 'form a whole ship's cargo'.³⁰

In 1554, on board a ship to India, the Jesuit Diogo do Soveral (1523–1586) and his companions encountered a huge tempest. In an effort to ward off the peril, they threw blessed water into the sea and dipped into it 'many relics' of the 'wood' (*lenho*) attached to a rope.³¹ It is impossible to know how many are 'many', but references to 'wood' relics in Jesuit correspondence multiplied thereafter. When the future martyr Gonçalo de Sylveira (1526–1561) travelled to India, he brought with him various relics, among which was a piece of wood.³² Without having to use it as protection from the storm, he in fact employed it as a sign of spiritual conquest of the land. When his party anchored in Mozambique, the Jesuits, with great pomp, took the relics in procession from the ship to the door of the city and into the church.³³ Some years later, as if following a well-scripted destiny, Sylveira gave up all his relics before taking off to Monomotapa where he himself ended as a martyr and a potential source of relics.³⁴ The Jesuit Francisco Durão (1528–after 1597) accompanied the relics, which were already encased in an altarpiece (*retábulo*), from Goa to Cochin, as Sylveira ordered, and left a long description of their reception and festivities. There were cannonades and music, as the procession slowly arrived at the church with the object wrapped in brocade and silk.³⁵ The reason for the incredible local devotion was due, according to Durão, to the fact that among the relics was the 'wood of the holy cross', which also gave its name to the bishop's church and the city, 'because it was seized by ours on the day of the Holy Cross'.³⁶

Since in the later part of the sixteenth century the relics were submitted to more 'quality' control in their very centres of distribution, the Jesuits increasingly required permission to dispose of them, especially when embarking on overseas journeys. Thus the Jesuit provincial of Portugal, Emmanuel Rodrigues (d. 1596), wrote to the General in Rome that he told Bernardino Ferrario (ca. 1537–1584) that the General gave him permission to take with him 'the holy thorn' (*la santa espina*) and '[a piece] of wood of the Holy Cross' (*del leño de la*

30 Calvin J., *A Treatise on Relics*, trans. V. Krasinski (Edinburgh: 1854) 233.

31 Soveral to Portuguese members, Goa, 5 Nov. 1554, *DI* 3, 111.

32 Fróis to members in Europe, Goa, before 12 Nov. 1559, *DI* 4, 277. Fróis reported that Sylveira gave away all his sacred objects to Brother Durão, who was returning to the Fishery Coast.

33 Galdámez to members in Coimbra, Goa, 4 Dec. 1556, *DI* 3, 507. See also Oviedo to the members in the Lisbon House, Goa, 7 Nov. 1556, *DI* 3, 519–520.

34 Fróis to members in Europe, Goa, before 12 Nov., 1559, *DI* 4, 277.

35 Durão to Petro de Sequeira, Goa, Nov. 1559, *DI* 4, 358–359.

36 *Ibidem* 359.

santa cruz) on his journey to India [Fig. 15.6].³⁷ This special gift is confirmed in a letter from Alessandro Valla (1530–1580) to the General Everard Mercurian (1514–1580). The four Jesuits who embarked on the fleet for India in 1575 brought with them ‘many things [...] in addition to those you ordered, good books, altar ornaments, *agni Dei*, blessed Ave Marias, and good relics, richly adorned, especially the crown of thorns and the cross both of which cost me only for workmanship a hundred *scudi*’.³⁸ As the first Jesuit procurator, Valla had to deal with missionary logistics, and in particular with expenses and objects on the move. It was a difficult office since nobody seemed to have been happy with the results of his efforts. Especially critical was Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606), who doggedly pursued the question of accounts throughout his career in order to safeguard his pet mission in Japan. Already in 1577 he denounced Valla for spending money recklessly, and complained bitterly about the funds and objects sent two years previously that never arrived at their destination, among which were ‘images and reliquaries, books and other things’.³⁹ In another letter, two months later, there is a more precise list of things he never received: ‘many images and some of them in expensive frames, and many *agni Dei* in expensive garnish, and other 40 also big and beautiful that were sent by the Abbess of Santa Clara, who is my sister’.⁴⁰ What he did receive that year were ‘many images big and small on paper, one box of *agni Dei* simple and small [...] and other made in Rome of silk and gold; and one image of Our Lady of medium size [destined for China] in frame and garnished in walnut wood’. But these were all sent by the new Procurator Sebastian Sabino (d. 1597), who replaced Alessandro Valla.

Valignano confirmed that the ‘wooden cross’ (*la cruz de leño*) and the ‘thorn’ (*espinho*) did arrive, but spending 500 ducats for their adornment was too much, given that it could have been done without any expense in India, ‘just as we have other pieces and reliquaries very rich[ly decorated]’.⁴¹ What Valignano was very pragmatically pointing out was that the costs of Indian labor and craftsmanship were much lower than in Europe. What would become even more apparent in the years to come was the ability of Indians and other Asians to imitate European craftsmen and to transcreate European artefacts. A huge problem, on the other hand, was, as had been bound to happen,

37 Manuel Rodríguez, Provincial of the Portuguese province to Everard Mercurian, General, Lisbon, 14 Mar. 1575, *DI* 9, 627.

38 Valla to Mercurian, Lisbon, 15 Mar. 1575, *DI* 9, 630.

39 Valignano to Mercurian, Goa, 16 Sept. 1577, *DI* 10, 877–878.

40 Valignano to Mercurian, Goa, 20 Nov. 1577, *DI* 10, 1027.

41 *Ibidem* 1028.



FIGURE 15.6 *Anon. (silversmith), Reliquary with the wood of the Holy Cross (1650–1660). Silver, 52.5 cm (height). Old Goa, The Museum of Christian Art (Convent of Santa Monica).*

IMAGE © THE MUSEUM OF CHRISTIAN ART (CONVENT OF SANTA MONICA), OLD GOA.

that decisions concerning the expediting of relics were taken in Lisbon, and many of the objects initially destined for India were rerouted to other places, in particular Brazil. A cross and a clock with 'many pieces of the holy cross' intended for Japan never arrived.⁴²

For Valignano, formerly a jurist *in saeculo*, the 'sacred artefacts' had price tags attached to them and they were supposed to reach their rightful owners, thus making them objects of hard Jesuit 'litigation'. If the exchange and circulation of objects (and letters and books) fostered and fuelled Jesuit transnational and transcontinental sociability, in Valignano's template of management they had to be closely watched and regulated. If not, as his experience showed, the uncertainty and the sense of injustice provoked a huge amount of anger. In his denunciation of Alessandro Valla he accused the procurator of hoarding many expensive things (relics included) in his 'cubicle' (*cubículo*).⁴³

If the accusation seems exaggerated, emotions welled up in correspondence over objects and artefacts, stipends, allocations, and expenses, and they were directly related to efforts at 'discipline', 'surveillance', and 'governmentality' within the Society of Jesus. As a corporation established by the seven founding fathers, it grew to a membership of more than 1,000 by the time Ignatius of Loyola died, and 23,000 in the seventeenth century. The members were scattered far and near all over the globe. Managing communication—shaped by affect and reason in particular—between the Jesuits and the world, and between themselves, was of utmost importance for the survival of the Jesuit project. It has been argued that the regularisation of correspondence—the work of Juan de Polanco (1517–1576)—was a tool to coordinate the complex social and cultural apparatus of Jesuit missions, residences, and colleges. The relics and other sacred objects and artefacts were also tools of communication: they signified protection, therapeutic action, love, hate, anger, and desperation. In a word, they created passions, which were especially eloquent when scarce, unavailable, misused, or counterfeited.⁴⁴ As Jerome Rebelo (ca. 1534–1598) somewhat disingenuously wrote from Cochin in 1585, 'this college greatly lacks relics, it does not even have a head of [one of] the Eleven Thousand Virgins'.⁴⁵

In 1588, a provincial of the East Indies wrote to Rome asking for some relics for the *casa professa* in Goa. 'In this professed house which is very well frequented by people there is not a single relic nor reliquary, while in the college of St. Paul there are many relics and reliquaries [...]. We are asking if it were

42 Ibidem 1027.

43 Ibidem 1029.

44 *DI* 15, 249.

45 *DI* 13, 57.

good if the college of St. Paul gave this house a relic of the thorn [brought in 1575].⁴⁶ A year later Pedro Luís Bramane (d. 1596), the only Jesuit of Indian origin during the first two centuries of the Society of Jesus, also wrote from Kollam a very personal letter to the General in Rome with an emotional request for 'a piece of wood for the love of God' (*um pouco do lenho por amor de Deos*).⁴⁷

Digging for and Transplanting Christian History

While relics and other sacred objects were employed in building Christian communities by primarily evoking the emotions of fear and anxiety for the integrity of the material body, in order to shore up collective identity, they conjured up a sense of a long Christian apostolic past. In a move parallel to the planting of the seeds of Christian history by way of the relics of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, the True Cross, the Thorn, the Holy Mary's Hair, and also of the martyrs and popes such as Anicetus, Zafirinus, Cornelius, Sotherus, Priscus, Celsus, St. Lawrence, St. Louis, and numerous others, Portuguese Asia was planted with the seeds of Christian history.⁴⁸ The Portuguese had conducted their own antiquarian and archeological projects in order to prove that India had already been an integral part of the ancient (or permanent and preexisting) universal Christian empire they were about to reconquer. The *longue durée* story of European enchantment with Asia, and the specifically Christian ways of assimilating it into its own history, are important, but can be addressed here only fleetingly.⁴⁹ At the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Portuguese ships began sailing to and from South Asia, the importance of the claim to prior Christian proselytism in the region became more than urgent, for reasons that span from the juridical and political to the religious and affective. The Portuguese elites, it has been argued, were eager to prove that they were direct inheritors of both the Roman 'pagan' and the Roman Christian Empire.⁵⁰ A useful hero of the first was Alexander the Great (356 BCE–323 BCE), and of the second St. Thomas the Apostle (d. 72 CE). The narratives of these two

46 *DI* 15, 45.

47 *DI* 15, 222.

48 *DI* 16 (1591), 298; *DI* 15, 520; *DI* 16, 807.

49 Rubiés J.P., *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250–1625* (Cambridge: 2000).

50 See the first chapter in Xavier Â.B. – Županov I.G., *Catholic Orientalism: Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge (16th–18th centuries)* (New Delhi: 2015).

exemplary lives stimulated the imagination of *translatio imperii*. The Apostle, in particular, had been used to justify the full scale of missionary efforts from the middle of the sixteenth century.

The need to find proofs such as the tomb and the relics of St. Thomas—the reports of whose existence on the Coromandel Coast in the place that was consequently named São Tomé de Meliapor, had been spotlighted by medieval travellers from Marco Polo (ca. 1254–1324) and Jean de Montecorvino (1247–1328) in the thirteenth century to Jean de Marignolli (ca. 1290–ca. 1358), Odoric de Pordenone (1286–1331), and Niccolò de' Conti (ca. 1395–1469) in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—spurred archaeological research. The scramble for the Apostle's relics took place as soon as the site had been 'discovered' and explored from 1517 onwards. All major chronicles of the period such as João de Barros's (1496–1570) *Décadas*, Fernão Lopes de Castanheda's (1500–1559) *História do descobrimento* and Gaspar Correia's (ca. 1492/6–1563) *Lendas da Índia* wove together the story of the life of St. Thomas from apocryphal Christian sources, Indian lore found among the Nasranis or Syro-Malabar Christians, who also became known as St. Thomas Christians in Portuguese literature, and the antiquarian-cum-archaeological excavations in Meliapor (Mylapore), today a suburb of Chennai.

The steps and traces of St. Thomas the Apostle's presence had been found all over the New World as well in the wake of Portuguese discoveries. The news of traces in Brazil, which was considered at first the east coast of India, appeared in 1517, but it was the Jesuits who further investigated the local vestiges, both linguistic and material, of his earlier presence. Thus it was imagined that the Apostle had sailed there on Roman ships, just as the Portuguese writers depicted their own 'discoverers' as the New Romans.⁵¹ Manoel da Nóbrega (1517–1570), a Jesuit who arrived in Brazil in 1549, wrote that 'the Indians know St. Thomas and call him Pay Zomé [Tomé in Portuguese]'.⁵²

By the middle of the sixteenth century the tombs, the footprints, and the water sources attributed to the Apostle, as well as various other objects that had rubbed off his body or his body parts, filled in the pages of Portuguese and

51 Buarque de Holanda S., *Visão do Paraíso: Os motivos edênicos no descobrimento e colonização do Brasil* (São Paulo: 1969) 152.

52 Magasich-Airola J. – Beer J.M. de, *América Mágica: When Renaissance Europe Thought It Had Conquered Paradise* (London: 2007) 41. Nóbrega M. da, *Cartas do Brasil* (Belo Horizonte: 1988) 101–102. See also, "Carta do Pe. Manuel da Nóbrega ao Pe. Simão Rodrigues, Bahia, 9 August, 1549", in Leite S. (ed.), *Cartas dos primeiros jesuítas no Brasil*, vol. 1 (1538–1553) (São Paulo: 1954) 138.

apologetic Catholic histories.⁵³ From the start, these relics, witnesses of the early apostolic efforts, were drawn into global circulation as material objects and as the stuff of imagination captured in words. In fact, the texts captured and arrested the movement of these religious materials on the page, but the printed books brought them again into circulation. All other physical places of containment—a tomb, a church, a *Wunderkammer*, a private oratory—continued to serve as their more or less temporary abodes.

One of the causes of the mobility of the relics, as Patrick Geary has shown in his well-known book, was theft, which when successful was considered a proof of both divine choice and of the potent agency of the personified object.⁵⁴ Unsurprisingly, St. Thomas's relics from São Tomé de Meliapor were coveted by Goa, the Portuguese colonial capital in Asia, and the struggles of different agents to snatch the bones or other pieces discovered in the 'tomb' were frequent throughout the sixteenth century [Fig. 15.7]. As I have shown in a previous work, what was at stake, besides the blessing of the Apostle's presence, was the tension between Goa and the semi-independent, merchant settlement of São Tomé de Meliapor, which resisted the centripetal efforts of the capital of the Estado da Índia. In fact, the 'free' merchants had to fend off both the secular and the ecclesiastical officials from Goa, but also from Cochin, and any newcomer priest.⁵⁵ The quarrels over these relics were so diverse and so frequent that the objects had to be locked in a casket and kept in a secret (or difficult to access) location in the church. The inhabitants did not cede to Goa's demands even when their safety had been menaced by the local ruler, Rama Raja of the Aravidu dynasty.⁵⁶

Small pieces were nevertheless removed and multiplied from among the 'authentic' relics of the Apostle. Dom Constantino de Bragança (1528–1575) brought some to Goa in order to consecrate the newly built church of St. Thomas.⁵⁷ A small piece of a spear relic—the instrument of his martyrdom—was sent to Bassein, and by the end of the sixteenth century Goa received a new set of relics carried by the bishop of Cochin, André de Santa Maria (d. 1615).

53 For an American example, see Montoya A.R de, *Conquista espiritual hecha por los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús* [...] (1639), quoted in Magasich-Airola—Beer, *América Mágica* 42.

54 Geary P.J., *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: 1990).

55 Županov I.G., *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India (16th–17th centuries)* (Ann Arbor, MI: 2005).

56 Rama Raja of the Aravidu dynasty laid siege to the town in 1559 and temporarily removed the relics. All were returned after the ransom money was paid. See Županov, *Missionary Tropics* 104.

57 DI 4, 666–667, 827. Županov, *Missionary Tropics* 293.



FIGURE 15.7 *Anon. (silversmith), Left: Two reliquaries with the blood of St. Philomena. Centre: Reliquary with the spear head which killed St. Thomas. Right: Two reliquaries with relics of St. Thomas (all undated). Silver. Chennai, Museum attached to the Cathedral.*

IMAGE © INES G. ŽUPANOV.

However, when Meliapor was raised to the title of an independent diocese in 1606, the relics were officially sent back from Goa.⁵⁸ The politics of relic snatching and relic gifting was, of course, an integral part of a complicated chessboard of Catholic diplomacy and sociability.

By the time the relics had returned, however, São Tomé de Meliapor had already developed or 'reconstructed' a dense sacred topography of the Apostle's residence in the area, and certain places, such as Cinna Malai and Periya Malai, beside the tomb on the beach, became 'historical' places of different events that took place, leading to his martyrdom [Fig. 15.8]. The excavation of these places (most of them already known as sites of earlier Nasrani presence) yielded all sorts of objects that, by their connection to St. Thomas, also became relics. In addition to water springs and the rock-carved crosses, the discovery of a stone slab of a Nasrani Cross (or Nasrani Menorah) with an enigmatic inscription which began oozing blood during the mass (on the Day of Our Lady

58 Županov, *Missionary Tropics* 106.



FIGURE 15.8 Anon. (silversmith), Reliquary with relics of St. Thomas on a side wall (undated). Silver. Chennai, Church on Chinna Malai.

IMAGE © INES G. ŽUPANOV.

of Expectation, 1557) enhanced the *praesentia* and *potentia* of the Apostle [Fig. 15.9].⁵⁹

Digging to find traces of the Roman and Christian past enabled the Portuguese and all who were stakeholders in their imperial enterprise to join and to participate in a particular temporal framework in which past and future streamed into the present in order to confirm each other, without discontinuity. The temporal folds were defined as carrying the same template: a sense of permanent Christian presence that already contained the entirety of Christian history. All apologetic ecclesiastical and secular histories were staged against this prearranged background. Christianity was constantly rediscovered through archaeology, which became a source of new and often imaginative interpretations and story lines, endorsing or revising the textual tradition. In the case of St. Thomas, it also meant taking into account Syrian Christian 'oral' histories concerning the Apostle's travels and presence in South India.

The irruption of material objects from the past had been wired into 'Renaissance fiction making and aesthetics'.⁶⁰ Copious South Asian and Asian antiquities were thus seen as deeply evocative, even in 'monstrous' forms, of European sacred artefacts. Relics, especially human remains, required an enormous amount of both imagination and faith to be fitted into the same category, but they had even stronger anchorage to a place. Even when every trace of the body disappeared, the soil itself could become sacred. The same thing happened with the newly fabricated martyrs and their relics. For example, the body of St. João de Brito (1647–1693), martyred in 1693, was never found, but the sand turned red from the drops of his blood and can still be taken as a relic from the basin next to the old church in Oriyur.

If digging for relics of the first Apostles (St. Thomas, but also St. Bartholomew) and the signs of ancient Christian settlements stimulated paleo-Christian antiquarianism, from the 1540s the missionaries turned themselves into 'relics' through martyrdom and exemplary deaths, and from the late sixteenth century onwards became themselves the most important heroes of Catholic apologetics and missionary history.

59 On the cross found in Chennai and the Pahlavi inscription, see Quadros J., "Epigrafiā Índica: Uma inscrição em Pahlavi", *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* 14 (Bastorá: 1932) 1–31 and Burnell A.C., "On Some Pahlavi Inscriptions in South India", *The Indian Antiquary* 3 (Bombay: 1874) 308–316.

60 Barkan L., *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven, CT: 1999). See also Nagel A. – Wood C.S., "Towards a New Model of Renaissance Anachronism", *The Art Bulletin* 87, 3 (2005) 403–415, at 407.



FIGURE 15.9 Anon. (artist), 'Bleeding Cross' of the high altar, so-called Sassanid Cross (ca. seventh century), discovered by the Portuguese in 1547. Chennai, Church on Periyā Malai.

IMAGE © INES G. ŽUPANOV.

Becoming Relics

Relics were therefore special embodiments of the past, even in their microscopic and aniconic forms, and were somewhat paradoxically both locked to a particular place or *topos*, as well as being infinitely transferable and nomadic.⁶¹

Francis Xavier, his body, and the objects with which he had been in contact became sources of relics even before his official sanctification in Rome. As Luís Fróis explained in 1559,

it seems that the smallest things of our Fathers, the first founders and the columns of the Company, in order to enhance in us the concept and the opinion of their so eminent virtues, and in order for us to imitate them with more intense affect, they should be highly regarded [...] and serve as stimulus to perfect our deeds and desires in order to attain their perfection.⁶²

Obviously Fróis refrained from calling these 'small things' of the dead founding fathers of the Society the 'sacred relics' and there was no mention (as yet) of their miraculous properties. He prudently stated that they were only an *aide-mémoire*, mementoes of their personal virtue. However, the scramble for relics of Francis Xavier and Ignatius of Loyola had already started, and the documents and histories of their lives that started circulating had already portrayed them as saints. These were undoubtedly meant to stimulate local veneration. The depositions of witnesses for the process of canonisation were collected in various Portuguese settlements in Asia. Equally important were Xavier's miracles while he was alive and travelling in Asia, and those performed by his dead body, starting with the island of Sancian (or Shangchuan) and continuing up to his final abode in Goa.⁶³

If Rome required proofs of miracles, in these depositions Xavier's saintly quality was already taken for granted and produced a huge interest in his 'small things'. Among these was his own personal reliquary, as Luís Fróis reported in 1559, thus establishing a causal relation between possessing and becoming

61 See Ribouillault D., "Landscape 'All'antica' and Topographical Anachronism in Roman Fresco Painting of the Sixteenth Century", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 71 (2008) 211–237.

62 *DI* 4, 407. Županov, *Missionary Tropics* 108.

63 See the various articles on Xavier's relics in Schurhammer G., *Varia, I Anhänge* (Rome – Lisbon: 1965) 345–482.

a relic. When the Jesuits in Cochin opened the reliquary that Francis Xavier carried on him at the time of his death, they discovered: a small bone of St. Thomas, a parchment with the name of Ignatius of Loyola torn from a letter, and a paper with Xavier's vows of the profession of faith. Half a century later, in one of the earliest biographies of Xavier, written during the canonisation campaign, another Jesuit, Sebastião Gonçalves (ca. 1587–1616), clearly linked St. Thomas with Xavier in an imaginary apostolic 'dialogue'.

The Blessed Father Francis, knowing that the Apostle St. Thomas was charged to convert these Oriental countries, was not content to converse (*negociar*) with him during the Mass and prayers [...] but wanted to visit the place of his martyrdom and the holy relics so that their sight would further incite the very great desire to discern the divine will concerning his stay in Melaka and in Makassar.⁶⁴

Although St. Thomas remained the first Apostle to the East, from the late sixteenth century Francis Xavier, whose body had been transported to Goa and kept ever since as *tesouro grande*, had been increasingly promoted as the new Apostle.⁶⁵ With his canonisation in 1622 and the appearance on the scene of other Jesuit martyrs such as Rodolfo Acquaviva (1550–1583) and his companions, the Japanese martyrs, and even those who remained unofficial martyrs, such as Antonio Criminale (1520–1549) and Gonçalo de Sylveira, Portuguese Asia was enriched with the plethora of relics created in this new apostolic moment. History was providentially repeating itself.

As Jesuit missions all over the world (Asia, Brazil, Peru, England, Germany, Africa, Canada, etc.) started producing their own martyrs and subdividing their relics in order to distribute them throughout their missionary channels, in Rome the new and the old martyrs appeared in and on the walls of the Jesuit churches and institutions.⁶⁶ From Santo Stefano Rotondo to the church of St. Thomas of Canterbury to the Jesuit novitiate in San Quirinale, the relics were transformed back into flesh, painted in what Gauvin Bailey thought was a

64 Gonçalves S., S.J., *Primeira Parte da História dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus* [...] (1614), ed. J. Wicki, S.J., 3 vols. (Coimbra: 1957–1962) vol. 1, 182.

65 *DI* 4, 408.

66 These images have something to do with the discovery of the catacombs in Rome in 1578. See Bosio Antonio, *Roma sotterranea*, in *Opera postuma* (Rome, Michel'Angelo e Pietro Vincenzo Fratelli de' Rossi: 1710).

self-conscious paleo-Christian style.⁶⁷ The need for the Jesuits to emulate the primitive Christian martyrs—in the missionary field, in texts and in images—may have been part of a double strategy: to obscure the fact that the Society of Jesus was a brand new religious order, and to circumvent the tough and centralised post-Tridentine definition of martyrdom and sanctity.⁶⁸

The figure of the martyr was important because it provided the missionaries with a wider range of cultural repertoires to choose from and to transform any missionary failure into a symbolic triumph. In addition, transformed into relic pieces, a martyr was provided with the possibility of a very long afterlife, and extraordinary material and representational mobility. In fact, even before becoming full-fledged Jesuits, the novices in the novitiate in Rome already had an aura of future martyrs and were revered as walking relics with the greeting 'Hail the Flowers of Martyrdom' (*Salvete Flores Martyrum*).

As the number of their martyrs and saints grew, confirmed by the Church and those who were still waiting to be officially recognised, the Jesuits used their administrative and literary skills to keep them mobile, 'alive', and accounted for. In a series of famous martyrologies and similar texts from the early seventeenth century onwards, Jesuit apologetic historiography braided together and listed all the famous and less famous deceased Jesuits, and many of these texts provided pictorial representation of the moment of their martyrdom or of their pious portraits. The cycles of frescoes and paintings from the late sixteenth century on the walls of the Roman churches opened a space for tranquil cohabitation of the early Christian martyrs and the new Catholic martyrs of the religious wars and overseas missions. Richard Verstegan's (1548–ca. 1636) gory pictorial compendium, *Théâtre des cruautés des hérétiques de notre temps*—published in Antwerp in 1587—had a similar mission of collapsing past and present (Catholic) martyrdom at the hands of bloodthirsty Huguenot villains.⁶⁹ It has been argued that the frescoes depicting violence in the Churches of Santo Stefano Rotondo and San Tomasso di Canterbury

67 Bailey G.A., *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565–1610* (Toronto: 2003) 156.

68 Pope Gregory XIII allowed, for the consecration of altars, the use of the relics of 'new' martyrs. See Yepes Diego de (Obispo de Tarazona), *Historia particular de la persecución de Inglaterra* [...], lib. II, cap. V (Madrid, Luis Sánchez: 1599) 50.

69 This was one of the responses to similar Protestant denunciations of Spanish cruelty in the New World, such as Jacques de Migrode's publication in Antwerp (1579) of *Tyrannies et cruautés des Espagnols perpétrées ès Indes occidentales, qu'on dit le Nouveau Monde*, a translation in French of the *Brevisima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* by the Dominican Bartolomé de las Casas. See Roger Chartier's review of the new translations and editions of the books by Las Casas and Verstegan (Paris: 1995), "La destruction

differed from those in the *Théâtre des cruautés* in that the Jesuits intended their pictorial propaganda to provoke compassion for the martyrs, while Verstegan's project was to incite revenge.⁷⁰

A barely hidden truth was that the Jesuits and other missionary orders needed able-bodied workers in the 'Lord's field', and that martyrs were excessively expensive.⁷¹ Jesuit martyrs were good to think, feel, and meditate with by way of texts or images, such as those in Louis Richeome's (1544–1625) masterpiece *La peinture spirituelle* or in António Francisco Cardim's (1596–1659) *Elogios, e ramalhete de flores*, but during their lifetime and even after death they created problems.⁷²

The major problems found in Jesuit martyrs-to-be was, according to the correspondence, an excess of fervour and a capacity for disobedience. This is one of the reasons why Ignatius of Loyola instituted a principle of obedience 'as a corpse' (*ac cadaver*). The first to disregard this principle was Francis Xavier. At the time Xavier died and his body became a famous Asian relic, he was in fact ordered to come back to Europe. Not only did he antagonise some Portuguese *fidalgos* by accusing them of corruption and rapacity, he was also severe with Jesuits in India and proceeded rather quickly with dismissals. He may also have grown personally disappointed with the slow pace of proselytism and the obstacles he had to face at each and every step.

The post-mortem problems were of a different nature. On the one hand, the religious order had to skillfully orchestrate the biography of a martyr so that every one of his actions could qualify for sanctity. Not just during his lifetime, but also in the afterlife, the saintly candidate's miracles had to be attested and recorded: by way of relics, appearances in dreams and prophecies, and in the production of sacred objects and images.

des Indes et *Le théâtre des cruautés*: Violences par-delà, violence en deçà", *Le Monde*, 8 December 1995.

70 See Verstegan R., *Le théâtre des cruautés*, ed. F. Lestringant (Paris: 1995) 22–27. Lestringant claims that the images of torture were intended to familiarise the Jesuit novices with death and to make the audience feel compassion. This attitude went against Calvinist Puritan rejection of the body in decomposition.

71 The Jesuits were incited to renounce martyrdom (which amounts to, as Pierre-Antoine Fabre called it in personal communication, "a martyrdom of martyrdom") for the sake of missionary work. This is the so-called white martyrdom, as opposed to red martyrdom. See chapter 4 in Županov, *Missionary Tropics* 147–171.

72 Richeome Louis, S.J., *La peinture spirituelle ou l'art d'admirer, aimer et louer Dieu* [...] (Lyon, Pierre Rigaud: 1611). Cardim António Francisco, S.J., *Elogios, e ramalhete de flores borrifado com o sangue dos religiosos da Companhia de Iesu* [...] (Lisbon, Manoel da Sylva: 1650).

One of the first rules for successful administration was to immobilise a martyr or a saint in a tomb or a reliquary, and to prevent him from ever leaving the place. After the discovery of the Roman catacombs, the papacy was able to afford generosity and send off, as gifts, thousands of relics, at times entire bodies, throughout the world, Goa included.⁷³ Nonetheless, the tendency not to dismember local Asian remains of martyrs and saints-to-be, and to protect them from both the popular devotion they spurred as well as from demands coming from Europe, is clearly visible in the correspondences of their keepers.⁷⁴ After the first public viewing and medical examination of Francis Xavier's dead body, it took half a century for the Jesuits to allow the second exposition in 1611, which went hand in hand with a demand from the headquarters to send Xavier's right arm for the chapel in the church of Gesù in Rome and to get the fast-track process of canonisation underway.⁷⁵

The story of his bodily relics has been told many times over, and if their bits and pieces travelled far and wide, and ended up enshrined in beautiful silver reliquaries, such as the one in the sacristy of the cathedral in Salvador de Baía de Todos os Santos or in the St. Joseph Seminary and Sacred Art Museum in Macau, Goa resisted both Roman and Portuguese demands to send the body to Europe. One of the ways to make sure that it remained in Goa was to create an appropriate tomb space and to promote popular devotion. The entire basilica of Bom Jesus in Goa was transformed into a fortress for Xavier's tomb, walled into a central part of the edifice, almost reminiscent of the *garbha grha* of a Hindu temple. Another was to allow gifts of materials and decorations, in marble and silver in particular. The whole funerary chapel is today crammed with paintings, hardly visible from the outside, with a monumental carved marble catafalque, a gift from Grand Duke Cosimo III of Tuscany (1642–1723), brought to and assembled in Goa by Placido Francesco Ramponi (1672–after 1730) in 1697.⁷⁶ The body itself is in the silver casket, for which another famous Jesuit, Marcello Mastrilli (1603–1637), engaged in fundraising from Naples to Goa from 1632 to 1637.⁷⁷

73 On the public display of the relics of the 'mártir B. Constâncio' in the shape of a body dressed in uniform, see Saldanha M.J.G. de, *História da Goa*, vol. 2 (Nova Goa: 1926; reprint, New Delhi: 1990) 259.

74 *DI* 3, 176.

75 See chapter 1 in Županov, *Missionary Tropics* 35–86. See also Gupta P., *The Relic State: St Francis Xavier and the Politics of Ritual in Portuguese India* (Manchester: 2014).

76 Sodini C., *I Medici e le Indie Orientali* (Florence: 1996) and Dias P., *Monumento Funerário de São Francisco Xavier Na Casa Professa do Bom Jesus* (Coimbra: 2010).

77 See Županov I.G., "Passage to India: Jesuit Spiritual Economy between Martyrdom and Profit in the Seventeenth Century", *Journal of Early Modern History* 16 (2012) 1–39.

Protected and rooted in the soil, the priceless relic of Xavier, surrounded by expensive decorations and materials, spawned in the long run a variety of other miraculous objects in Goa. They are today in the museum and sacristy of Bom Jesus, in the Museum of Sacred Art, and in other churches and private homes.

While Jesuit correspondence swarms with demands for relics, with descriptions of their miraculous effects, the reliquaries made for them, the gifting that went on, and the travels they undertook around the globe, Alessandro Valignano, who openly and quite spectacularly dared to speak publicly about Jesuit economics and finances, advised in 1580 against both the import and the reckless distribution of relics.

People coming to these parts should not be allowed to bring so many relics [...]. Such action serves only to undermine the respect due to them [...]. I would be glad if relics were reduced to a minimum everywhere and if superiors and prelates were instructed to keep them in reliquaries in their churches where they could be venerated with the proper respect.⁷⁸

In particular, he claimed that all relics *ex ossibus* should be exposed for veneration in large reliquaries, and only, when necessary, placed on sick women and women in childbirth. Otherwise they may lose value. 'They cannot be precious if they are given away so readily'.⁷⁹ Even *agni Dei* and beads blessed by the pope were not to be given lightly, and only to Christians who performed penance and *went* on pilgrimage. Of all mobile sacred objects, relics were therefore the most valuable, and had to be kept that way by making them scarce.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that Christian sacred relics were an important part of the joint venture of Iberian and Catholic imperial expansion in the early modern period. They marked the spaces of actual territorial conquest, especially in the Americas, and of newly opened spiritual markets, in Asia in particular. Their irresistible mobility depended on new patterns and strategies of mercantile expansion, with missionaries as their vectors of dissemination. A missionary was allowed to think of himself as 'a trader of souls' (*negoceador das almas*),

⁷⁸ Schütte J.F., S.J., *Valignano's Mission Principles for Japan*, trans. J.J. Coyne, S.J., vol. 2 (St. Louis, MO: 1985) 246–249.

⁷⁹ Ibidem 46–48.

and to see his task as 'trading in spiritual things' (*negociar cousas espirituaes*), while the relics and other sacred items were a particular kind of instrument with which to create both spiritual and financial value.⁸⁰ As we have seen, the reliquaries were valuable in themselves for the precious material in which they were crafted, but they also contained priceless treasure, capable of providing vital services: healing, protection, and assistance.

For missionaries, these sacred things were also seen as tools for global conversion, and to become a relic oneself was a thing of dreams.⁸¹ More than anything, I have argued, relics were used to bridge time and space, on the one hand between early apostolic time and Christian antiquity, and on the other the early modern moment of Christian expansion across the globe. They were set in motion along the trade routes, and their value grew as they circulated, but in the end they were also destined to be rooted in a locality (a church, an altar, a reliquary), resembling gold bars or silver bullion in reserve banks. From this fixed and protected place, such as the tomb of Francis Xavier in Goa, the sanctity of a relic continued to travel, circulate, gain in value, attract pilgrims and perform miracles all over the world. Xavier's miraculous powers and inspiration, emanating from his body, travelled even further, and more widely, through books, images, and in dreams, all while creating networks of interdependence, affective bonds, and spiritual attachments, in addition to stimulating markets, business opportunities, and revenues.

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80 Gonçalves, *História* vol. 1, 139; *EX* vol. 2, 96.

81 *Indipetae* is a collection of letters in which the missionaries wrote about their desire for martyrdom. See Capoccia A.R., "Le destin des Indipetae au-delà du XVI^e siècle", in Fabre P.A – Vincent B. (eds.), *Missions religieuses modernes: "Notre lieu est le monde"* (Rome: 2007) 89–110.

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PART 5

'Netted' Works



The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin: Spreading a New Cult via Dynastic Networks*

Dagmar Eichberger

The general literature on the Habsburg family, or *Casa d'Austria*, frequently calls upon the term 'Pietas Austriaca' to underline the importance of religion as part of the dynasty's identity.¹ Martin Mutschlechner's entries in "Die Welt der Habsburger" (The World of the Habsburg Family) stress the family's loyalty to the Catholic Church and emphasise their preference for devotions to the Virgin Mary, the Eucharist, and the Passion of Christ.²

This article will investigate a particular devotion, the cult of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin, that became closely associated with the imperial family in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Once the devotion had been set in motion by two parish priests, Petrus de Manso³ and Jan van Coudenberghe, Maximilian I (1459–1519) and Philip the Fair (1478–1506) staunchly promoted it as a medium for fostering peace in the Burgundian-Habsburg Netherlands.⁴

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1 This is especially true for the Baroque period and the Counter Reformation; Vocolka V. – Heller L., *Die Lebenswelt der Habsburger: Kultur- und Mentalitätsgeschichte einer Familie* (Graz: 1997).

2 "Pietas Austriaca, Habsburgs Frömmigkeit 1526–1739", *Die Welt der Habsburger*, <http://www.habsburger.net/de/themen/pietas-austriaca> (accessed: 18.08.2015).

3 On the role of Petrus de Manso from Mechelen (= Peter Verhoeven) see Snow E., *The Lady of Sorrows: Music, Devotion and Politics in the Burgundian-Habsburg Netherlands*, Ph.D. dissertation (Princeton University: 2010) 1–2, 7.

4 Thelen E.S. (ed.), *The Seven Sorrows Confraternity of Brussels: Drama, Ceremony and Art Patronage, 16th–17th Centuries*, Studies in European Urban History 37 (Turnhout: 2015); see also: Sutch S.S. – Bruaene A.-L. Van, "The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin Mary: Devotional Communication and Politics in the Burgundian-Habsburgian Low Countries, c. 1490–1520", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 61 (2010) 252–278, esp. 264–265; Sutch S.S., "Politics and Print at the Time of Philip the Fair", in Wijsman H. (ed.), *Books in Transition at the Time of Philip the Fair: Manuscripts and Printed Books in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Century Low Countries*, Burgundica 15 (Turnhout: 2010) 231–255.

The Marian cult was strongly supported by Archduchess Margaret of Austria (1480–1530); the young Archduke Charles (1500–1558) equally wished to be associated with this cult. Once his Netherlandish territories were shaken by religious strife and political conflicts, the enthusiasm for this devotion slowed down. Only with the reign of Archduke Albert of Austria (1559–1621) and Archduchess Isabella Clara Eugenia (1566–1633), the cult picked up again and was given a new lease of life.⁵ The seven-sided pilgrimage church of Scherpenheuvel paid homage to the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin as did other centres of religious activities that were promoted by the Counter Reformation.

In this paper I will argue, that the cult of the Seven Sorrows was identified with the Habsburg family by the general public, and that noble families closely attached to the imperial court actively participated in the new devotion. Many of the dignitaries who formed part of the larger imperial network took a strong interest in this initiative and adopted the cult for themselves and their territories. This contributed to the rapid spreading of the cult across Europe, to the English isles and even to the New World. It will be argued that the veneration of the Mater Dolorosa and the focus on seven specific sorrows were further supported through the steady production of religious objects such as prints, altarpieces, sculptures, and miniatures.⁶ Initially, many of the more elaborate art objects were manufactured by Netherlandish artists, several of whom were affiliated to the court. In the first half of the sixteenth centuries, these artefacts were sent from the Southern Netherlands to Portugal, Spain, France, Germany, and England where they were placed in private chapels or inside public churches. Occasionally local artists were inspired to produce new images based on earlier models, as was the case with Gabriel Glockendon from Nuremberg.

As has been argued elsewhere, woodcuts and engravings were produced in large numbers for the different confraternities that had been founded in Delft, Brussels, and in many other parts of the Low Countries.⁷ These prints were instrumental in disseminating visual images that contributed towards developing

5 Meganck T. – Sprang S. van, "Reforming the Seven Sorrows: Paintings by Wensel Cobergher and Theodoor van Loon for the Brussels Chapel of Our Lady of Seven Sorrows", in Thelen, *The Seven Sorrows Confraternity* 145–168.

6 Schuler C., *The Sword of Compassion: Images of the Sorrowing Virgin in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*, Ph.D. dissertation (Columbia University: 1987); see also: Schuler C., "The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin: Popular Culture and Cultic Imagery in Pre-Reformation Europe", *Simiolus* 21 (1992) 5–28.

7 Eichberger D., "Visualizing the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin: Early Woodcuts and Engravings in the Context of Netherlandish Confraternities", in Thelen, *The Seven Sorrows Confraternity* 113–143.

a more standardised iconography. In the first decade of the sixteenth century, the visual formula finally took shape: a distraught and weeping Virgin Mary is sitting on the ground [Fig. 16.1]. Sometimes she is holding her son on her lap. In order to visualise the pain and anguish she experienced, one or seven swords point to Mary's heart. She is surrounded by roundels that depict the biblical scenes that were associated with the Sorrows of the Virgin: (1) Presentation in the Temple [= Simeon's Prophecy], (2) Flight into Egypt, (3) Jesus among the Doctors, (4) Carrying of the Cross, (5) Crucifixion, (6) Deposition (Pieta), and (7) Entombment.

The Habsburgs: Maximilian I and Philip the Fair

In many of the early publications dealing with the devotion to the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin, Archduke Philip the Fair is named as the official founder of the religious movement. This is for instance the case in the small devotional handbook issued in 1492 by Gheraert Leeu from Antwerp.⁸ In the 1490s, Philip the Fair sponsored a competition to create a new liturgy for the feast of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin.⁹ Philip is also given special credit in the 1519 Latin history of the movement, entitled *Ortus Progressus et impedimenta fraternitatis Beatissimę virginis Marie*.¹⁰ The same is true for a 1615 pamphlet, titled *Cort verhael van het broederschap van de seven weeden van onser lieve vrouwen*¹¹ which was published on request of Albert and Isabella with the intention of

8 This pamphlet also contains the statutes of the confraternity: *Hier beghint een goede oefeninghe ende een seer devote meditacye van sonderlinghen vij. ween onser sueter vrouwen ende moeder gods marien metten artikelen van der saligher broderscap daer af begonnen bij den seer hooghen ende doerluchtighen prince heere Philips Eertshertoghe van Oistenrijke, hertoge van Bourgondien, van Brabant etc. Ende in ghestelt in iij. Kerkcken Te wetene tot Antwerpen, Tot Abbenbroeck te Reymerswale te Leyden ende te Thabor bij Mechlen jnder formen ende manieren hier na volghende* (Antwerp, [Gheraert Leeu: 1492]).

9 Thelen E.S., "The Feast of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin: Piety, Politics and Plainchant at the Burgundian-Habsburg Court", *Early Music History* 35 (2016) 261–307.

10 Coudenberghen Jan van, *Ortus progressus et impedimenta fraternitatis Beatissimę virginis Marię. De passione quę dicitur de septem doloribus* (Antwerp, Michiel Hillen van Hoogstraten: 1519).

11 *Cort verhael van het broederschap vande seven weeden* [!] *van onser lieue Vrouwe. Ingestelt by den [...] prince [...] Philippus eertzhertoch va[n] Oostenryck* (Brussels, Huybrecht Anthoon: 1615, and again in 1627); see also Dewilde B. – Vannieuwenhuyze B., "A Tangible Past: History Writing and Property Listing by the Brussels Seven Sorrows Confraternity, c. 1685", in Thelen, *The Seven Sorrows Confraternity* 3–18, at 16.



FIGURE 16.1 Jost de Negker, *The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin* (before 1503). Woodcut, 37.31 × 26.99 cm. Minneapolis, MN, Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Gift of Mr. Herschel V. Jones (inv. no. P.10,672).

IMAGE © MINNEAPOLIS INSTITUTE OF ARTS, MINNEAPOLIS, MN.

revitalising the once so popular Marian devotion in their territories. In 1622, the Jesuit Jacob Stratius published an even more comprehensive edition of texts connected with the devotion.¹²

The first statutes for the new brotherhood were issued in 1492.¹³ The devotion was modelled on the Cult of the Rosary and was intended to appeal to all members of the community: rich and poor, literate and illiterate. For that matter, it was free of charge to become a member. The devotional exercises were simple and straight forward, consisting only of short meditations on the Seven Sorrows followed by common prayers, the *Pater Noster* and the *Ave Maria*. In April 1493, the first celebrations took place in St Saviour in Bruges, the city where Jan van Coudenberghe, a secretary of the young prince Philip the Fair, had founded one of three brotherhoods. In 1494, Philip the Fair and several members of his court attended a play of the Seven Sorrows in Mechelen, the city in which the dowager duchess Margaret of York had established her residence.¹⁴ In February 1497, Paulus de la Porta granted apostolic confirmation to the newly formed confraternity and its statutes as had been requested by Philip the Fair and his advisors.¹⁵ Some time before 1503, Jost de Negker produced a woodcut that contains the coats of arms of Philip the Fair and Pope Alexander VI [Fig. 16.1].¹⁶ This woodcut was a key image for the development of the iconography and stressed the official character of the movement.¹⁷

In March 1499, the Seven Sorrows brotherhood in Brussels was officially founded by the local chamber of rhetoric and in the first year alone, more than 6,000 people had their names inscribed into the membership register.¹⁸ The

12 Coudenberghe Jan van – Stratius Jacobus, *Onse L. Vrouwe der seven vveeen. Met de mirakelen, getyden, ende misse der selver: insgelycks den oorspronck, ende voortganck der broederschap* (Antwerp, Gulliam Lesteens: 1622).

13 See fn. 9.

14 Sutch – Bruaene, “The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin Mary” 267. Anne-Laure Van Bruaene highlighted the significance of mystery plays, such as the one written by the Mechelen canon Hendrik Maes. Such plays were performed in many cities: Mechelen (1494, 1532), Leiden (1494), Antwerp (1495), Bergen op Zoom (1497), Gouda (1497), Aalst (1499, 1521); see Sleiderinc R., “The Brussels Plays of the Seven Sorrows”, in Thelen, *The Seven Sorrows Confraternity* 51–52. Sutch S.S., “Patronage, Foundation History, and Ordinary Believers: The Membership Registry of the Brussels Seven Sorrows Confraternity”, in Thelen, *The Seven Sorrows Confraternity* 19–48.

15 Sutch – Bruaene, “The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin Mary” 268–269.

16 Jost de Negker, *Virgin of Sorrows*, woodcut, before 1503, Minneapolis, Institute of Arts, Gift of Mr. Herschel V. Jones, 1926, P.10,672.

17 Eichberger, “Visualizing the Seven Sorrows” 134–138.

18 Sutch, “Patronage, Foundation History, and Ordinary Believers” 19–48.

inventory and the membership register of the Brussels confraternity pays homage to the princely family in different ways.¹⁹ For instance it is recorded that singers from Philip's court chapel enrolled as members. Furthermore, Margaret of Austria presented a golden heart to the Brussels confraternity.²⁰ The church of St Gorik, situated in Brussels, soon became the favourite confraternity of the Habsburg family to demonstrate publicly their devotion to the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin. In 1511, Maximilian I decided to elevate this chapel to the status of a royal chapel and commissioned a mass of the Seven Sorrows. These are all significant indicators of the close involvement of the Habsburg family in the practice of the cult.

Religious objects such as black-and-white prints, illuminated manuscripts, and panel paintings played a significant role in providing devotional images for the devotees. Because they were easy to transport across long distances, they also contributed to the dissemination of the cult. For example, in 1513, Maximilian commissioned a choir book from the workshop of Petrus Alamire (1470–1536). The manuscript contains a mass of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin by Pierre de la Rue [Figs. 16.2, 16.3], the court composer of Margaret of Austria.²¹ This choir book was used by the emperor as a diplomatic gift with which he intended to promote the cult of the Virgin of Sorrows on a much wider political scale. Maximilian initially intended to give the book to King Henry VIII and his wife, Catherine of Aragon. However, it was eventually presented to Duke Frederick the Wise, Prince Elector of Saxony, who had already expressed his veneration for the Mater Dolorosa and the Seven Sorrows by commissioning a panel painting from Albrecht Dürer after his return from the Low Countries.

This large codex was decorated with a most programmatic set of illuminations that highlight the contemporary cult of the Virgin Mary. On fol. 29v, the portraits of Maximilian I and Archduke Charles appear on the principal miniature, introducing the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. On fol. 43, five of Maximilian's grandchildren pray to the Virgin of Sorrows depicted on the opposite side. The entire Habsburg family is thus represented to express their veneration of the Virgin Mary. The sorrowful Virgin on fol. 42v, solitary and lost in her thoughts, is the focal point of many such devotional images. The Virgin of Sorrows is singled out by rays of light or by a golden aureole; the depictions

19 Dewilde – Vannieuwenhuyze, "A Tangible Past" 7–9.

20 In 1515, she donated a golden heart weighing twenty pounds to the Brotherhood of the Seven Sorrows in the Oude Kerk of Delft.

21 Choir book with the *Missa de septem doloribus beatae Mariae virginis*, Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, see Kratzsch I. – Wefers S. (eds.), *Schätze der Buchmalerei* (Jena: 2001) cat. no. 17, 88–97.



FIGURE 16.2 Anon. (artist), The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin from the choirbook of Emperor Maximilian I with the mass “De septem doloribus beatae Mariae virginis” composed by Pierre de la Rue (ca. 1513/14). Paint on parchment, 78.5 × 55 cm. Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek (choirbook no. 4, fol. 42v). IMAGE © THÜRINGER UNIVERSITÄTS- UND LANDESBIBLIOTHEK, JENA.



FIGURE 16.3 Detail of Fig. 16.2: The Seven Sorrows with text: *HOS QUI SEPTEMOS DIDICIT MEMINISS DOLORES, ILLI PEREPTUE GAUDIA LUCIS ERUNT.*

of the seven sorrows are smaller in size and build a frame-like structure around the seated Virgin Mary.

The Brussels membership registry—or *Liber Authenticus*—contains numerous illuminated coats of arms of leading courtiers and ecclesiastic dignitaries and thus testifies to the immense popularity of this princely confraternity in the first half of the sixteenth century.²² Philip the Fair and his sister Margaret of Austria are named as the founders of the brotherhood ('fondateur de cette confrerie / fondateresse de ceste confrerie').²³ The most important members of the family represented in the *Liber Authenticus* are Maximilian I and his second wife Bianca Maria Sforza (fol. 49), Philip the Fair and Margaret of Austria (fol. 49v), Charles the Bold and Margaret of York (fol. 51), Philibert II of Savoy and Margaret of Austria (fol. 69v), Joanna of Castile (fol. 70), Charles, then Prince of Castile (fol. 70v), Christian II of Denmark and Elisabeth of Austria (fol. 72v).

22 Archives of the City of Brussels, Register 3413, *Liber Authenticus sacratissimae utrisque sexus christifidelium confraternitas septem dolorum beatae mariae virginis nuncupatae*; see Sutch, "Patronage, Foundation History, and Ordinary Believers" 40–44.

23 Ibidem 40.

At the age of sixteen, Archduke Charles (1500–1558) asked the parish priest Jan van Coudenberghe to compose a history of the brotherhood of the Seven Sorrows that he had founded together with Petrus de Manso. In a letter dating from 31 January 1517, Charles explains that he intends to honour the memory of his father who supported the brotherhood from its start. He also wants to ensure that he himself and his siblings are associated with this devotion as he wishes to have their names inscribed into the history of the brotherhood.²⁴ This text leaves no doubt that the cult was considered to be important for the public image of the imperial family.²⁵ In this letter, Charles further states that the new brotherhood is growing and prospering in all nations, supported by the occurrence of countless signs and miracles.²⁶ By then, the devotion had already been in place for more than twenty-five years. Thus the question arises as to how the spreading of this cult could happen so easily and which kinds of objects were employed to provide the visual aids for meditation. Potential patterns of dissemination will be studied by looking at a small number of exemplary cases, representing different groups of devotees to the new cult: members of the Habsburg family, courtiers close to their household, church dignitaries, notables from other European courts, and visiting diplomats.

Margaret of Austria and the Virgin of Sorrows

When the new cult was established in 1493, Margaret of Austria lived at the French court as the designated queen of France. Despite her long absence from the Brussels court, Margaret fostered the cult after her return to the Netherlands in 1507. Coudenberghe's *Ortus progressus* contains an illuminating letter, written by Margaret of Austria on 20 March 1518. The regent did not appreciate the fact that her nephew had commissioned a history of the movement which paid homage solely to her brother, Philip the Fair.²⁷ In this letter, she asks to be given equal credit and stresses her dedication to the devotion of the Seven Sorrows. She writes:

24 Coudenberghe, *Ortus progressus*, Aiiij recto and verso; Stratijs, *Onse L. Vrouwe der seven weenen*, 183–186.

25 See also: Eichberger D., "Making Choices: The Seven Joys of the Virgin and the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin", in Briat-Philippe M. – Girault P.-G. – Rivière-Ciavaldini L. (eds.), *Princesses et Renaissance(s): La commande artistique de Marguerite d'Autriche et de son entourage* (forthcoming).

26 Coudenberghe, *Ortus Progressus* Aiiij.

27 Soulier P.-M., *La Confrérie de Notre-Dame des Sept Douleurs dans les Flandres 1491–1519* (Brussels: 1912) 57.

[...] but we do not have less devotion than the other princes for the pious Sorrows of the sweet Virgin, although we were so far not in a position to make this known due to our journeys to Spain, France, and Savoy, and because of other misfortunes with which we were inundated. And because we are from the same dynasty, and the same family—and not out of vain glory, but in order to gain the greatest merits—we wish to be associated with such a pious and saintly work to the same degree as the king, our brother, and our nephew and the most illustrious ladies, our nieces.²⁸

In his account, Van Coudenberghe emphasises the fact that Margaret erected many altars in honour of the Seven Sorrows which were generously decorated and richly endowed.²⁹ The author reports in detail on the recent foundation of a convent of the so-called red sisters or *Annociades*, outside of the city of Bruges. Margaret decided that the Bruges convent should be consecrated to the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin. The archduchess intended to join the community and live close to the sisters, once she would retire from her office as regent of the Netherlands. On 2 February 1518, the festive inauguration took place in the presence of the archduchess and a large number of dignitaries from near and far.³⁰

Margaret of Austria provided considerable funds to the red sisters, so that they could spend most of their time meditating on the Passion and the Sorrows of the Virgin. These devotions were to be performed in memory of Maximilian I, Mary of Burgundy, and Philip the Fair, and also for the benefit of the living members of the Habsburg family. As van Coudenberghe tells us, Margaret hoped that the nuns' prayers would persuade God to stop internal disputes and to overcome political divisions. There was also the hope that the Christian world would overcome the 'infidels'.³¹ This passage confirms the wide-reaching social and political concerns associated with this Marian devotion.

In May 1519, Margaret made payment for a large wooden *Pietà* that she had commissioned from her court sculptor Conrat Meit for her convent in Bruges.³²

28 Coudenberghe, *Ortus Progressus* Dij-[Dijv]; see also Stratius, *Onse L. Vrowwe der seven weenen* 250/[M5v] – 251/M6.

29 Coudenberghe, *Ortus Progressus* Dij; Stratius, *Onse L. Vrowwe der seven weenen* 149/M5.

30 Soulier, *La Confrérie de Notre-Dame* 60–61.

31 Coudenberghe, *Ortus Progressus* [Dij].

32 Burk J.L., "Conrat Meit: Bildhauer der Renaissance 'desgleichen ich kein gesehen'", in Eikermann R. (ed.), *Conrat Meit: Bildhauer der Renaissance*, exh. cat., Bayerisches Nationalmuseum (Munich: 2007) 29.

In April the following year, Bernard van Orley was remunerated for colouring and gilding Meit's sculpture.³³ The second invoice mentions that the Virgin Mary was holding a cross in front of her. The choice of a *Pietà* can be seen as a reference to the miracle-working *Pietà* in Delft that Margaret had visited in 1515. Bernard van Orley, Margaret of Austria's court painter, was most prolific in producing panel paintings with depictions of the Virgin of Sorrows and thus served as a multiplier for visual images.³⁴

High-ranking Courtiers: Le Clerc, Granvelle, and Montcut

Men and women who served at the court of Philip the Fair and Margaret of Austria must have come in contact with the devotion to the Virgin of Sorrows through their close association with the princely family. The *Liber Authenticus* of the Brussels confraternity, for instance, reads like an index of the nobility attached to the court of the ruling family.³⁵ In the following, particular attention will be given to some of the individuals who are known to have commissioned works of art as a visual expression of their adherence to this popular cult.

Charles le Clerc (1477–1533) is a case in point. In 1479, he was appointed general tax collector under Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy. In the following years, he worked as principal revenue officer for the Low Countries (*trésorier general*) and later on as president of the general accounts office in Lille (*président des chambres de compte*). Charles V must have been close to le Clerc as he appointed him to be his counsellor and chamberlain.³⁶ In the second decade of the sixteenth century, le Clerc commissioned an important musical manuscript from the Mechelen workshop of Petrus Alamire.³⁷ This manuscript contains two masses dedicated to the Seven Sorrows.³⁸ His family's attachment

33 Duverger J., *Conrad Meijt* (Brussels: 1934) 73, doc. XIII [7 May 1519].

34 See for instance: Bernard van Orley, *The Virgin of Sorrows*, oil on wood, ca. 1520, 48 × 48 cm, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen, inv. no. 521.

35 Sutch, "Patronage, Foundation History, and Ordinary Believers" 40–44.

36 Vanwijnsberge D. – Verroken E., "Les Heures de Charles le Clerc: Une oeuvre méconnue de la jeunesse de Jean Le Tavernier, enlumineur de Philippe le Bon", *Art de l'enluminure* 43 (2013) 2–33, esp. 23–26, 29.

37 Brussels, KBR, ms. 215–216, ca. 43 × 32 cm; Thelen E.S., "Music and Liturgy of the Seven Sorrows Confraternity in Brussels", in Thelen, *The Seven Sorrows Confraternity* 67–89; Saunders Z., "Livre de Choeur", cat. no. 38, 158–159, in Bousmanne B. (ed.), *Philippe le Beau (1478–1506): Les trésors du dernier duc de Bourgogne*, exh. cat. Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique (Brussels: 2006).

38 Saunders Z., "Livre de choeur".

to this cult must, however, have started much earlier than that. When Charles's first wife died in 1500, she was buried in the Our Lady's church in Temse, in a chapel that had been dedicated to the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin.³⁹ Charles le Clerc also acquired a small book of hours that had been illuminated by Jean le Tavernier in the middle of the fifteenth century.⁴⁰ Sometime after 1505, he had several pages of text and images added to Tavernier's manuscript. On fol. 8v, a full-page illustration of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin was inserted at the request of the owner [Fig. 16.4]. This incidence clearly shows the significance of the devotion to Charles le Clerc and his family. The central composition of this miniature is reminiscent of the woodcut by Jost de Negker [Fig. 16.1]; the ornate frame has been adjusted to the style common in illuminated manuscripts of that period.

Dignitaries such as Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle (1484–1550), keeper of the imperial seal and counsellor to Emperor Charles v, belong to the same category as Charles le Clerc and his wife. Two of their fifteen children were born in Mechelen, when the couple lived close to Margaret of Austria's principal residence.⁴¹ During this time, Granvelle and his wife would have experienced the general enthusiasm for this new devotion at the Habsburg court and in the Netherlandish cities which they visited. In their principle residence in Besançon, the couple installed a private chapel which they dedicated to the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin.⁴² Nicolas de Granvelle and Nicole Bonvalot (1490–1570) also acquired a French book of hours that they adapted to their needs by inserting a full-page illustration of the Virgin of Sorrows (fol. 119v).⁴³

At some point—most likely in the mid-1520s—the couple must have commissioned a large panel painting with the subject of the Mater Dolorosa from

39 Fol. 185 in the Hours of Charles le Clerc, see Vanwijnsberghe – Verroken, "Les Heures de Charles le Clerc" 62 and 64.

40 The Hours of Charles le Clerc, London, British Library, Add.ms. 19416, 11.8 × 7.8 cm; see Vanwijnsberghe – Verroken, "Les Heures de Charles le Clerc" 32–33.

41 In Mechelen: Marguerite (20 October 1525) and Anne (January 1526 or 1527); in Brussels: Françoise and Charles (9 January 1531).

42 Antony D., *Nicole Bonvalot, Dame de Granvelle: Une femme d'exception de la Renaissance* (Besançon: 2003); Antony D., *Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle: Premier conseiller de Charles Quint* (Besançon: 2006).

43 Master of François de Rohan, *Book of Hours of Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle and Nicole Bonvalet*, Paris, ca. 1531/32, London, British Museum, Add. 21235, fol. 119v. Inserting a miniature of the Virgin of Sorrows into a prayer book was a wide-spread practice in the early sixteenth century; see for instance the *Da Costa Hours*.



FIGURE 16.4 Anon. (artist), The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin, from the *Hours of Charles le Clerc* (after 1505). Painting on parchment, 11.8 × 7.8 cm. London, British Library (Ms. 19416, fol. 8v).

IMAGE © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD.



FIGURE 16.5 Bernard van Orley, Triptych with the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin with Jeremiah and Saint Luke on the wings (ca. 1525). Oil on wood, 200 × 142.5 cm. Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie (inv. 799.1.17).

IMAGE © MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS ET D'ARCHÉOLOGIE, BESANÇON;
PHOTO: CHARLES CHOFFET.

Bernard van Orley [Fig. 16.5].⁴⁴ On the central panel of this triptych, the forlorn Virgin meditates on the childhood and Passion of Christ. She sits underneath the cross, dressed in black and surrounded by spiky thorns,⁴⁵ a truly intensive rendition of the Virgin of Sorrows. The sword that symbolises Mary's pain is depicted prominently on the central panel. On the two wings, the prophet Jeremiah and the Evangelist Saint Luke comment on the symbol of the sword.⁴⁶

44 Pinette M. – Soulier-François F., *De Bellini à Bonnard: Chef-d'œuvre de la peinture du Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archeologie de Besançon* (Paris: 1992) 36–39; the wings are by his assistant, Peeter de Kempeneer.

45 Canticum canticorum Salominis 11, 2: 'SICUT LILIUM INTER SPINAS'; this text appears on Mary's hem.

46 Pinette – Soulier-François, *De Bellini à Bonnard* 36: *Jeremiah* 4:10: 'ET ECCE PERVENIT GLADIUS USQUE AD ANIMAM'; *Luke* 2:35: 'TUAM IPSIUS ANIMAM PERTRANSIBIT GLADIUS'.

Equally important, in this context, is Antoine de Montcut (d. 1432), Abbot of Saint-Vincent in Besançon, who served as Margaret of Austria's confessor, almoner, and councillor after 1515.⁴⁷ Jointly with Laurent Gorrevaud, Antoine de Montcut had been granted the privilege of establishing his funerary chapel in the church of St Nicholas in Brou, Margaret's funerary church. Montcut's chapel was dedicated to the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin. In 1522, the chapel was furnished with an image carved from stone (now lost).⁴⁸ This is only one of two chapels that Montcut founded in honour of the Virgin of Sorrows. In 1531/32, Conrat Meit produced an almost life-size *Pietà* made from alabaster [Fig. 16.6] while working on the tombs of Margaret of Austria and her husband in Brou.⁴⁹ Whether Meit's interpretation of the subject was modelled on the *Pietà* he made for Margaret's *Annonciade* convent in Bruges, cannot be ascertained. Instead of showing the cross, the artist added an Italianate angel who supports Mary in presenting the dead body of Christ.

Leaders of the Church: Juan de Fonseca and Albrecht of Brandenburg

There are many church dignitaries among the individuals whose names were inscribed into the membership registry of the Brussels confraternity and whose full-page coat of arms were added.⁵⁰ Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Palencia (fol. 65v) is of particular interest in this context. He came to Brussels and joined the brotherhood soon after having been appointed bishop in November 1504. He was evidently so impressed by this Marian devotion that he decided to take this cult back to his hometown of Palencia.

The panel that he ordered from the well-known painter Jan Joest van Kalker (1460–1519) was inserted into the newly erected rood screen of his cathedral soon after his return from the Low Countries [Fig. 16.7].⁵¹ The Spanish text on the lower right wing of the triptych translates as follow:

47 Eikermann, *Conrat Meit*, cat. 19, 138–140 (J.L. Burk).

48 See Guillot de Suduiraut S., "Le retable des septes joie de la Vierge dans la chapelle de Marguerite d'Autriche à Brou", in Pieri C. (ed.), *Brou: Un monument européen à l'aube de la Renaissance/Brou: A European Monument in the Renaissance* (Paris: 2009) [58–81], at fn. 11.

49 See also Eichberger, "Making Choices".

50 Sutch, "Patronage, Foundation History, and Ordinary Believers" 40–44.

51 Wolff-Thomsen U., *Jan Joest von Kalker: Ein niederländischer Maler um 1500* (Bielefeld: 1997); Schollmeyer L., *Jan Joest: Ein Beitrag zur Kunstgeschichte des Rheinlandes um 1500* (Bielefeld: 2004); see also Sugiyama M., *Promise to the Penitent: Images and Indulgences in Early Netherlandish Paintings*, Ph.D. dissertation (Ghent University: 2017) 246–258.



FIGURE 16.6 *Conrat Meit, Pietà (1526–1532). Alabaster, 172 × 144 × 72 cm. Besançon, Cathedral of St. John.*

IMAGE © ALAIN LONCHAMPT/CENTRE DES MONUMENTS NATIONAUX.

In the year 1505, the honourable and most distinguished Lord Don Juan de Fonseca, through God's grace bishop of Palencia, Count of Pernia, commissioned this image of the Virgin of Sorrows, when he was in Flanders as diplomat in the service of his Lord and King, Philip of Castile, and Queen Donna Joanna. Everybody who recites seven *Ave Maria* and



FIGURE 16.7 Jan Joest van Kalker, *Choir screen with the Triptych with the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin* (ca. 1505). Oil on wood, 173 × 152 cm. Palencia, Cathedral St. Antoninus. IMAGE © JAVIER Y TOMÁS.

the *Pater Noster* while kneeling in front of the image will receive plenty of indulgences. Members of this confraternity will gain the same indulgences and other benefits, when they pray, as indicated in the statutes of the brotherhood.

The inscriptions on the wings of the panel give evidence of his strong allegiance to Philip the Fair and Juana of Castile, who seemed to have swayed him to become an ardent follower of this cult. Fonseca publicly announces the benefits of becoming a member and points to the prayers prescribed by the confraternity. The unusual iconography of the central panel suggests that the patron made specific stipulations asking for his portrait to be inserted into the central composition. It is most unusual that the Virgin of Sorrows is accompanied by John the Evangelist who gently twists her head towards the bishop [Fig. 16.8]. Juan de Fonseca thus places himself under the direct protection of the Virgin of Sorrows, the most powerful intercessor in Christianity.



FIGURE 16.8 *Detail of Fig. 16.7: Mater Dolorosa with bishop Juan de Fonseca.*

Bishop Juan de Fonseca was by no means the only high-ranking cleric who followed this new devotion. The long list of cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and abbots who joined the Brussels confraternity is proof of how important it must have been to be publicly recognised as a supporter of this religious movement.⁵² The *Ortus Progressus* by Jan van Coudenberghe equally stresses the fact that many religious leaders from different nations promoted the devotion by providing indulgences to those who closely followed the statutes of the newly founded brotherhood.⁵³

The Iberian Peninsula, seat of the Spanish branch of the Habsburg dynasty, soon became a major centre for the veneration of the Mater Dolorosa and the Nuestra Señora de la Soledad.⁵⁴ Statues of the weeping Virgin became a central part of the public processions (*pasos*) held during Holy Week.⁵⁵ In Seville, an old wooden statue of the sorrowful Virgin with clasped hands has survived; initially, the statue was decorated with seven swords that were arranged in a circle around her chest. It is called Nuestra Señora de la Antigua, Siete Dolores y Compasión.⁵⁶

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- 52 Sutch, "Patronage, Foundation History, and Ordinary Believers" 40–44; Jean de Hornes, Bishop of Liège – François of Busleyden, Archbishop of Besançon (after 1498) – Jacobus Ramirez de Villaescus, Bishop of Astorga (after 1498) – Henricus de Berghes, Bishop of Cambrai (after 1499) – Jacques de Croÿ, Bishop of Cambrai (1503) – Johannes de Nivelles, Bishop of Soliwri (after 1504) – Jean Brisselot, Bishop of Beirut (after 1505) – Cardinal Bernardus Lopez de Carvajal, Bishop of Frascati (after 1507) – Jacobus de Croÿ, Bishop of Cambrai (after 1503) – Juan de Fonseca, Bishop of Palencia (after 1504) – Cardinal Matthäus Schinner, Bishop of Sion (after 1511) – Bernardo de Mesa, Bishop of Elna (after 1515) – Cardinal Guillaume de Croÿ, Bishop of Cambrai (after 1517) – Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio, Bishop of Bologna (after 1528) – Pieter van der Vorst, Bishop of Acqui (after 1534) – Guido Bentivoglio, Archbishop of Rhodes (after 1609) – Pedro de la Gasca, Bishop of Palencia (after 1551) – Matthias van der Hove, Archbishop of Mechelen (after 1595) – Jacobus Boonen, Archbishop of Mechelen (after 1621) – Cardinal Alfonso de la Cueva (after 1622), etc.
- 53 Coudenberghe, *Ortus Progressus* [Ciiijv]; Stratius, *Onse L. Vrouwe der seven vveeen* 240–241: he lists bishops and prelates from Cambrai, Utrecht, Liège, Tournai, Sarepta, Cordoba, Salubria, etc.; see also Susie Sutch in Ramakers B., *De rederijkers nader gezien: Conformisten en rebellen. Rederijkerscultuur in de Nederlanden, 1400–1650* (Amsterdam: 2003).
- 54 Sánchez de Madariaga E., "La Virgen de la Soledad, la difusión de un culto en el Madrid barroco", in Cruz de Carlos M. et al. (eds.), *La imagen religiosa en la Monarquía hispánica: Usos y espacios* (Madrid: 2008) 219–240.
- 55 Fernández Merino E., *La Virgen de Luto* (Madrid: 2012) esp. chap. 4, 151–153.
- 56 Anonymous, ca. 1600, from the Dominican monastery of San Pablo. The brotherhood Nuestra Señora de la Antigua, Siete Dolores y Compasión was founded in 1546; Webster S., *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain: Sevillian Confraternities and the Processional Sculpture*

Not every clergyman commissioned works of arts for the general public, as was the case with Juan de Fonseca. Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg, for instance, opted for artefacts that were of a more private nature. He commissioned several representations of this subject for his private prayer books. For example, in about 1525/1530, the Flemish book illuminator Simon Bening produced an exquisite miniature of the Mater Dolorosa for Albrecht's Netherlandish prayer book.⁵⁷ The Virgin is dressed in a light-blue mantle and is set against a red background; the seven sorrows are placed in individual compartments that form a grid-like frame. This miniature was inserted into a sequence of Passion scenes and adds a meditative note by highlighting the moment between the death of Christ (fol. 242v: Crucifixion) and the swooning of the Virgin (fol. 302: Piercing Christ's side). The heading refers to her virtues and her pain: "Von den wunderbarlichen tugenten der saligen jungffrawen und von iren schmerzen und zähern" (Of the miraculous virtues of the blessed Virgin and of her pains and tears).⁵⁸ Nikolaus Glockendon and his son Gabriel (1515–ca.1585) each provided one full-page miniature of the Virgin of Sorrows for Albrecht's other prayer books [Fig. 16.9].⁵⁹ Their images are based on the earlier model by Bening, but were adjusted according to the alternative layout and colour-scheme of this manuscript.

In several cases, foreign noblemen travelled to the Burgundian Netherlands on a diplomatic mission and thus came in touch with the devotion of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin. This was evidently the case with Christopher Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe (d. 1520) who was sent to the Netherlands in 1512 by King Henry VIII.⁶⁰ During his stay abroad, he met his wife, Catherine van Grimbergen.

in Holy Week (Princeton, NJ: 1998) esp. 92–93. One can argue that the iconographic type of Our Lady of Solitude developed from the images of the Virgin of Sorrows.

57 *The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin*, prayer book of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg, Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig IX 19, fol. 151v.

58 Fol. 252, see <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/1402/simon-bening-prayer-book-of-cardinal-albrecht-of-brandenburg-flemish-about-1525-1530/> (accessed: 10.11.2015).

59 *The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin*, prayer book for Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg, a) Nikolaus Glockendon, Nuremberg, 1534, Modena, Bib. Estense Universitaria, fol. 94, for a full facsimile see <http://bibliotecaestense.beniculturali.it/info/img/mss/i-mo-beu-alfa.u.6.7.html> (accessed: 17.08.2016); b) Gabriel Glockendon, Nuremberg, 1536/37, Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 1847, fol. 74; see Thoss D. (ed.), *Gebetbuch für Kardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg: Gabriel Glockendon, Nürnberg 1536/37. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1847* (Münster: 2008).

60 Triptych by the Master of Mary Magdalene (Ashwellthorpe triptych), oil on wood, ca. 1519, 64.2 × 83.9 cm (centre panel); 26.7 × 83.9 cm (wings), Norwich Castle Museum and Art



FIGURE 16.9 *Nikolaus Glockendon, The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin (1534). Painting on parchment, 16 × 21 cm. Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria (EST. 136 = ALFA.U.6.7, fol. 94).*

IMAGE © BIBLIOTECA ESTENSE UNIVERSITARIA, REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF MIBACT.

Before the couple returned to Norfolk, they commissioned a triptych from the Master of the Magdalene Legend, a painter who was closely attached to the court. Given the relatively moderate size of the triptych, the painting was probably made for their family chapel. The central panel is dedicated entirely to the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin. The composition is unusual in so far as the individual scenes are no longer placed into rectangular or circular frames, but are fully integrated into a deep illusionistic landscape. Mary is again the central figure in the foreground; she casts down her eyes and folds her arms in front of her chest.

Reaching out to the New World: San Andrés de Calpan in New Mexico

As illustrated by the examples in the first part of this paper, the popular cult of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin spread across Europe within a few decades. Imperial networks were identified as one important catalyst for the rapid growth in popularity. Travelling dignitaries and merchants further helped to promote the new cult via ecclesiastical, diplomatic, or commercial networks, so that it would soon reach even more distant shores.

In October 1523, Pope Clement VII sent out twelve Franciscan monks—frequently called “the twelve Apostles”—to *Nueva España* to convert the natives and to establish Catholic communities.⁶¹ In New Mexico, the Franciscan monks were given the powers of parish priests so that they could better attend to the indigenous communities in their newly constructed monasteries. A central role during this first educational mission was played by the lay brother Pieter van Ghent, also called Pedro de Gante (ca. 1480–1572).⁶² He was an illegitimate son of Emperor Maximilian I and stood in direct contact with the Habsburg family, especially with Charles V and Philip II.⁶³ Jan van der Auwera (Juan de Avora) and Jan Dekkers (Juan de Tecto), two further Franciscan missionaries, also came from the Southern Netherlands. Dekkers had been a professor of

Gallery; *A Decade of Collecting 1980–1990* (Norwich: 1990), cat. no. 70; see also: <http://vads.ac.uk/x-large.php?uid=85353&sos=0> (accessed: 12.08.2016).

61 Ridder J. de, “Pieter van Gent alias Pedro de Gante (1480?–1572)”, *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent* 39 (1985) 149–172, at 157.

62 Hinz F., “The Process of Hispanization in Early New Spain: Transformation of Collective Identities during and after the Conquest of Mexico”, *Revista de Indias* 68, no. 243 (2008) 9–36, esp. 21–22.

63 Ridder, “Pieter van Gent” 151.

theology at the Sorbonne and later served as Charles's confessor.⁶⁴ Given their Flemish origin and their close association with the ruling Habsburg family, it can safely be assumed that they were familiar with the importance of the newly established cult of the Seven Sorrows in the Low Countries.

One of the first Franciscan convents in Mexico, the Monastery of San Miguel Arcángel in Huejotzingo, was established already in 1526.⁶⁵ The nearby convent of San Andrés de Calpan, not far from Puebla de Zaragoza, was founded two decades later.⁶⁶ The Franciscan monastery consisted of a small church and a walled-in atrium with four corner chapels (*capillas posas*).⁶⁷ These courtyards were used for processions and played a significant role in the evangelisation of the indigenous population.⁶⁸ The cube-shaped *posa* chapels in Calpan each have two openings towards the courtyard. One of these chapels was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and was provided with flat reliefs on its exterior walls.⁶⁹ The Annunciation to the Virgin decorates the segment above the first arch; the Assumption of the Virgin is depicted on the corresponding space on the second façade. While the third wall has no such opening on the lower level, it still carries a large stone relief depicting the Virgin of Sorrows [Fig. 16.10]. The inscription at the bottom of the image reads: IESVS and MARIA. The seated Virgin has her arms crossed in front of her chest; her head is tilted slightly to the left. Seven long swords with hilts are directed towards her chest and meet in one point, the Virgin's heart. This is an important motif that corresponds to Simeon's prophecy (*Luke* 2:35).⁷⁰ The seven roundels at the end of each sword probably contained shallow discs made from jet or black obsidian. This

64 Ibidem 154; see also: "Catholic Church: Hapsburg New Spain", in Werner M. (ed.), *Concise Encyclopedia of Mexico* (Chicago, IL: 1997) vol. 1, 81–82.

65 Webster S.V., "Art, Ritual, and Confraternities in Sixteenth-Century New Spain: Penitential Imagery at the Monastery of San Miguel, Huejotzingo", *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* UNAM XIX, 70 (1997) 5–43; see also: Montes Bardo J., *Arte y espiritualidad franciscana en la nueva España. Siglo XVI* (Jaén: 1998) 65–104.

66 Montes Bardo, *Arte y espiritualidad franciscana* 253–55, fig. 45.

67 Cabral I., *La capilla posas de San Andrés Calpan* (Puebla: 1991); Cabral I., *Arquitectura religiosa en San Andrés, Cholula, Puebla* (Puebla: 1993); Donahue-Wallace K., *Art and Architecture of Viceroyal Latin America, 1521–1821* (Albuquerque, NM: 2008).

68 Bargellini C., "Architecture: Colonial", in *Concise Encyclopedia of Mexico*, 9–19, at 10; Kubler G., review of John McAndrew, *The Open-Air Churches of Sixteenth-Century Mexico: Atrios, Posas, Open Chapels, and Other Studies* (Cambridge: 1965), *Art Bulletin* 47 (1965) 525–527.

69 The other three *posa* chapels were dedicated to St Michael, St John the Evangelist, and St Francis; good reproductions of all *posa* chapels can be found at: https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Exconvento_de_Calpan (accessed: 07.08.2016).

70 Montes Bardo, *Arte y espiritualidad franciscana* 209–211.

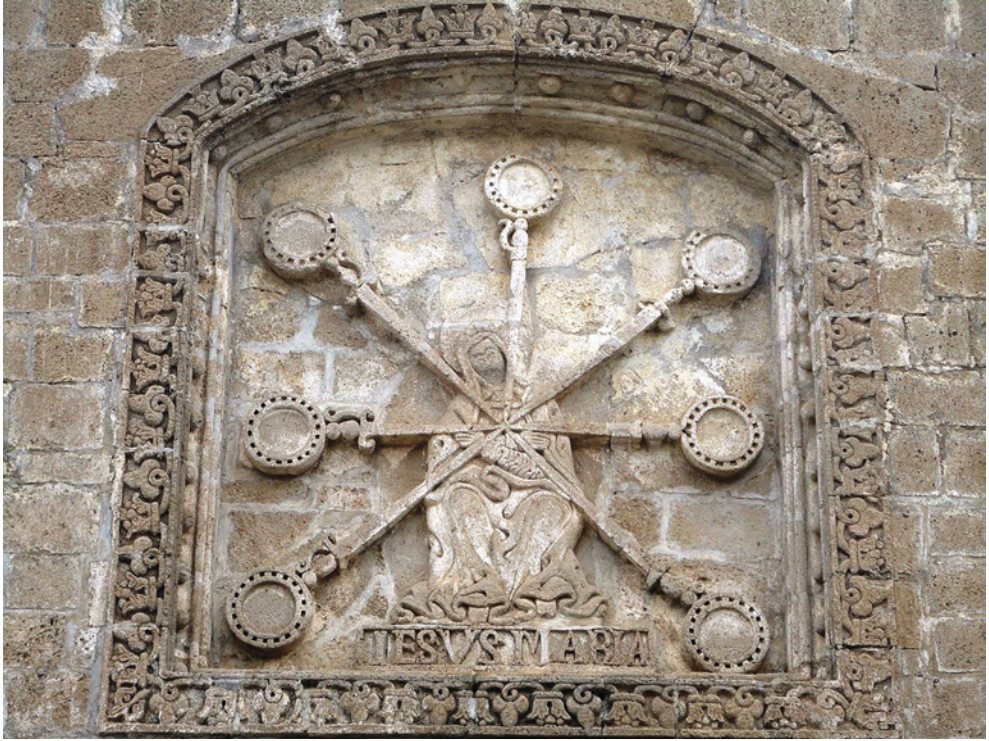


FIGURE 16.10 Anon. (sculptor), *Relief on the outside of a corner chapel presenting The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin (ca. 1555). Stone. Puebla, San Andrés Calpan.*

IMAGE © WIKIMEDIA COMMONS (AUTHOR: DANIELLLERANDI).

polished black stone was used for ceremonial purposes throughout Mexico before the Spanish conquest.⁷¹ Jeanette Favrot Peterson pointed out, that *teotetl*, the Nahuatl word for the shiny black jet stone, signifies ‘god stone’.⁷² Obsidian is a local material that was highly treasured for its spiritual qualities and was also used in pre-Columbian rituals that involved human sacrifices. Jaime Lara

71 Moreno Villa J., *Lo mexicano en las artes plásticas* (Mexico: 1948) 10, cited in Grajales Ramos G., *Influencia indígena en las artes plásticas del México colonial*, *Anales del Instituto de Arte Americano e investigaciones estéticas* 6 (1953) 97–129, esp. 104–105; I am grateful to Franziska Neff for providing important information on the use and meaning of such discs made from obsidian.

72 Peterson J.F., “Perceiving Blackness, Envisioning Power: Chalma and Black Christs in Colonial Mexico”, in Leibsohn D. – Peterson J.F. (eds.), *Seeing Across Cultures in the Early Modern World* (Farnham, Surrey: 2012) 49–71, esp. 59–61.

has argued that the missionaries employed such discs made from obsidian to create a symbolic connection between indigenous beliefs and the Christian notion of sacrificial death.⁷³ In contrast to the other two representations on the same *capilla posa*, the image of the Virgin is surrounded by two moulded frames and is placed in a recessed space. This suggests that the Mater Dolorosa was treated as an iconic image. The composition of the image was in all likelihood based on a model that had been provided to them by the Franciscan monks, probably a contemporary woodcut like the print by Jost de Negker [Fig. 16.1].

Kroger and Granziera stress the overall significance of Our Lady of Sorrows in Mexico, in the past as well as today.⁷⁴ They underline the strong attachment of the Franciscan order to the cult of Mater Dolorosa and refer to several ancient sanctuaries dedicated to the Virgin of Sorrows.

Conclusion

The early history of the cult shows that this devotion was spiritually and politically important for Emperor Maximilian I and his family. Brotherhoods were founded in all major cities across the Burgundian Netherlands. A princely brotherhood was established in the city of Brussels close to the family's principal residence. Margaret of Austria built upon these foundations by erecting a convent in Bruges that was dedicated to the Virgin of Sorrows. Charles V aimed at documenting the involvement of the Habsburg family by commissioning a history of the movement. Liturgical texts, masses, and mystery plays were produced so that the followers of this cult could participate in religious rituals and in public performances. Reports of miracles were published and expositions were produced by the theological advisors in the service of the Habsburg family. Woodcuts and engravings with the coat of arms of Philip the Fair were printed in large numbers to signify princely support.⁷⁵

The examples chosen for this article demonstrate how effective the initiative was. Many members of the princely household, such as the families of

73 Lara J., "El espejo en la cruz: Una reflexion medieval sobre las cruces atriales mexicanas", *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, 18, no. 69 (1996) 5–36, esp. 33–34.

74 Kroger F. – Granziera P., *Aztec Goddesses and Christian Madonnas: Images of Divine Feminine in Mexico* (Farnham, Surrey: 2000) 113–114 and 242–243. A later example is the Mater Dolorosa by Cristóbal de Villalpando (1680) that is based on an engraving by Schelte A. Bolswert (1612), Manuel Barbachano Ponce Collection, Mexico City, Mexico.

75 Eichberger, "Visualizing the Seven Sorrows" 134–138.

Hoogstraten, Busleyden, Poupet, Lalaing, Guevara, and Marnix, appear in the *Liber Authenticus* of the Brussels confraternity. Leading clerics, diplomats, noblemen, and patricians followed suit and adopted the devotion for themselves, their families, and their communities. Why was this devotion so successful and why did the Virgin of Sorrows appeal to so many late medieval believers? The Mater Dolorosa does not represent a radically new concept. One strand of images adopts the concept of the late-medieval *Pietà*. This applies for instance to the sculptures from Delft, Bruges, and Besançon, and to several printed images. In other cases, the Virgin of Sorrows appears by herself, without the dead body of Christ. As many prayer books demonstrate, such iconic images of the Virgin of Sorrows could easily be integrated into a standard Passion series or were incorporated into the Hours of the Cross. The isolated image of the mourning mother of Christ helped to intensify the emotional response to the narrative account of the Passion, as could be seen from Albrecht of Brandenburg's prayer books.

As a consequence of the Reformation, religious conflicts dominated the Netherlands for several decades in the second half of the sixteenth century. Many Marian shrines were destroyed and numerous miracle-working images disappeared. As a consequence, Catholic devotions of that kind had to go underground for a while. Only with the onset of the Counter Reformation was the devotion to the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin revived in the Southern Netherlands. In 1605, Archduke Albert and his wife Isabella initiated and financed the construction of the Marian pilgrimage site of Scherpenheuvel. This site's seven-sided floor plan with a small church in its centre was dedicated to the Seven Joys and the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin. Between 1609 and 1624, two court artists, Wensel Cobergher and Theodor van Loon, were in charge of planning and furnishing this important pilgrimage site.⁷⁶ A succinct account of the devotion was published in French and Dutch in 1615 by the Brussels printer Anthoon Huybrecht (*Cort verhael van het broederschap vande seuen weeden van onser lieve Vrouwe*). A translation of Jan van Coudenberghe's *Ortus Progressus* into Dutch was delivered in 1622 by the Antwerp Jesuit Jacob Stratius (*Onse L. Vrouwe der seven vveeen. Met de mirakelen, getyden, ende misse der selver*).⁷⁷ The account of numerous miracles and the promise of indulgences further helped to revive the cult. Traditional images of the Virgin surrounded by the seven

76 Duerloo L. – Wingens M., *Scherpenheuvel: Het Jeruzalem van de Lage Landen* (Leuven: 2002); see also: Duerloo L. (ed.), *Dynasty and Piety: Archduke Albert (1598–1621) and Habsburg Political Culture in the Age of Religious Wars* (Farnham, Surrey: 2012).

77 See footnote 13.

swords that pierce her heart were included in these texts to continue a visual tradition that seemed almost lost.

The spiritual community that was formed by the followers of this cult consisted of men and women from all social classes. In the Brussels confraternity, the high nobility, the members of the princely household, and the local citizenship coalesced. From the start, the Habsburg family recognised the potential of the devotion of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin to unite their people in faith. They equally used the cult as a weapon against unbelievers and heretics. Movable images facilitated the spreading of the devotion across many European countries. The grieving Virgin was painful to look at but moved the hearts of the faithful. Franciscan friars transported the image of the Virgin of Sorrows to Central America and merged it with aspects of indigenous Mexican culture in order to convert the local population.

While the cult of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin has virtually disappeared in the Low Countries, the feast of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores is still an important Marian holiday in predominantly Catholic countries.⁷⁸ The cult that first started in the Burgundian Netherlands in the late fifteenth century continues to exist in Spain, the New Americas, and the Philippines.

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⁷⁸ The Virgin of Sorrows is celebrated on 15 September; Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, see https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nuestra_Se%C3%B1ora_de_los_Dolores and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Our_Lady_of_Sorrows (accessed: 27.10.2016).

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Early Modern Incense Boats: Commerce, Christianity, and Cultural Exchange*

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During excavations at the former Siamese royal palaces of Ayutthaya and Lopburi north of Bangkok, archaeologists uncovered ornate silver and silver-gilt candlesticks, a chalice, and other western-style liturgical objects dating to the seventeenth century. The most striking is a *navicula* or boat used for storing incense burned during Catholic Mass [Fig. 17.1]. Taking the form of a European trading ship but incorporating Chinese dragons and stylised ornamental motifs, this hybrid vessel testifies to the intercultural exchanges prompted both by the establishment of religious missions at Ayutthaya and by Siam's status as a commercial *entrepôt*. Similar incense boats proliferated in Asia, Africa, the Americas, and Catholic Europe during the early modern period, notably in countries and port cities tied to long-distance trade. Encoding movement and exchange in their very form, and housing fragrant resins that were themselves an international trade commodity, *naviculae* embody the spread of commerce and Christianity and suggest important links between the two.

Like thousands of related vessels found around the world, the Ayutthaya incense boat tells a local story that is nonetheless part of a global phenomenon. It prompts us to ask how an object type integral to the spread of Christianity joined a more complex and multipolar network fuelled by diplomacy and commerce; and to consider why the makers of these objects chose to evoke the same ships that carried both the people—priests, traders, administrators, artisans, slaves—and the goods—from raw materials like bullion and incense

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FIGURE 17.1 *Anon. (silversmith), Navicula (late seventeenth century). Gilded silver, 27 cm (height). Lopburi, Somdet Phra Narai National Museum (inv. no. L. 1626).*

IMAGE © SOMDET PHRA NARAI NATIONAL MUSEUM, LOPBURI.

to finished products like tools, books, and images—on which globalisation depended. The same questions must be asked wherever such vessels appear, from Lisbon to Kongo, and from Ayutthaya to Goa, over a period of centuries. What accounts for their apparent homogeneity across time and space? How do early modern ship-shaped incense boats instantiate what Christine Göttler and Mia Mochizuki have termed a global republic of sacred things?

This historical confluence of function and form has not gone unnoticed, and descriptions of these objects often link them in a general way with seafaring and colonial expansion. But the incense boat has never, to our knowledge, been studied in its global dimension or with an eye to testing the potential or limits of this interpretive approach. As ‘nomadic objects’, do they testify solely to a new, global Catholic culture? Or do superficial similarities conceal a host of different and regionally specific meanings? How closely are boat-shaped religious vessels tied to European expansion, and how did they give new life

to old metaphors? What follows explores these questions while acknowledging the interpretive problems they raise. After reviewing the form's origin and development, as well as its connection to secular versions known as *nefs*, we present selected case studies that highlight the global networks in which incense boats participated while also underscoring how their surface commonalities reflect distinct local challenges and conditions.

What is a *Navicula*? Form, Terminology, and Secular Equivalents

As defined in Catholic Europe, a *navicula* is a small, ship-shaped vessel carried by an acolyte or 'boat boy' and used to store, transport, and dispense resin granules burned during Mass and associated religious ceremonies. Typically made of silver but sometimes crafted from base metals or other precious materials including enamel, polished hardstone, or shell, *naviculae* featured a spreading, columnar foot and hinged lids that, much like the hatches of a cargo ship, gave access to a hollow interior from which the priest extracted resin with a spoon that was sometimes attached with a chain. Placed in an accompanying censer or thurible, the incense would be ignited and the smoke directed with controlled swings towards the objects or persons to be censured as a mark of honour and ritual purification. Together with related altar furnishings including a crucifix, candlesticks, mass cards, lecterns, chalices, and patens, *naviculae* were key components of a highly ritualised Eucharistic liturgy codified in the medieval *Ordo Romanum* and scrupulously observed by the Roman curia. Their presence on the frontiers of the early modern Christian world, where they would also have been visible during processions, consecrations, adorations of the sacrament, funerals, and related ceremonies, testifies to missionaries' faith that replicating canonical rituals and implements might communicate powerfully but nonverbally to observers unfamiliar with Christian beliefs and practices.

Although *naviculae* were intimately associated with the spread and codification of Christian rites around the globe, many of these practices were syncretic and drew upon earlier or competing belief systems. Incense in particular had featured prominently in ancient pagan rites celebrated across the Mediterranean, and it was a major component of Hebrew, Buddhist, Hindu, and Islamic religious traditions. In all of these contexts, the burning of fragrant incense contributed to a 'multi-sensorial message of the divine', transporting participants to a sacred realm that transcended everyday experience.¹

¹ Ergin N., "The Fragrance of the Divine: Ottoman Incense Burners and Their Context", *The Art Bulletin* 96, 1 (March 2014) 70–97. The phrase 'multi-sensorial message of the divine'

Additionally, incense connoted purification in a spiritual and a bodily sense, and it was often used in healing and funerary rites as well as a variety of secular functions. Because of their multiple resonances, the ritual and implements of Catholic Mass, including *naviculae*, assimilated relatively smoothly into many non-Christian regions during the era of Europe's overseas expansion, especially given the tendency of both missionaries and inhabitants to adapt Christian practices and forms to fit these new cultural contexts. In the case of *naviculae*, a celebrant might substitute local resins for imported frankincense and myrrh, generally sourced from the Arabian Peninsula, thereby rendering an exotic fragrance familiar; or a local artisan might inflect the vessel's design in ways that resonated with native users and observers, as will be discussed below.

While many religious traditions invoked visual metaphors in the design of incense-related objects—from ancient Chinese censers in the shape of smoking mountains to the animal-shaped perfume burners popular in the Islamic world—ship-shaped *naviculae* are, as far as we know, unique to western Christianity. It was not until the thirteenth century, however, that incense holders acquired a nautical shape and name (*navicula* or occasionally *naviculus*, both diminutives of Latin *navis* [ship] and echoed in French as *navette*, Italian as *navetta* or *navicella*, and in Spanish and Portuguese as *naveta*).² Many early *naviculae* resembled ships only in a general sense, such as a thirteenth-century container now at the Walters Art Museum, crafted in Limoges of champlevé enamel with an abstracted, hull-like body and hinged lid evoking a cargo hold.³ Others were more literal, including an example in gilded copper, made in Siena during the fourteenth century and now at the Musée

is taken from Howes D., *Sensual Relations: Engaging the Senses in Culture and Social Theory* (Ann Arbor, MI: 2003) 64, cited in Egin, "The Fragrance of the Divine" 70.

- 2 On the Christian use of incense and associated vessels, including *naviculae*, see *Suppelletile ecclesiastica*, ed. B. Montevocchi and S. Vasco Rocca (Florence: 1988) 256–266, esp. 259–261. Before the thirteenth century, incense containers were variously referred to as *acerra*, *pyxis*, or merely *incensarium* and might be shaped as cups, cylindrical boxes, or miniature towers. See also Moroni G., *Dizionario de erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, vol. 45 (Venice: 1845) 152, *ad vocem* 'incensiere'; *Ordo Romanus VI* ("De missa episcopali secundus") paragraph 6: 'pyxidem in qua thus habetur', quoted from Migne J.P., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, sive Bibliotheca Universalis* [...], first series, vol. 78 (Paris: 1852) 991; Magri Domenico, *Notizia de' vocaboli ecclesiastici* (Rome, Giovanni Casoni: 1669 [third printing]) 290, 351, citing Leo of Ostia (book 2, cap. 98).
- 3 Among this 'abstracted' boat type is a rare fourteenth-century English *navicula* in parcel-gilded silver (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, M. 269–1923), with rams' head finials that suggest it was made at Ramsey Abbey in Huntingdonshire. For the Walters example, see: <http://art.thewalters.org/detail/38824/incense-boat> (accessed: 15.11.2015).



FIGURE 17.2 Anon. (silversmith), *Navicula* (fourteenth century). Gilded copper, 96 × 21.5 cm. Paris, Musée de Cluny (inv. no. C. 1157).

IMAGE © RMN-GRAND PALAIS/ART RESOURCE, NEW YORK CITY, NY.

de Cluny in Paris, that evinces a characteristic pointed oblong shape (in this case articulated to suggest horizontal planking) with twin dragon-head finials recalling prow and stern sculptures [Fig. 17.2].⁴ In both cases, the consolidation of the boat metaphor implies that by the later middle ages the liturgical use of incense had become associated with notions of travel and transport. One reason is indicated by Guillaume Durand, bishop of Mende (ca. 1230–1296), whose discussion of *naviculae* in his influential treatise on the rituals and symbols of Christianity interprets the rising smoke as charting a prayerful Christian's path across a wide sea toward a heavenly home.⁵ This may explain the frequent inclusion of both winged angels (featured on the lid of the Walters example) and the Annunciation (engraved on the lid of the Cluny example), perhaps

4 For another early example, with a projecting aftercastle, see *Suppelletile ecclesiastica*, fig. 77, now in Naples and tentatively ascribed to the fourteenth century.

5 *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, lib. 4, cap. VIII ("De incenso benedicendo et in thuribulum mittendo") paragraph 3: "navicula vero, in qua incensum reponitur, designat quod per orationem, quam incensum significat, de huius mundi mari magno et spacioso at coelestem patriam satagamus navigare. Unde in Proverbiis: "Facta est quasi navis institoris de longe parians panem suum".

because they exemplified, like incense itself, the idea of communication and exchange between spiritual and earthly realms.

Naviculae may also have reflected old understandings of the Christian Church as a ship guiding the faithful to salvation. Based on the Gospel story of the Church's founder, Saint Peter, as a fisherman who became a 'fisher of men' (*Matthew* 4:19), this metaphor was visualised throughout medieval churches, ranging from twelfth-century sculptured capitals in a crusader church in Nazareth to Giotto's famous 'Navicella' mosaic (*navicula sancti Petri*), installed around 1310 in the courtyard outside the main entrance to Saint Peter's basilica in Rome.⁶ Depicting the apostle as captain of the 'ship of the church' navigating stormy seas, Giotto's mosaic made reference to the papal flight from Rome to Avignon in 1309 while evoking the broader concept of the church as a salvific spiritual bark. Pope Leo X revived this maritime metaphor in the early sixteenth century, when he commissioned a prominent ship-shaped fountain for the piazza outside his ancient titular church of Santa Maria in Domnica—also known as Santa Maria alla Navicella—in Rome.

The late medieval conflation of ships and incense holders was likely reinforced by incense's exotic origins, as expanding trade routes opened the Christian West to an increasing variety of foreign goods and ideas. Durand's treatise explicitly likened *naviculae* to the merchant vessel of Proverbs that, on analogy with the perfect wife, brings 'her food from far away'.⁷ The association of *naviculae* with long-distance trade was encoded in some early examples through engraved vegetal or marine motifs or the incorporation of exotic gems and pearls. *Naviculae* could also be crafted from rare hardstones, such as a fourteenth-century example in the treasury of San Marco in Venice that incorporates an earlier Byzantine bowl carved from purplish steatite and bearing the inscribed image of St. Demetrios.⁸ An elaborate fifteenth-century incense boat, possibly crafted in Venice, employs both enamels on solid gold and polished panels of lapis lazuli from Afghanistan, perhaps also chosen to evoke the colour of the sea and illustrative of the rare, imported materials often employed during the medieval and early Renaissance periods. The connection of *naviculae* with trade did not diminish by the late sixteenth century, by which

6 Terra Sancta Museum, Basilica of the Annunciation, Nazareth; Boehm B.D. – Holcomb M. (eds.), *Jerusalem 1000–1400: Every People under Heaven*, exh. cat. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, NY: 2016) 188–189, cat. no. 101b.

7 See footnote 5.

8 Buckton D. (ed.), *The Treasury of San Marco, Venice* (Milan: 1984) 292–297.

time the majority were being made of silver (occasionally gilt), a prized material whose new abundance made it a global commodity.⁹

Indeed, as maritime trade increased, *naviculae* became part of a broader fashion for boat-shaped vessels in both domestic and liturgical settings.¹⁰ The 1398 inventory of the royal treasure belonging to Richard II of England listed eighteen 'niefs' or 'neifs' (the Old French word for ship), including five relatively modest examples connected with the chapel, and thirteen luxurious ships employed on Richard's table, ranging from smaller models designed to hold salt to lavish and weighty trophies of solid gold or gilt silver, adorned with enamels and encrusted with jewels.¹¹ As markers of power and prestige, elaborate table nefs were associated with sovereigns (Louis I of Anjou possessed thirty-one) and frequently exchanged or re-gifted to mark treaties and alliances or to signal vassalage and loyalty.¹² Besides serving as place markers or receptacles for offerings of food for the poor, such nefs might contain wine, sweetmeats, cutlery, or plates, like the one pictured prominently near the host in the January calendar page of the *Très Riches Heures* of Jean, duc de Berry, of 1412–1416.¹³ Although that example remains fairly abstract, with swooping decks, schematic oar holes, and heraldic animals, other nefs closely replicated contemporary oceangoing vessels. One entry in Richard II's inventory listed six gold ships complete with fore- and aftercastle, sails, masts, sheets, and royal banners, a level of detail that accords with the similar table ship shown next to King Edward III in an illumination of ca. 1326–1327 to *De secretis secretorum*, a pseudoaristotelian treatise on statecraft.¹⁴

As nefs proliferated on elite tables, their form reflected Europe's growing interest and investment in long-distance maritime trade and exploration. Around 1448–1449, the itinerant Italian artist Pisanello designed nefs with prominent planking and portholes, borne on dragons much like the sea

9 Flynn D.O. – Giráldez A., "Born with a 'Silver Spoon': The Origin of World Trade in 1571", *Journal of World History* 6, 2 (1995) 201–221.

10 Charles Chichele Oman discusses both sacred and secular examples, although he gives more weight to the latter and claims there is 'little connection between the development of the incense-boat and that of the secular *nef*': Oman C.C., *Medieval Silver Nefs* (London: 1963) 1. See also chapter 1 of Keating J., *The Machinations of German Court Culture: Early Modern Automata*, Ph.D. dissertation (Northwestern University: 2010).

11 Stratford J., *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure* (Woodbridge: 2012). See R 1097, R 1171, R 989, R 1065, and R 41.

12 Buettner B., "Past Presents: New Year's Gifts at the Valois Courts", *The Art Bulletin* 83, 4 (December 2001) 612–613, 623.

13 Stratford, *Treasure* 267–268; Buettner, "Past Presents" 612–613.

14 Stratford, *Treasure* R 24; British Library Add. 47680, fol. 60v.

monsters in contemporary charts.¹⁵ More importantly, their raised fore- and aftercastles and cannon hatches closely resemble the sturdy but nimble carracks (*naus*) and square-rigged caravels (*caravelas redondas* or *de armada*) developed to extend and defend the Portuguese expeditions that had begun along the coast of West Africa in the 1420s, rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1488, reached India under the leadership of Vasco da Gama in 1498, encountered Brazil in 1500, and established the first western links with Japan in 1542. By the sixteenth century, table nefs had come to resemble nautical models of larger merchant ships whose cargoes enriched both royal coffers and an expanding commercial class. It was this naval type that inspired the highly detailed and well-preserved ship crafted in Nuremberg around 1500 for a member of the Schlüsselfelder family, now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum [Fig. 17.3].¹⁶ This nef, with a removable superstructure allowing it to serve as a wine vessel, depicts a heavily armed, three-masted, seagoing *kraak* like those used in the Netherlands. Complete with billowing foresail, grappling hook, and working rudder, and teeming with seventy-four miniature figures of sailors and passengers, the object suggests direct knowledge of seafaring practices on the part of its maker and, perhaps, its merchant owner.

Realism in secular nefs reached a high point in three elaborate automata crafted around 1580 by the Augsburg goldsmith Hans Schlottheim in the form of galleons, redoubtable fighting vessels on which large-scale shipping depended. With no usable internal spaces, these entertaining table ornaments featured sailors who strike the hours in the crow's nest and a procession of three heralds and seven Electors who file before the enthroned Holy Roman Emperor.¹⁷ The links among empire, sovereignty, and conquest embedded in such objects were made explicit in ship-shaped 'spice boxes' made to contain eastern aromatics as well as pepper from Southeast Asia, cinnamon from Ceylon, and cloves from the Moluccas, all actively sought out by Dutch, Indian, and African seamen as trade goods and gifts to European and Asian rulers.¹⁸ One such box created

15 Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, INV2289 and INV2292.

16 See Kahsnitz R. – Wixom W.D. (eds.), *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg, 1300–1550* (New York, NY: 1986) 224–227. The ship, which has sometimes been ascribed, without much evidence, to goldsmith Albrecht Dürer the Elder, retains its original leather case, dated 1503.

17 These three automata are in the collection of the British Museum (1866.1030.1), the Musée national de la Renaissance in Écouen ('nef de Charles Quint', perhaps made for Rudolf II [E.Cl.2739]), and the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.

18 Brouwer C.G., "Sweet-scented Shipments: Frankincense and Other Aromatics Landed and Loaded in al-Mukha (1st quarter of the 17th century), According to Dutch Letters and Logs", *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 64, 1–2 (January–April 2007) 63–97.



FIGURE 17.3 *Anon. (silversmith), Table Nef, so-called 'Schlüssselfelder Ship', from Nuremberg, commissioned for Wilhelm Schlüssselfelder (ca. 1502–1503). Silver and gilded silver, 79 cm (height). Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (inv. no. HG 2146). IMAGE © GERMANISCHES NATIONALMUSEUM, NUREMBERG.*



FIGURE 17.4 Anon. (silversmith), *Spice Box (before 1618)*. Silver, 17.6 × 24 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (inv. no. BK-NM-4313).

IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM.

around 1600, just as the Dutch were beginning to colonise Indonesia, embodies the violence and exploitation inherent in the spice trade. Its interior contains four compartments for spices, while the coat of arms on its cannon-clad exterior links it to the *Mauritius*, a famed Dutch vessel (named after Prince Maurits of Nassau) that sailed to the East Indies and brought back huge quantities of spices—sold at a staggering 400 per cent profit—a few years before the formation of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) [Fig. 17.4].¹⁹ The fact that these

19 See Dirk Jan Biemond's catalogue entry on this object in Corrigan K. et al. (eds.), *Asia in Amsterdam: The Culture of Luxury in the Golden Age*, exh. cat. Peabody Essex Museum (Salem, MA: 2015) 66. Like the classically-inspired mermaids and sea monsters on the hull, an inscription near the boat's waterline evokes the rewards and dangers of overseas trade: 'When maritime commerce flourishes, thanks to God's blessing, it feeds many mouths

arms appear in mirror image suggests that its anonymous maker based the design on contemporary prints of the *Mauritius*—a reminder that the rise in realism in early modern nefs and *naviculae* did not necessarily depend on first-hand encounter with their models, but rather on a broader visual culture in which ships played a major role.

Early Modern *Naviculae*: Evolution in Design and Meaning

If not for its internal configuration, the Dutch spice box could be mistaken for a sacred *navicula*. In fact, lines between secular and sacred ship-shaped containers were fluid, since table nefs could also serve as reliquaries or votive offerings. As early as the thirteenth century, Queen Marguerite of Provence, wife of Louis IX, bequeathed a small silver nef to the church of Saint Nicolas de Port in Lorraine, while the realistic silver example in the treasury of San Antonio in Padua, a copy of the Schlüsselfelder ship, is thought to be an ex-voto commemorating a rescue at sea.²⁰ In a particularly dramatic transformation, the ceremonial nef presented to Queen Anne de Bretagne by the aldermen of Tours in 1500 was converted into a reliquary by substituting the sailors with figures of St. Ursula and her virgin companions.²¹ As naval imagery spread in early modern Europe, especially around themes of exploration and trade, it was only logical that realistic-looking containers for salt or spices lent themselves to holding incense on the altar or Lord's table—*mensa Domini*—given the analogies between their contents.

This convergence of form and function helps explain why *naviculae*, like nefs, began increasingly to resemble actual seafaring vessels associated with the age of maritime discovery. The trend is exemplified by the grand *navicula* donated by the bishop of Luçon to Chartres Cathedral in 1540, blending an abstracted hull formed from a polished nautilus shell (itself a signifier of oceanic

and brings triumph to our country, but the sea can put up strong opposition if it is God's will.

- 20 Keating, *The Machinations of German Court Culture* 26; Kahsnitz – Wixom, *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg* 226. For later ship-form ex votos in Netherlandish reformed churches, see Mochizuki M.M., *The Netherlandish Image after Iconoclasm, 1566–1672: Material Religion in the Dutch Golden Age* (Aldershot: 2008) 290–295, at 292, and Appendix C; and Baader H., “Vows on Water: Ship Ex-Votos as Things, Metaphors, and Mediators of Communitality”, in Weinryb I. (ed.), *Ex Voto: Votive Giving Across Cultures* (New York, NY: 2016) 217–245.
- 21 Now at Palais de Tau, Reims; see Taralon J. – Maitre Devallon R., *Treasures of the Churches of France* (Paris – New York, NY: 1966) pls. 90–93.



FIGURE 17.5 *Anon. (silversmith), Naveta (1589). Silver, 15 × 20 cm. Madeira, Portugal, Museu de Arte Sacra do Funchal (inv. no. MASF64).*

IMAGE © MUSEU DE ARTE SACRA DO FUNCHAL.

trade) with an animal figurehead, a mast-like superstructure, and a balustraded poop and forecastle, all in silver gilt. The shift becomes clear when comparing the fourteenth-century Cluny example [Fig. 17.2] previously noted with a late sixteenth-century Portuguese incense boat from the Igreja Matriz de Câmara de Lobos on the island of Madeira, now in the collection of the Museu de Arte Sacra do Funchal [Fig. 17.5]. Appropriately, the diocese of Funchal boasts one of the foremost concentrations of naturalistically rendered *navetas* from the early modern period, given that Madeira, discovered off the African coast in 1419 and settled the following year, was one of Portugal's first maritime possessions and became an important trading hub as well as a stopover for Portuguese ships headed to all parts of the globe. Apart from the date of 1589 inscribed on its stern, this example is typical in its resemblance to an early modern Portuguese ship used for maritime trade, exploration, or military purposes, with a realistic-looking keel, a bowsprit, pierced decking rails, a hatch

for holding the incense, and an animal head atop its prow. Even more lifelike is the suggestion of wooden nails and boards engraved on the exterior, as well as rigging supports and a band of repeating scrolls meant to evoke waves crashing against the hull while the 'ship' was under sail.²² As explored below, it was precisely this type of realistic-looking incense boat that became standard during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—what one might call the heyday of early modern globalisation, particularly with the establishment of the Dutch and British East India Companies—during which thousands of examples were produced and circulated in Europe as well as the Americas, Africa, and Asia. Yet it is also clear that this formal development was closely tied to historical conditions, and once the Age of Discovery ended, the correspondence between *navetas* and actual sailing vessels began to decline. Although some realistic examples were still produced, especially in colonial outposts, by the later seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries it became more common for *navetas* to adopt abstracted baroque, rococo, or neoclassical shapes and ornament or to revert to the simple, symmetrical forms of the medieval period.²³

What explains this widespread but ultimately temporary fashion for shaping incense boats as ocean-going vessels? Although ship imagery, as we saw, pervaded Europe's secular imagination in an age of expanding horizons, our examples seem also to reflect the Church's central role in the project of exploration, confrontation, and, if necessary, domination. During the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the papacy and its affiliates—among them the mendicant orders, the Jesuits, and the Portuguese Crown, to which the papacy had granted rights of administering overseas churches known as the *padroado real*—marshalled immense resources and naval power to move hundreds of thousands of people and objects (including *naviculae*) to Asia, Africa, and the Americas with the aim of spreading Christianity worldwide. In this climate, ships of all kinds evoked both colonisation and evangelisation. The wave motif on the Funchal *navicula*, for instance, is close in spirit to those caressing the *nau* embossed on a late fifteenth-century Portuguese silver dish, its flag carrying the royal arms and its mast bearing the cross of the military Order of Christ, successor to the Knights Templar, under whose patronage most Portuguese

22 These details are described in: http://www.museuartesacrafunchal.org/eng/arteportuguesa/portuguesa_ourivesaria_img8.html (accessed: 22.11.2015).

23 For examples, see Esteras Martín C., *La platería del Museo Franz Mayer: Obras escogidas, siglos XVI–XIX* (Mexico City: 1992) cat. no. 57 and cat. no. 148. By the mid-nineteenth century, the fashion for high, scrolling handles and/or boldly everted lips made *naviculae* almost indistinguishable from contemporary sauce or gravy boats, and the resemblance to a ship became purely notional.

ships sailed.²⁴ Nautical references acquired particular religious valence during the Counter Reformation as retorts to Protestant claims that the Church of Rome had shipwrecked. The old metaphor of Peter's bark, for instance, gained renewed currency from the later fifteenth century in the form of papal coins representing the apostle in a boat, whose increasing size and detail paralleled the expansion of Christian missionary activity.²⁵ Minted well into the sixteenth century in both silver and gold, these coins circulated throughout Europe and may well have been carried overseas on ships bearing missionaries and trade goods.

The role of ships as vessels of conversion was made explicit around 1600 by the Flemish artist Johannes Stradanus, who celebrated the discovery of a means to determine longitude with a depiction of a fully rigged ship plowing confidently forward, its sails emblazoned with the Jesuit emblem.²⁶ In much the same way, an ivory plaque carved in Portuguese India (perhaps Goa) in the late sixteenth century and now in the British Museum depicts Christ himself as a youthful mariner standing on the ship of salvation.²⁷ But whereas both incense boats and the rituals with which they were associated had previously expressed the Church's ability to transport celebrants *vertically* from the terrestrial to the celestial realm, they now also signified the Church's *horizontal* extension to all four corners of the world. They may have reminded some users of Christianity's global reach, and its creation of an international community united by a common faith across vast geographical and cultural divides. At the same time, local variations in the design and use of *naviculae* suggest the Church's willingness to assimilate itself to foreign traditions, even as it sought to preserve an iconic form in different cultural contexts. The following case studies of *naviculae* from New Spain, Brazil, Kongo, and Thailand illustrate this delicate dance of similarity and adaptation and raise broader questions about the role of sacred things in navigating religious and cultural exchange.

24 Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga/IMC, Lisbon, 1015 OUR; see Levenson J.A. (ed.), *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th and 17th Centuries: Reference Catalogue* (Washington, DC: 2007) 24, cat. no. P-16.

25 For a selection, see <http://www.coinarchives.com/w/results.php?search=Navicella&s=o&results=100> (accessed: 15.06.2016).

26 The plate (captioned 'Orbis Longitudines Repertae') is the sixteenth of twenty engraved by Jan Collaert I after Jan van der Straet (called Johannes Stradanus) and published in Antwerp by Philips Galle around 1600 under the title *Nova Reperta* (New Discoveries of Modern Times); see also pl. 16.

27 British Museum, OA 1959 70.21.1; see Levenson, *Encompassing the Globe*, 112–113, cat. nos. I-10 and I-11.

Early Modern *Naviculae*: Case Studies

Before delving into specific examples, it is important to acknowledge that studying early modern incense boats presents significant challenges. Although silver objects made in Europe or its colonies were required by law to bear identifying marks, their frequent absence, and the difficulty of identifying those that are present, means that relatively few *naviculae* can be firmly ascribed to specific makers, places, or periods of production. Even fewer bear contemporary dates [see Fig. 17.5] or dedicatory inscriptions, which are not always easy to pin down.²⁸ In the absence of such hard data, incense boats are instead often attributed based on formal or stylistic developments that are themselves difficult to assess, given that many examples made outside Europe replicated imported prototypes, including designs that were popular decades or even centuries before. There is, moreover, no guarantee that nomadic objects like *naviculae* remained where they were crafted, or, vice versa, that they were manufactured where they were later used or found. To complicate matters further, most existing scholarship on early modern *naviculae* (largely in museum catalogues or market-oriented publications) rarely explores their significance in a global, comparative, or intercultural context and tends to focus on origins rather than afterlives.²⁹ The former is itself a moving target, as in the case of an unmarked *naveta* sold at Christie's in 2012 as seventeenth-century and 'probably Portuguese', but now ascribed by a dealer to sixteenth- or seventeenth-century Mexico.³⁰ Our own struggles to determine the date and place of production for many *naviculae*, including intriguing examples from Portuguese Goa and Macau,³¹ have forced us to limit our case studies to those whose provenance is

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- 28 See, for instance, an example in the Museo Franz Mayer, Mexico City (01808/GNB-0026), with an inscription recording its presentation in 1702 to an unidentified "PUEBLO DE LA BESYTASYON"; Esteras Martín, *La platería del Museo Franz Mayer* 148–150.
 - 29 On this issue see Shalem A., "The Afterlife and Circulation of Objects", in Komaroff L. (ed.), *Gifts of the Sultans: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts* (New Haven, CT: 2011) 92–93. The one broader study of *naviculae* that we have located, Witte F., "Thuribulum und Navicula in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung", *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst* 23 (1910) 101–112, 139–151, 163–174, focuses on medieval examples.
 - 30 Christie's London, 6 March 2012, sale 4607, lot 232; now with Manuel Castilho Antiquidades in Lisbon, published in their recent catalogue *Por mares nunca dantes navegados: oriente, ocidente 2*.
 - 31 For one of several examples from Portuguese Goa, see: http://www.museumofchristianart.com/index.php?flag=CD&id=8&img_id=15 (accessed: 09.06.2016). Macau's Museum of Sacred Art and Crypt contains a seventeenth-century silver incense boat from the cathedral, attributed to Portugal but more likely, from its style and facture, to have been manufactured locally.

better established, at least until a time when further study and first-hand examination with curators and conservators will help others give up their secrets. We hope this preliminary study will encourage additional basic research in this direction. The following examples should therefore be regarded as case studies in the true sense, consisting as much of opportunities for asking targeted questions as fixed points around which to construct a definitive history.

New Spain

Unlike most surviving examples, our first case study [Fig. 17.6] is firmly anchored to a specific moment of Europe's colonial expansion, soon after the establishment of the Viceroyalty of New Spain in 1535 in the wake of Hernando Cortés's conquest of the Aztec empire in 1521. Now in a Mexican private collection, this *naveta* was the work of silversmith Gabriel de Villasana, who submitted it for assay and taxation in the new Spanish capital of Mexico City between 1566 and 1572.³² The resulting hallmark document the flourishing of the goldsmith's trade in Spain's North American kingdom, beginning with the arrival of a silversmith with Cortés and the appointment of the first assay master in 1522. Villasana, who was presumably born and trained in Spain, oversaw these developments, serving in various capacities as guild magistrate (*alcalde*), inspector (*beedor*), and assayer (*marcador*) between 1544 and 1587. Besides 'enforcing the laws and ordinances of his majesty [...] and those established by this city'—sometimes against the wishes of his peers—Villasana's duties included testing locally-made objects for purity and recording payment of the relevant tax or *quinto* (royal fifth) by punching them with the image of a tower or castle in a lake, the symbol of indigenous Tenochtitlan's replacement with a Spanish city.³³ Once tested and approved, Villasana's own incense boat affirmed kingly authority on the American frontier in much the same manner as the Royal Palace symbolically dominating Mexico's central square.³⁴ For those early inhabitants who, like Villasana, had braved an ocean voyage on their way to a new world, the inclusion of realistic planking, portholes, and

32 Esteras Martín C., "Platería virreinal mexicana. Siglos XVI–XIX", in *El Arte de la Platería Mexicana: 500 Años* (Mexico City: 1989) cat. no. 9; *Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries*, exh. cat. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, NY: 1990) 394, cat. no. 169.

33 Esteras Martín C., "Más noticias sobre Villasana y Consuegra, marcadores de la platería mexicana del siglo XVI", *Cuadernos de Arte Colonial* 7 (1991) 75–97.

34 On the palace as the symbolic residence of the king, see Schreffler M., *The Art of Allegiance: Visual Culture and Imperial Power in Baroque New Spain* (University Park, PA: 2007).



FIGURE 17.6 Gabriel de Villasana, *Naveta* (1566–1572). Silver. Mexico City, Collection Isaac Backal.

IMAGE © COURTESY OF ISAAC BACKAL.

rudder, perhaps observed from life, must have personalised their participation in Spain's imperial project.

As a *navicula*, Villasana's miniature ship also furthered the project of establishing Christianity in Spain's overseas possessions, both for the foreign transplants clustered in the cities (which were generally off-limits to native people) and among the vast indigenous population addressed through suburban and rural missions. Early sixteenth-century conquistadors and settlers from the Spanish province of Extremadura would have known the many ship-shaped silver or gold oil lamps then hanging in the sanctuary and chapel dedicated to the Virgin of Guadalupe, presented as *ex-votos* in thanksgiving for successful naval battles.³⁵ Ship-shaped liturgical implements also came early to New

35 Talavera Gabriel de, *Historia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe Conseagrada a la Soberana Magestad de la Reyna de los Angeles* [...] (Toledo, Thomas da Guzman: 1597) fols. 153r–157v, generously signalled by Jeanette Peterson.

Spain, including the *naveta* and spoon (perhaps imported) that were recorded in the first inventory of Mexico's new metropolitan cathedral taken in 1541, part of a small but functional altar set that included silver chalices, candlesticks, a large thurible (*incensario*), and a gilded crucifix.³⁶ Villasana contributed to this expanding sacristy, providing a massive gold *custodia* (monstrance) in 1576 that outshone the 'old' one still present in 1588.³⁷

His comparatively modest *naveta*, by contrast, more likely served in a family chapel, parish church, or rural mission, much like a smaller, anonymous incense boat now in the same private collection, bearing the same assayer's mark for 1566–1572 together with an additional punch marking it as the property of the Dominican order.³⁸ Like their fellow mendicants the Franciscans and Augustinians, the Dominicans, who arrived in New Spain in 1526, embarked on an extensive teaching and evangelising campaign to convert the king's new indigenous subjects to Christianity. Expressive objects helped communicate across barriers of language and culture, much like the rebus- or picture-writing developed by the Franciscan Pedro de Gante upon his arrival in 1523, or the emblematic woodcuts that were translated into stone and paint to adorn monastic buildings. By 1570, when our *naveta* was crafted, the friars' success was such that they could replace their primitive mission churches with imposing fortress-like convents that symbolised the new Jerusalem to be inaugurated with the conversion of the Indies, filled with images and objects celebrating Christianity's arrival, spread, and triumph. These included representations of ships, and at Actopan (Hidalgo), some 120 kilometres northeast of Mexico City, the resident Augustinians pictured one such symbol-laden vessel in the frescoes ornamenting their new *doctrina* (mission complex), painted about 1570 by native artists trained in European techniques [Fig. 17.7].³⁹ Dominating the grand, arcaded *portal* (portico) at the entrance to the convent proper, the mural depicts St. Augustine and his followers arriving in America on a ship whose prow is labelled 'Hope' and its stern 'Charity'. The now-missing hull evidently symbolised the third theological virtue, faith, enacted onshore by Augustinians who are shown venerating Christ and blessing native converts. Like *naviculae*, this proud vessel embodied the Christian Church's salvific voyage, an association enhanced on the Dominican *naveta* by the inclusion of angel heads in the poop railing, a rare return to the religious iconography prevalent in medieval examples.

36 Toussaint M., *Arte colonial en México* (Mexico City: 1962) 58.

37 Esteras Martín, "Más noticias" 78.

38 Esteras Martín, *El Arte de la Platería Mexicana* cat. no. 10.

39 MacGregor L., *Actopan* (Mexico City: 1955) 91–97.



FIGURE 17.7 Anon. (artist), *Detail of a mural at the former monastery of San Nicolás de Tolentino in Actopan (ca. 1570).*

IMAGE © JEFFREY L. COLLINS.

By 1570, however, New Spanish *naviculae* could not be separated from the new and lucrative Asia trade that transformed the colony's fortunes and reshaped American visual and material culture. Spain's annexation of the Philippines in 1565 inaugurated regular trans-Pacific shipping via the annual *Galeón de Manila* or *Nao de China* that established, albeit indirectly, the long-desired trade links between Iberia and Asia previously dominated by Portugal. In a regulated system that lasted almost 250 years and created immense riches, massive cargo ships sailed west from Acapulco carrying American silver, returning laden with Asian silks, porcelains, spices, and other goods—luxuries by the boatload, as Donna Pierce has put it.⁴⁰ Much of this bounty was re-shipped along the coast to Peru or packed by mule train by way of Mexico City to Veracruz, where it was reloaded on ships that gathered in Havana for the final leg across the Atlantic to Cádiz. Those groaning galleons and carracks carried not just secular cargoes but sacred objects of all kinds, including carved ivories and devotional pictures, some inlaid with mother of pearl and other products of the sea, that turned Mexico's churches and chapels into dazzling treasuries. As Fray Domingo de Salazar, bishop of Manila, observed in the late sixteenth century, 'Churches are beginning to be furnished with the images

40 Pierce D., "By the Boatload: Receiving and Recreating the Arts of Asia", in Carr D. (ed.), *Made in the Americas: The New World Discovers Asia* (Boston, MA: 2015) 53–73.

the sangleys [Chinese craftsmen] made, and which we lacked before'.⁴¹ By the early eighteenth century, Mexico City's cathedral even commissioned its massive bronze choir screen from Chinese metalsmiths in Portuguese Macau, shipped via Acapulco in 125 crates. No wonder, then, that ships feature in the cathedral's decoration, including a large eighteenth-century stone relief of the *navicula ecclesiae* positioned above the right-hand entrance door, depicting an elaborately rigged galeass captained by St. Peter and propelled by apostles whose oars are inscribed with names of biblical books. Inside, among the Marian symbols carved into the wooden doorway to the sacristy, visitors encountered a second ship with billowing sails plowing through the waves, an unusual and dramatic addition to the standard symbolic repertoire. While it presumably alluded to Mary's guise as *stella maris* (star of the sea and a beacon for seafarers), this vessel's rows of stylised cannons recall the armed galleons in which wealth was flooding into Mexico.

Spanish America's transcontinental trade was fuelled by the output of Mexican and Peruvian mines, and it is no coincidence that Villasana's locally crafted *naveta* coincides with the region's first silver boom. Already by 1555 the metal had become so abundant in the Americas that it cost less, ounce for ounce, than imported iron. The discovery of mercury in the Andean town of Huancavelica in 1563 increased the efficient refining of silver ore, consummating what one viceroy termed the 'grandest marriage in the world [...] the two axles upon which the wheels of this entire Kingdom and Your Majesty's treasury turn'.⁴² That same bullion sustained both the Pacific trade and a newly invigorated north-south commerce between Mexico and Peru that, by the early seventeenth century, consisted of almost 90 per cent Asian goods.⁴³ In this newly globalised economy, the bulging hold of Villasana's miniature galleon must have evoked Mexico City's enviable status as a way station between two oceans bridged by Spanish ships, its gleaming silver hull conjuring both the triumph of faith and the bountiful mines that kept Spain's imperial project afloat.

41 Ibidem 67, citing D. Salazar's 1590 *Carta de relación de las cosas de la China* as quoted in Trusted M., "Propaganda and Luxury: Small-scale Baroque Sculptures in Viceroyal America and the Philippines", in Pierce D. – Otsuka D. (eds.), *Asia and Spanish America: Trans-Pacific Artistic and Cultural Exchange, 1500–1850: Papers from the 2006 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum* (Denver, CO: 2009) 151–164, at 153.

42 Pedro de Toledo y Leiva, marqués de Mancera: 'dos exes donde andan las ruedas de todo este Reyno y la hacienda que vuestra Magestad tiene', cited in Esteras Martín C., *Peru indígena y virreinal* (Madrid: 2004) 114.

43 Pierce, "By the Boatload" 55.

Brazil and Africa's Atlantic Coast

If Novohispanic *navetas* like Villasana's document Spain's determination to cultivate a fully developed European-style kingdom across the sea, corresponding examples crafted in Portuguese Brazil, established in 1500 and quickly dependent for economic survival on enslaved African laborers, suggest Portugal's differing but equally transformative presence on both coasts of the southern Atlantic. Whereas the Spanish crown quickly abandoned its prohibition on the manufacture of silver articles in its American possessions, Portugal strove repeatedly but ineffectually to limit, tax, or prohibit the working of precious metals. Identifying Brazilian silver is thus a particular challenge, as early works were rarely marked, even after the arrival of the first local assay master in the early eighteenth century.⁴⁴ Brazilian silversmiths flourished from the colony's early days, however, often by bending or simply ignoring the restrictions. The first practitioners arrived from Portugal in the 1560s, some of them recently converted Jews hoping to escape persecution in Iberia. By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in a testament both to the high development of gold- and silverworking in Africa and to the resilience of Afro-Brazilian craftsmen despite the horrors of slavery, African bondmen and their free descendants dominated the silversmithing profession in many areas, notwithstanding a royal ordinance of 1621 specifically barring them from this trade. It is thus quite possible, even likely, that both examples considered here [Figs. 17.8, 17.9] were made by Afro-Brazilian artisans.

Liturgical objects were a staple of Brazilian silver crafting, and it is telling that one of the oldest datable silver objects in the country is a *naveta* acquired by the monastery of São Bento in Rio de Janeiro sometime between 1608 and 1613.⁴⁵ Although many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Brazilian *navetas* exhibit exuberantly scrolling prows and poops linked to baroque and rococo aesthetics, other examples suggest personal familiarity with contemporary naval architecture. In contrast to *navetas* from highland Mexico, those made in Brazil, where settlement remained largely coastal until well into the eighteenth century, often bear closely observed details like the rigging supports and zig-zagged scarf joints between the planks of an early eighteenth-century *naveta*

44 For a helpful overview, see Senos N., "The Art of Silver in Colonial Brazil", in *The Arts in Latin America, 1492–1820*, exh. cat. The Philadelphia Museum of Art (Philadelphia, PA: 2006) 230–235.

45 Ibidem 233, citing Silva-Nigra C. da, O.S.B., "A prataria seiscentista do Mosteiro de São Bento do Rio de Janeiro", *Revista do Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional* 6 (1942) 241–275, at 248.

in the Museu de Arte Sacra da Universidade Federal de Bahia, convincingly attributed to an anonymous silversmith from the region [Fig. 17.8]. The same feature marks a *naveta* made and marked in Brazil but found in Portuguese Angola [Fig. 17.9], which adds a realistic rudder and a balustraded quarter gallery projecting off the aftercastle like those common in galleons and ships of the line. Other seventeenth- or eighteenth-century *navetas* from Portugal or Brazil reproduce the distinctive pointed beak below the bow (often shaped as an animal snout) that lowered a galleon's wind resistance, anchored the bowsprit, and helped it ram enemy ships.⁴⁶ Although the copying of imported models doubtless played a part, attention to such details is understandable in communities whose existence was intimately tied to the sea.

In this Atlantic context, we must ask what such naturalistic-looking incense boats might have meant to diverse audiences, from European traders, priests, and planters to African rulers and converts and Afro-Brazilian slaves and silversmiths. For those in charge of ensuring the profitability of the essentially private fiefs into which Brazil remained divided until 1775, *navetas* must have evoked both the ships that brought the forced labour on which Brazilian plantations depended and the ever-larger ocean-going *naus* (carracks) that carried Brazilian sugar and forest products to European markets. Brazilian priests and missionaries, in turn, may well have seen *naviculae* in the same allegorical light as their Spanish counterparts to the north. But for the African or African-descended craftsmen who may have fabricated them, must not all ships, however small or abstracted, have recalled the unfamiliar foreign vessels that transported them or their ancestors in chains to a strange land? They too were commodities, after all, brought by sea just like both the incense and the precious metal that housed it. Unlike New Spain, Brazil had little native silver and was compelled to import it. Most arrived as contraband from highland Peru, smuggled along a circuitous route that led down the Andes, along the Río de la Plata (River of Silver, named by explorer Sebastian Cabot after silver objects acquired from Guaraní Indians) to Buenos Aires, whence it was shipped to São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, Recife, and Olinda. There, payment was sometimes made in the form of black slaves, in which Brazil abounded, who were exchanged for silver bullion and carried elsewhere along the coast. In other cases, silver—including finished silver objects like *navetas*—travelled across the Atlantic to Africa, perhaps as payment for human cargo. Incense itself carried particular significance in Brazil, where rituals featuring fragrant

46 See, for instance, an example ascribed to Lisbon at the Museu de Arte Sacra de São Paulo, included in the online exhibition <http://www.museuartesacra.org.br/pt/exposicoes/show/exposicao-virtual--arte-sacra-na-ourivesaria> (accessed: 29.06.2016).



FIGURE 17.8 Anon. (silversmith), *Naveta* (eighteenth century). Silver, 16 × 21 cm. Bahia, Museu de Arte Sacra da Universidade Federal da Bahia.

IMAGE © MUSEU DE ARTE SACRA DA UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DA BAHIA.

substances of all kinds reflected the blending of European, native, and African traditions. The historical conjunction raises important but challenging interpretive questions. Can we recover the experience of makers, viewers, and users who left no written records? Or must Brazil's 'black hand', as Edward Sullivan has termed it, necessarily remain elusive?⁴⁷

47 Sullivan E.J., "The Black Hand: Notes on the African Presence in the Visual Arts of Brazil and the Caribbean", in *The Arts of Latin America 1492–1820*, exh. cat. The Philadelphia Museum of Art (Philadelphia, PA: 2006) 39–55.

On the South Atlantic's opposite shore, to which Brazil's economy was tightly bound, the presence of European-style *navetas* in the West African kingdom of Kongo and elsewhere reflects a long history of coastal trading and diplomatic interaction within which African elites adopted and adapted imported customs to bolster their power. In 1491, eight years after Portuguese sailors and missionaries arrived in search of trade routes to India as well as converts, the Kongo ruler, Nzinga a Nkuwu (r. 1470–1509) willingly converted to Christianity and adopted the appellation João I after the Portuguese monarch. In an effort to solidify the bond and encourage Christianity in the region, King Manuel I of Portugal (r. 1495–1521) sent scores of diplomatic gifts and liturgical objects in 1504 and 1512, including incense burners (*encensoirs*) made of silver, gold, copper, and brass, along with 'other artifacts necessary in the service of the divine'.⁴⁸ Throughout the early modern period, Kongo elites embraced Christianity for political and commercial gain, while also creating generative 'correlations', as Cécile Fromont has termed them, between Christian rituals and indigenous traditions.⁴⁹ European travellers to the region attested to the enduring presence and use of Christian liturgical objects—some sent from abroad but others manufactured locally—both in Kongo churches and in meeting halls for *kimpasi* organisations, elite groups of indigenous men and women whose authority derived from multisensory ceremonies they would perform using altars, incense, ritual objects, and cult figures.⁵⁰ In 1877, the French missionary Antoine-Marie-Hippolyte Carrie visited the Capuchin church of Santo Antonio in the Kongo province of Soyo. He described how the guardians of the church, who claimed descent from slaves formerly in the service of Capuchin church officials, continued to modify and enact Christian rituals with the help of such objects as a ship-shaped '*navette*' filled with local resins rather than foreign incense.⁵¹

Owing to the subsequent ravages of colonialism, the vast majority of liturgical objects belonging to Kongo churches have scattered or disappeared. The

48 Jadin L. – Dicorato M., *Correspondance de Dom Alfonso, roi de Congo, 1506–1543*, Classe des sciences morales et politiques, Mémoires 41, 3 (Brussels: 1975) 16; quoted in LaGamma A. (ed.), *Kongo: Power and Majesty*, exh. cat. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, NY: 2015) 24.

49 Fromont C., *The Art of Conversion: Christian Visual Culture in the Kingdom of Kongo* (Chapel Hill, NC: 2014) esp. 15–19.

50 Ibidem esp. 201–210. Both the catalogue *Kongo: Power and Majesty* and Fromont's book *The Art of Conversion* illustrate and discuss examples of Christian liturgical objects manufactured in the Kongo kingdom.

51 Carrie A.-M.-H., "Une visite à Saint Antoine de Sogno (Congo)", *Les missions Catholiques* (October 1878) 497, cited in Fromont, *The Art of Conversion* 228.



FIGURE 17.9 Anon. (silversmith), *Naveta* (ca. 1719–1755). Silver, 15 × 25 cm. Porto, Museu Nacional de Soares dos Reis (inv. no. 129 Our MNSR).

IMAGE © CARLOS MONTEIRO, 1998, COURTESY OF DIREÇÃO-GERAL DO PATRIMÓNIO CULTURAL/ARQUIVO E DOCUMENTAÇÃO FOTOGRÁFICA.

Santo Antonio incense boat, however, probably resembled an example now in a museum in Porto [Fig. 17.9] that formerly belonged, together with other devotional items of Brazilian manufacture, to the church of Our Lady of Muxima in Portuguese Angola, founded in 1599 in an area with strong ties to nearby Kongo and to Portuguese Brazil. With its adjoining fortress on the south bank of the Kwanza River, Muxima was an important node in the transatlantic slave trade from the late sixteenth century. It was reportedly here that slaves captured by Portuguese raiders or purchased from local elites (perhaps with metal liturgical objects as currency) were baptised before being loaded on boats for the coast and thence across the sea.⁵² One thus wonders how this symbolic ship, with its prominent figure of a lion on the prow, was read by the diverse individuals who viewed or handled it across oceans and centuries. In many

52 Site of a Marian appearance in 1833, the shrine is now an important pilgrimage centre, an Angolan National Monument, and a Unesco World Heritage site; see <http://whc.unesco.org> (accessed: 29.06.2016).

historical and cultural contexts, including European heraldry, lions signified monarchy, courage, and resistance to invasion. In Africa, where lions were native and often connoted sovereignty, this figurehead could have evoked the longstanding associations between Christianity and Kongo kingship in which some Africans prospered while others were condemned to exile and servitude. For now, such readings must remain speculative. What is clear is that, like other nomadic *naviculae*, the Porto incense boat changed locations and meanings even as its design followed established prototypes, testifying to Christianity's persistent political and cultural relevance on the Kongo coast and, perhaps, to a desire for continuity in a time of colonial upheaval.

Thailand

Our final case study returns us to the object that introduced this essay: the silver-gilt incense boat excavated from the ruins of Lopburi, a royal residence erected during the 1660s as a retreat from the larger Siamese palace complex at Ayutthaya [Fig. 17.1]. During the reign of King Phra Narai (r. 1656–1688), for whom Lopburi was built, Siam (now Thailand) was a powerful monarchy and a centre of global maritime trade. Although Phra Narai controlled commerce in his kingdom, he welcomed merchants and foreigners from all over the world, and this cosmopolitanism was reflected in Siam's diverse population and its eclectic architecture and culture. At Ayutthaya and Lopburi, palace buildings were decorated with Islamic-style arches and fragments of Chinese and Japanese porcelain, and they were situated within a landscape dotted with European-style fountains, Buddhist temples, Christian churches, and stately homes for Persian residents who served the court.⁵³ In addition, Narai's tolerance for religions other than Buddhism made Siam a hub for European missionary activity in Asia—an activity that was closely tied to politics and commerce.⁵⁴

Although the Portuguese and the Dutch were the first to maintain a strong European presence in Siam, during the second half of the seventeenth

53 Listopad J., *The Art and Architecture of the Reign of Somdet Phra Narai*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Michigan: 1995).

54 Love R., "Monarchs, Merchants, and Missionaries in Early Modern Asia: The Missions Étrangères in Siam, 1662–1684", *International History Review* 21, 1 (March 1999) 1–27.

century France threatened their influence.⁵⁵ Around 1660, Pope Alexander VII (r. 1655–1667) authorised the newly formed French Foreign Missions Society (Société des Missions Étrangères) to establish its own outposts in Southeast Asia, which the papacy believed to be beyond the jurisdiction of Portugal's *padroado real*. In truth, the Vatican wanted to check Portuguese power in the region, instructing the first French bishops sent to Siam to keep their plans a secret.⁵⁶ Narai welcomed the French Society and, in 1666, allowed them to build a seminary at Ayutthaya. French missionaries sent home glowing accounts of Narai's court, attracting the attention of his royal counterpart, Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715). Envisioning their mutual benefit, Phra Narai and Louis XIV established an alliance, spearheaded by Narai's influential Greek-born minister, Constantine Phaulkon, that culminated in multiple embassies sent between France and Siam during the 1680s.⁵⁷ French missionaries spurred these exchanges by suggesting to French officials that Narai might be willing to convert to Catholicism, an event that would have constituted a significant victory for Louis XIV. In fact Narai had no intention of converting, but he did profess a strategic openness to Christianity, one that ironically contributed to his downfall when an internal revolution ousted him in 1688.

Liturgical objects created for Ayutthaya and Lopburi must be seen within this climate of intra-European competition to impress the Siamese king, outdo one another, and attract converts. Throughout Narai's reign, members of the French Society in Siam informed their superiors about the activities of their rivals—including French Jesuit missionaries whom Phaulkon began to favour during the mid-1680s—and requested objects to ornament their churches and present to the king.⁵⁸ Since these were not always forthcoming or were slow to arrive by boat from Europe, missionaries in Siam commissioned western-style devotional wares from Chinese and other Asian craftsmen, who responded eagerly to their demands. Many such objects, including silver *naviculae*, were made in Canton (the centre of Chinese export production) by artisans

55 On European rivalry in Siam during this period, see Cruysse D. Van der, *Louis XIV et le Siam* (Paris: 1991); and Smith G.V., *The Dutch in Seventeenth-Century Thailand* (DeKalb, IL – Detroit, MI: 1977).

56 Love, "Monarchs, Merchants, and Missionaries" 5.

57 Martin M., "Mirror Reflections: Louis XIV, Phra Narai and the Material Culture of Kingship", *Art History* 38, 4 (September 2015) 604–619.

58 Launay A., *Histoire de la mission de Siam 1662–1811*, 2 vols. (Paris: 1920) vol. 1, esp. 15, 30–35, 75. See also Love, "Monarchs, Merchants, and Missionaries", and Cruysse, *Louis XIV et le Siam*.

supplied with western models, then shipped to Siam on Chinese junk boats. Others were made in Vietnam, where the practice of Christianity was more pervasive, and in Ayutthaya itself, especially the Yaan Paa Thong neighbourhood ('gold forest area') in which gold, silver, and other metal objects were made and sold to foreigners.⁵⁹

Despite European reports to the contrary, Siam contained no rich deposits of precious metals.⁶⁰ China, however, possessed gold and silver mines, and augmented its supply with New World silver brought via the trans-Pacific trade and exchanged for porcelain, textiles, lacquer, and other Asian goods. Chinese artisans had a long tradition of working precious metals, and the country's comparatively low costs of labour and materials made its export metalwork, which was often indistinguishable from European prototypes, more economical than imported equivalents.⁶¹ The use of inexpensive but precious-looking alloys such as paktong (an amalgam of copper, nickel, and zinc) and tambac (copper and zinc, popular in Siam) further reduced the cost, and it is likely that Christian altars throughout East and Southeast Asia featured such wares. The few objects that survive have attracted little scholarly attention, however, partly because they were long assumed to be of European manufacture.⁶² One example is the incense boat from Lopburi [Fig. 17.1], one of a group of liturgical objects comprising a silver-gilt chalice, a pair of silver candlesticks, and a brass crucifix.⁶³ The chalice and candlesticks, which depict scenes from the life of Christ, look European in shape and decoration, but the quality of the metal used, along with their somewhat awkward execution, has led Michel Jacq-Hergoualc'h to propose that they were made locally, possibly by Chinese or Thai artisans working in Siam.⁶⁴ Chinese or Thai authorship seems even more likely in the case of the brass crucifix, which rises out of a lotus flower, and the similarly hybrid *navicula*. Although its size and shape conform to our other examples, its ornamental motifs are more stylised, particularly the waves shown

59 Chutintaranond S. (ed.), *The Immortal Art of Ayutthaya Gold* (Bangkok: 2000) 23. On maritime commerce between China and Siam, see Viraphol S., *Tribute and Profit: Sino-Siamese Trade, 1652–1853* (Bangkok: 2014).

60 Martin, "Mirror Reflections" 664.

61 Irvine G., "East Asian Metalwork for the Export Market", in Jaffer A. – Jackson A. (eds.), *Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe, 1500–1800* (London: 2004) 232.

62 Ibidem 233.

63 Jacq-Hergoualc'h M., *Phra Narai, Roi de Siam, et Louis XIV*, exh. cat. Musée de l'Orangerie (Paris: 1986) cat. nos. 121–123. See also Listopad, *The Art and Architecture of Somdet Phra Narai* 113.

64 Jacq-Hergoualc'h M., *L'Europe et le Siam du XVI au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: 1993) 112.

crashing against the hull and the geometric designs on the base, prow, and stern. Such stylisations often characterise early modern East and Southeast Asian export art. Moreover, its two dragons, notably the one appearing at the top of Fig. 17.1, look Chinese, even while recalling the countless dragons and sea monsters that ornament European nefs and *naviculae* [compare Fig. 17.3]. Dragons were auspicious creatures in China and Siam, symbolising both control over water and imperial power and strength, and one wonders how they might have resonated with the boat's presumed Asian makers and viewers.

All of these devotional objects are said to have been found in a ruined town-house complex near Narai's palace at Lopburi known as 'Phaulkon's house'.⁶⁵ It served as Phaulkon's residence at Lopburi during the 1680s, and was also where Phra Narai housed foreign ambassadors, including two French delegations that visited Siam in 1685 and 1687.⁶⁶ Part of the complex represents a type of Persian residential architecture that was common during Narai's reign, and it may initially have been built for a wealthy Persian merchant. Beginning around 1685, Phaulkon added western-style buildings, including a chapel and monk-like living quarters that probably housed French Jesuit missionaries and astronomers who accompanied the 1685 and 1687 embassies. Although we do not know whether the metal objects belonged to these missionaries, one can speculate that they were used for religious ceremonies that Phaulkon and other members of Narai's court could have witnessed. Like the setting and the objects used to perform them, these ceremonies would have entailed a blending of foreign and local traditions. Jesuit missionaries in Asia were known for their skill in assimilating aspects of indigenous culture, and this skill, combined with their scientific expertise, likely accounts for the favour they enjoyed at the Siamese court prior to the 1688 revolution.⁶⁷

Even without assimilation, aspects of Christian ritual would have been familiar to Siamese viewers. Incense was widely used in Buddhism, while the *navicula* itself recalled gold ship-shaped votives used in Siamese religious

65 Listopad (*The Art and Architecture of Somdet Phra Narai*) claims that these objects were found at Phaulkon's house—although he does not provide the date of excavation—and several other sources also associate them with Phaulkon.

66 Hutchinson E.W., "Phaulkon's House at Lopburi", *Journal of the Siam Society* 27, 1 (1934) 1–7. See also Listopad, *The Art and Architecture of Somdet Phra Narai* 100–113, who disputes some of Hutchinson's claims, specifically related to the timing of the construction of different parts of the residence.

67 On Jesuit assimilation in Asia and elsewhere, see Bailey G.A., *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542–1773* (Toronto: 2001).

ceremonies at least as early as the fourteenth century, often in connection with maritime trade.⁶⁸ Throughout early modern Asia, as in Europe, ships carried multivalent associations and were used in both sacred and secular contexts. In 1686, Narai sent to France a delegation of ambassadors and gifts that included a 'gold ship, called a *somme*, in the Chinese fashion, with all of its tackings'.⁶⁹ This 'somme' (apparently a French variant for *nef*) appears with other Siamese gifts in an almanac print celebrating the 1686 arrival of Narai's embassy at Versailles [Fig. 17.10]. Since the French translator who compiled the list of Siamese presents made several errors and approximations—for instance, designating objects as 'gold' when they were actually made of silver gilt or tambac, and using the terms 'Chinese' and 'Japanese' interchangeably—we cannot be sure that his description of a 'gold ship in the Chinese fashion' is accurate.⁷⁰ Nor do we know whether the print's designer, the French Jesuit artist Pierre Paul Sevin, represented the ship as it appeared. The ship in the print looks more French than Chinese, with a prominent stern topped by a trio of lanterns and flags bearing the Bourbon *fleurs de lis*. It also rests on a base of sea monsters or dolphins, possibly an allusion to the French *dauphin*. Perhaps the term 'Chinese fashion' referred more to the method or place of production than to the style—after all, Chinese export artists were manufacturing scores of European-style *nefs* and *naviculae* by this time. Moreover, we know Narai gifted export arts from all over East and Southeast Asia in order to advertise his intra-Asian maritime connections to Louis XIV, who was desperate to break into the Asia trade. The 'gold ship' sent by Narai may have alluded to these connections while simultaneously evoking religious connotations associated with the king's hoped-for conversion. The altar-like presentation of Narai's gifts in the print seems to suggest this possibility.

68 One of these votives, excavated from the temple of Wat Mahathat at Ayutthaya, is illustrated in Chutintaranond, *The Immortal Art of Ayutthaya Gold* 49.

69 Smithies M., *The Discourses at Versailles of the First Siamese Ambassadors to France, 1686–7, Together with the List of Their Presents to the Court* (Bangkok: 1986) 82: 'un navire d'or, qu'on appelle Somme, avec tous ses agrez'.

70 Ibidem 11–14.



FIGURE 17.10 *Pierre Paul Sevin (attributed) and François Jollain (publisher), The Royal Reception of Ambassadors from the King of Siam by His Majesty at Versailles on 1 September 1686 (1687). Etching and engraving, 82 × 52 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Arts graphiques, coll. Edmond de Rothschild (inv. no. 26985LR). IMAGE © JEAN-GILLES BERIZZI/RMN/ART RESOURCE, NEW YORK CITY, NY.*

Conclusion

Early modern *naviculae* were mobile and multivalent objects, adept at communicating across time, space, and culture. Indeed, part of the form's worldwide proliferation must be ascribed to its inherent adaptability and 'assimilability' of design and use, especially in association with the ritual ceremonies and incense that accompanied the spread of Christianity.⁷¹ But another key aspect of such boats' cosmopolitan success lay in their power to materialise long-standing metaphors and beliefs in diverse ways for the diverse populations touched by early modern globalisation, giving specific local colour to worldwide phenomena.

In attempting to show how early modern *naviculae* say something significant as a group while addressing particular geographical, chronological, and cultural contexts, we have suggested how such meanings can be recovered, while acknowledging the gaps in our understanding of individual examples and of the multicultural, often ephemeral communities in which they served. We hope other scholars will take up these broader questions. How did traditional meanings of sacred and secular objects change as Europe embarked on global religious, mercantile, and colonial expansion? Did the received understandings of such nomadic objects persist, or did they give way to new resonances occasioned by specific regional circumstances? Or, as we propose, did these meanings coexist?

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Journeys, Real and Imaginary, in China and Europe: Cartography, Landscape, and Travel around 1600*

James Clifton

[T]hey consider that they are in their most peaceful and pleasant house when they are constantly on the move, when they travel throughout the earth, when they have no place to call their own, when they are always in need, always in want—only let them strive in some small way to imitate Christ Jesus, who had nowhere on which to lay his head and who spent all his years of preaching in journey.

JERÓNIMO NADAL¹

...

When I asked him [Matteo Ricci] how he had made the Map, his response was that everything was based upon old books printed in his country. The fact is that his fellow-citizens and the Franks [i.e., Portuguese] love long voyages, and whenever they pass through remote lands they send back descriptions of them and write their impressions. With the gradual

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1 Nadal Jerónimo, *Commentarii de Instituto Societatis*, Epistolae et monumenta P. Hieronymi Nadal V, Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu 90 (Rome: 1962) 773–774; O'Malley J.W. (trans.), “To Travel to Any Part of the World: Jerónimo Nadal and the Jesuit Vocation”, *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 16 (1984) 8.

accumulation of these relations over many years, the result is that they have been able to acquaint themselves fairly well with the general shape of the earth.

WU TSO-HAI (WU CHUNG-MING)²



The memoirs of Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), the most renowned early Jesuit missionary to China, were translated into Latin and heavily edited by a later Jesuit missionary in China, Nicolas Trigault (1577–1628), and were published in several editions and translations, beginning in 1615.³ Engraved by Wolfgang Kilian, the frontispiece [Fig. 18.1], which is typical of the period in format, presents Francis Xavier and Ricci flanking the title—*De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas suscepta ab Societate Iesu*—and a map of China, oriented toward the bottom of the page. Each Jesuit stands on a pedestal fronting an architectural structure, which is surmounted by two angels holding a radiant disk of the Jesuit insignia. Across the architrave is inscribed a quotation from *Acts* 9:15, modified for a plural subject: ‘Ut portent nomen meum coram gentibus et regibus’ (for these men [...] carry my name before the Gentiles and kings). The prominent map introduces geography and itinerary as important elements in the narrative, which is to say, in this description of China and the life of Matteo Ricci, but also, implicitly, in the extensive Jesuit missionary activities around the world. It also suggests one of Ricci’s most well-known achievements: his

2 Wu Tso-hai (Wu Chung-Ming), preface to Ricci’s second map, translated by D’Elia P., “Recent Discoveries and New Studies (1938–1960) on the World Map in Chinese of Father Matteo Ricci, SJ”, *Monumenta Serica* 20 (1961) 93–94. Ricci’s second map is no longer extant; Wu Tso-hai’s preface was repeated on the third and fourth maps; see Ricci M., *Il Mappamondo cinese del p. Matteo Ricci, S.I. (terza edizione, Pechino, 1602) conservato presso la Biblioteca Vaticana*, trans. P. D’Elia (Rome: 1938) plates 9, 10.

3 Ricci Matteo, *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas suscepta ab Societate Iesu*, ed. N. Trigault (Augsburg, Christopher Mangius: 1615). On the editions, see Hsia F.C., *Sojourners in a Strange Land: Jesuits and Their Scientific Missions in Late Imperial China* (Chicago, IL – London: 2009) 30. The first complete English translation appeared only in the twentieth century: Gallagher L.J. (trans.), *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci: 1583–1610* (New York, NY: 1953). Ricci’s Italian original, from which Trigault’s text deviates substantially, was also first published in the twentieth century: Ricci M., *Storia dell’introduzione del cristianesimo in Cina*, ed. P.M. D’Elia, *Fonti Ricciane: Documenti originali concernenti Matteo Ricci e la storia delle prime relazioni tra l’Europa e la Cina (1579–1615)* 1–2, 2 vols. (Rome: 1942).



FIGURE 18.1 Wolfgang Kilian (engraver), title page to Matteo Ricci – Nicolas Trigault, *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas suscepta ab Societate Iesu* (Augsburg, Christopher Mangius: 1615). Engraving, 21.3 × 17 cm. Los Angeles, CA, Getty Research Institute (2718-036).

IMAGE © GETTY RESEARCH INSTITUTE, LOS ANGELES, CA.

creation, in several editions, of a large world map, based on European models, but produced with Chinese methods of woodblock printing and with exclusively Chinese text [Fig. 18.2].⁴

The travels of the Jesuits in China were both real and imaginary. The Jesuits brought, from Europe or from one place to another in China, mobile objects that were primarily used for diplomatic, liturgical, didactic, or devotional purposes, including books and maps. The movements of these maps to and within China re-enacted scriptural travel in a modern missionary context. Matteo Ricci occupies an important place at the intersection of the European and Chinese cultural traditions in which there is a comparable use of maps and landscape paintings and prints for what Cardinal Federico Borromeo described as making long journeys without leaving one's room and the Chinese for centuries had called *woyou* (armchair travelling)—concepts exploited by Ricci with his European books and maps, as well as the great woodcut world map made in China under his supervision. Marshalling examples of such objects and viewing virtual travel as a function of real travel, and maps and related objects as both a function of real travel and a prompt for virtual travel, this essay situates Ricci's world map within the confluence of two starkly different cultures.

Ricci was, like many Jesuit missionaries worldwide, well acquainted with lengthy and arduous voyages.⁵ Born in Macerata, Italy, he studied in Jesuit colleges in Florence, Rome, and Coimbra, before leaving from Lisbon to serve in the East, first in India at Goa and Cochin (where he was ordained a priest in 1580), and then, from 1582, in China at Macao, Zhaoqing, Shaozhou, Nanjing, Nanchang, and Beijing, where he died at the age of fifty-eight, worn out from his efforts.⁶

In presenting himself to the Chinese, Ricci referred to his long travels as experiences conducive to understanding. In the preface to his book, *The True*

4 For a full-scale reproduction of the third (1602) edition of the map in folio form, with Italian translation of the texts, see Ricci, *Mappamondo cinese*. A high-resolution, zoomable image of this edition of the map is available at <https://www.lib.umn.edu/bell/riccimap> (accessed 17.11.2015). See also Foss T.N., "Ricci's World Map: The 1602 *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu*", in Reichle N. (ed.), *China at the Center: Ricci and Verbiest World Maps*, exh. cat., Asian Art Museum (San Francisco, CA: 2016) 17–27.

5 On Ricci, see Franke W., "Ricci, Matteo", in Goodrich L.C. – Fang C. (eds.), *Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368–1644*, 2 vols. (New York, NY – London: 1976) 1137–1144; Spence J.D., *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York, NY: 1984); Hsia R.P., *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552–1610* (Oxford: 2010); Hsia R.P., *Matteo Ricci and the Catholic Mission to China: A Short History with Documents* (Indianapolis, IN – Cambridge: 2016) esp. 21–36.

6 Ricci M., *Lettere*, ed. F. D'Arelli (Macerata: 2001) 401 (letter to Orazio Ricci of 12 May 1605); trans. Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City* 262.

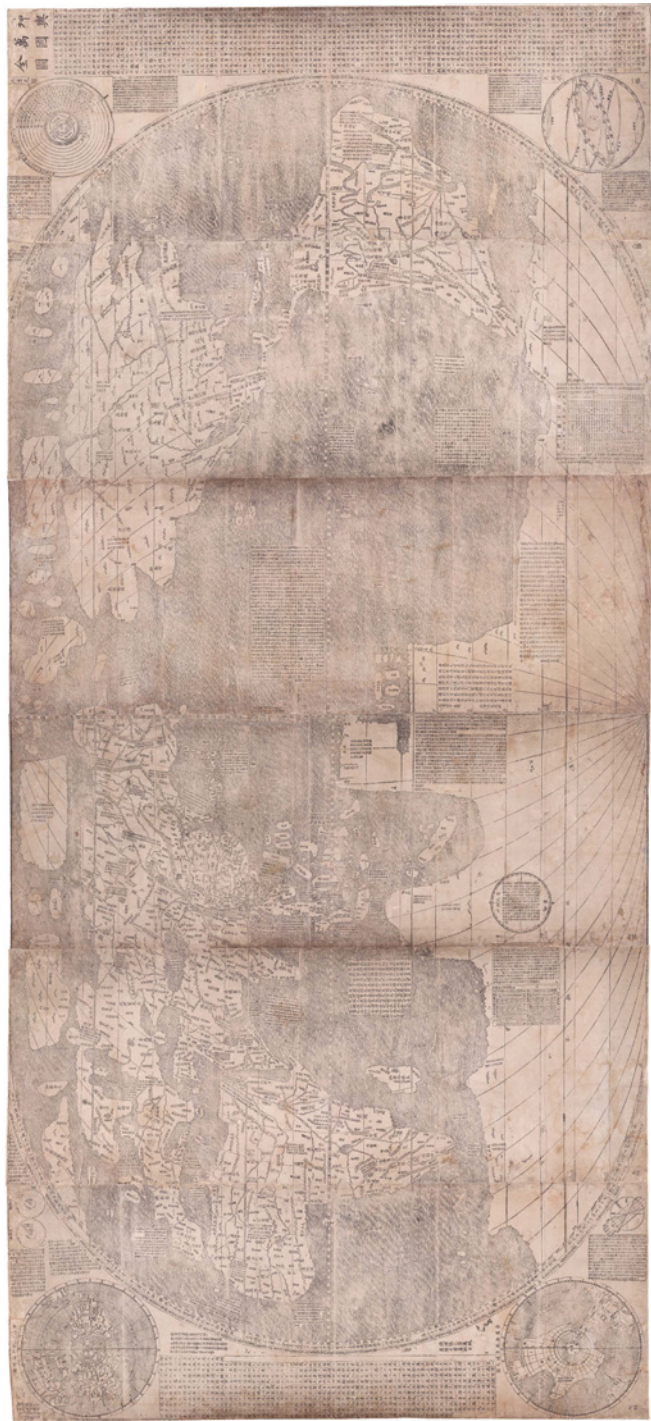


FIGURE 18.2 Matteo Ricci and Li Zhizao (engraver), Complete Map of the Myriad Countries of the World (Kunyu Wanguo Quantu) (third edition, 1602). Woodcut on paper, six panels, each 171 × 63.05 cm (total 171 × 414 cm). Minneapolis, MN, James Ford Bell Trust loaned to the University of Minnesota.
IMAGE © JAMES FORD BELL LIBRARY, MINNEAPOLIS, MN.

Meaning of the Lord of Heaven (*Tianzhu Shiyi* or *T'ien-chu Shih-i*), published in Beijing in 1603, Ricci proclaimed, 'I, Matteo, left my country as a young man and travelled through the whole world. I discovered that doctrines which poison men's minds had reached every corner of the world'.⁷ Such experience made him effective (ideally) as a missionary: the 'Chinese scholar' tells the 'Western scholar' (that is, Ricci) in the book's dialogue, 'I have heard it said that you, Sir, have travelled the world; that you teach people concerning the decrees of the Lord of Heaven, and that you encourage people to do good. I would, therefore, like to receive your instruction'.⁸ Yet, as is well known, Ricci exemplified the Jesuit project of accommodation, dressing and grooming himself first as a European religious, then as a Buddhist monk, and ultimately—during most of his sojourn in China—as a Chinese *literatus*.⁹ In the introduction to his book *On Friendship* (*Jiaoyou Lun*, 1595), he associated his great distance travelled with a certain humility with regard to Chinese learning, almost as if he had come so far because of that learning: 'I, Matteo, from the Far West, have sailed across the seas and entered China with respect for the learned virtue of the Son of Heaven of the Great Ming dynasty as well as for the teachings bequeathed by the ancient kings'.¹⁰ In the colophon he styles himself as a *shanren*, that is, a 'man of the mountain', a mountain recluse/scholar-disciple, with implications of the Daoist sage.¹¹ Ricci's proselytising was subtle, to the point where the Buddhist intellectual and ultimately friend of Ricci, Li Zhi, after describing the Jesuit with great praise, admitted: 'But I have no idea why he is here. I have met

7 Ricci M., *The True Meaning of The Lord of Heaven* (*T'ien-chu Shih-i*), trans. with introduction and notes by D. Lancashire and P. Hu Kuo-chen, ed. E.J. Malatesta, Variétés sinologiques – n.s. 72 (Taipei – Paris – Hong Kong: 1985) 58–59. For Ricci's long voyage from Portugal, see Iannaccone I., "Le voyage de Matteo Ricci et des jésuites en Chine: Science, typhons, pirates, naufrages, maladies ...", in Landry-Deron I. (ed.), *La Chine des Ming et de Matteo Ricci (1552–1610): Le premier dialogue des savoirs avec l'Europe* (Paris: 2013) 149–153.

8 Ricci, *True Meaning* 66–67.

9 On Jesuit accommodation, see Standaert N., "Jesuit Corporate Culture as Shaped by the Chinese", in O'Malley J.W. – Bailey G.A. – Harris S.J. – Kennedy T.F. (eds.), *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540–1773* (Toronto: 1999) 352–363; Muller J., "The Jesuit Strategy of Accommodation", in Boer W. de – Enenkel K.A.E. – Melion W.S. (eds.), *Jesuit Image Theory*, Intersections 45 (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2016) 461–492.

10 Ricci M., *On Friendship: One Hundred Maxims for a Chinese Prince*, trans. T. Billings (New York, NY: 2009) 87.

11 See the comment of T. Billings in Ricci, *On Friendship* 16–18. A preface to Ricci's second map (now lost, but repeated in the third and fourth editions) by Wu Chung-ming (i.e. Wu Tso-hai) also calls Ricci a *shanren* and compares him to Zou Yan, the great founder of Chinese scientific thinking in the fourth to third centuries BCE. D'Elia, "Recent Discoveries" 90.

him three times already and still do not know his intention in coming here'.¹² Yet all his efforts were calculated to convert the Chinese, to act *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*. Like Christ and Paul, the Jesuits travelled to spread the word of God.

This 'apostolic mobility', to use John O'Malley's term, was articulated by the early Jesuit, Jerónimo Nadal, elaborating Ignatius of Loyola's ideas of vocation expressed in the *Constitutions*.¹³ To the three 'houses' named in the *Constitutions*—the localised novitiate, collegiate, and professed houses—Nadal added the house of journey, in which 'the whole world becomes our house'.¹⁴ Nadal uses the terms 'missiones' in Spanish and 'peregrinationes' in Latin, and, as O'Malley explains in settling for the term 'journey' in English, 'that rendering must be understood as bearing with it the idea of pilgrimage, with its hardships, deprivations, and spiritual goals, and the idea of mission or being commissioned, with ministry as its purpose. Thus 'journey', 'pilgrimage', and 'mission' become, in practice, synonyms'.¹⁵ The Jesuits' fourth vow—which Ricci professed on 1 January 1596—was not simply a blanket vow of obedience to the pope, but an expression of the Jesuit's dedication to the order's mobile ministry, in contrast to the stability of other orders.

The maps Ricci made and the *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas suscepta ab Societate Iesv*, as well as a host of related travel and missionary texts and maps, derived from travel and exploration in their production and allowed virtual travel and historical and political understanding in their reception. This dual nature is implicit in the preface to the readers in Abraham Ortelius's atlas, the *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, first published in 1570. Calling geography 'historiae oculus' (the eye of history),¹⁶ he asserts how pleasant and necessary maps are for reading history; then he compares the producers and readers of his atlas to a traveller: after recounting the order of the maps in the volume following the world map and maps of the continents, beginning with England and ending with Maghreb ('Barbaria') and the Strait of Gibraltar, 'which we crossed', Ortelius remarks,

12 Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City* 193; on Li Zhi, see Hosne A.C., *The Jesuit Missions to China and Peru, 1570–1610: Expectations and Appraisals of Expansionism* (London – New York, NY: 2013) 33–34.

13 See O'Malley, "To Travel to Any Part of the World" for this and what follows. See also Melion W.S., "Ex libera meditatione: Visualizing the Sacrificial Christ in Jerónimo Nadal's *Annotations and Meditations on the Gospels*", in Kupfer M. (ed.), *The Passion Story: From Visual Representation to Social Drama* (University Park, PA: 2008) 91–118, at 92.

14 Nadal, *Epistolae* vol. 5, 54; trans. O'Malley, "To Travel to Any Part of the World" 6.

15 O'Malley, "To Travel to Any Part of the World" 6.

16 'Historiae oculus geographia' is also asserted on the title-page of the *Parergon*, the historical supplement to the *Theatrum orbis terrarum*.

and at length came home againe to our owne natiue countrey from whence we first set foot; like vnto a trauailer or a Pilgrime, which hath viewed and trauailed through many and sundry seuerall Nations and Countreys, passing out of one into another, orderly as they lay and were situate one by another, ouer-skipping none, at last returneth safely and ioyfully from whence he first set foorth.¹⁷

As Alexander Grapheus pointed out in his 1577 entry in Ortelius's *album amicorum*, the geographer 'opened for the reader a much easier route [than that of the actual traveller], by which a man seated in his home, free of all danger and all discomfort, could travel the entire terrestrial globe between the two poles'.¹⁸ As we shall see, the sentiment is echoed in Ricci's great map and elsewhere and was a leitmotif of virtual travel in both Europe and China.

Ricci's Map and Armchair Travelling in China

While resident in Zhaoqing, that is, from 1583 to 1589, Ricci wrote in his journal that visitors to the Jesuit house were impressed by various exotic and never-before-seen objects they found there: some by the great clock and others by smaller ones, some by oil paintings and others by prints; still others by various mathematical instruments, world maps, musical instruments, and 'cose artificiose che venivano di Europa'.¹⁹ Then he specified the reactions to the books, which were so different from Chinese publications:

-
- 17 Ortelius Abraham, *The Theatre of the Whole World* (London, John Norton: 1606) no p.; cf. Ortelius Abraham, *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, Aegidius Coppenium Diesth: 1570) no p.: 'quo traiecto, domum, unde eramus egressi, tandem reuertimur, viatori similes, vel peregrinanti cuipiam, qui nationibus singulis, et regionibus, longo ordine, quo sibi inter se coniunctae sunt, nulla praeterita, perlustratis, tandem, unde exierat, laetus atque incolumis redit'.
- 18 Puraye J. (ed.), *Album Amicorum Abraham Ortelius* (Amsterdam: 1969) 69–70 and fol. 90v: 'aperuit is breui compendio, / Longe facillimam viam, qua vel domi / Tutus sedens, periculo, et molestia / Omni vacuus, omnem pererret quilibet / Orbis globum, sub axe utroque consutum'. See also Mangani G., "Abraham Ortelius and the Hermetic Meaning of the Cordiform Projection", *Imago Mundi* 50 (1998) 76.
- 19 Ricci, *Storia dell'introduzione del cristianesimo in Cina* vol. 1, 259. On the Jesuits' objects and images at the China Mission, see Chen H., *Encounters in Peoples, Religions, and Sciences: Jesuit Visual Culture in Seventeenth Century China*, Ph.D. dissertation (Brown University, 2 vols.; Providence, RI: 2004) vol. 1, 458–533.

The books also amazed everyone for their unusual bindings with gold and other ornamentation, not to mention the books of cosmography and architecture, in which they saw so many realms and provinces from the whole world, the beautiful and famous cities of all of Europe and beyond, with other great buildings: palaces, towers, theaters, bridges, and churches.²⁰

In his version of Ricci's journal, Trigault clarified and elaborated this passage slightly and added a clause: 'they could view them with pleasure in their own home' ('domi propè suae cum voluptate conspicerent').²¹ Although Ricci did not specify here the pleasurable domestic viewing of far-off places, Trigault might have encountered the idea himself in China, and Ricci later articulated it as well with his world map.

The world map hanging on the wall of the Jesuit mission house in Zhaoqing—probably by Mercator or Ortelius—attracted Chinese visitors, who had never seen anything like it. When the governor asked Ricci to 'make his map speak Chinese', as Trigault described it,²² the Jesuit

20 Ricci, *Storia dell'introduzione del cristianesimo in Cina* vol. 1, 259: 'I libri anco facevano maravigliare a tutti per la diversa ligatura dalla loro con tanto oro e altre galantarie, oltre i libri di cosmografia et architectura, onde vedevano tanti regni e provincie di tutto il mondo, le belle e famose città di tutta Europa e fuori di essa; con altri grandi edificij di palazzi, torri, theatri, ponti e tempi'. Ricci does not specify here which books he had, but much later he names an Ortelius atlas as a gift for the emperor, and he probably already had one in Zhaoqing, as well as one or more volumes of Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg's six-volume *Civitates orbis terrarum*. According to Cahill J., *The Compelling Image: Nature and Style in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Painting* (Cambridge, MA – London: 1982) 17, at least the first volume of Braun and Hogenberg, and possibly more, were in China by 1608. On Ricci's libraries, see Golvers N., "La 'Bibliothèque' occidentale de Matteo Ricci à Pékin: Quelques observations critiques", in Landry-Deron I. (ed.), *La Chine des Ming et de Matteo Ricci (1552–1610): Le premier dialogue des savoirs avec l'Europe* (Paris: 2013) 133–145.

21 Ricci, *De Christiana expeditione* 221: 'Libris quoque tametsi alieno idiomate ex inuolucrorum lepore, aurique splendore apud eorum libros insole[n]ti obtupescebant. Si quae porro volumina obiciebantur, quae chorographicas tabulas, aut architectonicas moles arte pictoria referebant, tum demum rapiebantur, quod ita concinne regna, urbes, palatia, turrium moles, pontium arcus, Templorum Maiestatem, tantis locorum interuallis dissita, domi prope suae cum voluptate conspicerent'.

22 Ricci, *De Christiana expeditione* 182: 'ut eam tabulam Sincè loquentem faceret'; trans. Gallagher, *China in the Sixteenth Century* 166.

went to work immediately at this task, which was not at all out of keeping with his ideas of preaching the Gospel. According to the disposition of Divine Providence, various ways have been employed at different times, and with different races, to interest people in Christianity. In fact this very attraction was to draw many of the Chinese into the net of Peter.²³

Neither this first edition of Ricci's map, produced in 1584, nor a second edition, produced in 1600 in Nanjing, is extant.²⁴ Although many thousands of impressions of the enormous third map, published in Beijing on 17 August 1602,²⁵ and the even larger fourth map, published in Beijing in 1603, were said to have been printed, only a few survive, some of which are fragmentary. The third edition, *Complete Map of the Myriad Countries of the World* (*Kunyu wanguo quantu*), was divided into six parts and designed to be mounted on a folding screen, over four meters in total width [Fig. 18.2]. It was printed in ink from carved woodblocks (six per panel) onto paper made from bamboo fibre and layered together in two very thin sheets, using traditional Chinese processes. The projection of the map is European (albeit with China—the so-called Middle Kingdom—shifted to the centre), but the abundant texts are all in Chinese, though from European as well as Chinese sources. Most of the descriptive material is fairly straightforward, but it also includes a few remarks about wondrous peoples of a type that had appeared in both European and Chinese texts for centuries.²⁶ The map includes over a thousand place names, along with varied geographical and ethnographical information, as well as the signed texts (including one by Ricci) known as prefaces. Corner roundels depict the Ptolemaic solar system, the nine spheres of heaven, and north and south polar projections. Further images show how the seasons are caused by the sun's distance from the earth, as well as solar and lunar eclipses.

Using the term *woyou* for the viewer's activity with respect to the map, Ricci wrote in his preface on this third edition:

23 Ricci, *De Christiana expeditione* 182–183: 'ad eam rem, a suo Evangelicae praedicationis instituto minime alienam, animu[m] adiecit, non ignorans non fuisse eandem saeculis omnibus vel nationibus cunctis, rationem, e divina dispositione gentem aliquam ad Christi fidem pelliciendi'; trans. Gallagher, *China in the Sixteenth Century* 166. This passage is an interpolation of Trigault; cf. Ricci, *Storia dell'introduzione del cristianesimo in Cina* vol. 1, 207–209.

24 On the editions of Ricci's map, see D'Elia, "Recent Discoveries".

25 Ibidem 120.

26 Giles L., "Translations from the Chinese World Map of Father Ricci", *The Geographical Journal* 52 (1918) 378.

For the greater convenience of the spectator, I made the map in the form of a large screen with six leaves, thus enabling him to travel about, as it were, while reclining at ease in his own study. Lo! to be able to scan all the countries of the world in turn without going out of doors must mean some small addition to one's faculties of sight and hearing.²⁷

The *literatus* Feng Ying-ching further expounded the idea in his preface on the fourth edition of the map, commenting on the varying benefits for the many who will see the map, including those who 'will get from it the pleasure of travelling while reclining at their ease (in their rooms) [wòyóu; 卧游]:²⁸ Ricci and Feng have thus adopted a term—*woyou*—and evoked a concept that had been in use in China since antiquity and was enjoying a fluorescence in the late Ming.²⁹

Li-Tsui Flora Fu has analysed the relationship between *woyou*—what she calls 'armchair travelling' (more literally, 'travelling while reclining')—and landscape painting.³⁰ The concept was first associated with the Six Dynasties

27 Ibidem 369–370. D'Elia's Italian translation reads: 'Tutto l'insieme forma sei quadri di gran paravento e può essere considerato come uno strumento per viaggiare, [pur] restando sdraiato nel proprio gabinetto di studio. Eh! percorrere tutti i regni, senza nemmeno uscire dalla sala, non deve essere di poca utilità per l'esperienza!' Ricci, *Mappamondo cinese* pl. 18.

28 D'Elia, "Recent Discoveries" 129.

29 An ancient term related to *woyou* that one sometimes finds as well is *shenyou* (神游): 'spiritual journey', 'journey of the mind', or 'spirit wandering', which Richard Smith has tied to Chinese cartography as well as landscape painting. Smith R.J., "Mapping China's World: Cultural Cartography in Late Imperial Times", in Yeh W. (ed.), *Landscape, Culture, and Power in Chinese Society*, China Research Monograph 49 (Berkeley, CA: 1998) 52–109, here 58, 93. See also Yang X., *Metamorphosis of the Private Sphere: Gardens and Objects in Tang-Song Poetry*, Harvard East Asian Monographs 225 (Cambridge, MA – London: 2003) 33. The term appears in texts attributed to the semi-legendary fourth-century-BCE Daoist, Liezi; see Graham A.C. (trans.), *The Book of Lieh-tzū* (New York, NY: 1990) 34, 63.

30 Fu L.F., *Framing Famous Mountains: Grand Tour and Mingshan Paintings in Sixteenth-century China* (Hong Kong: 2009); see also Ortiz V.M., "The Poetic Structure of a Twelfth-Century Chinese Pictorial Dream Journey", *The Art Bulletin* 76 (1994) 257–278, at 261–262; Smith, "Mapping China's World" 58, 93; Lin L., "A Study of the *Xinjuan hainei qiguan*, A Ming Dynasty Book of Famous Sites", in Silbergeld J. et al. (eds.), *Bridges to Heaven: Essays on East Asian Art in Honor of Professor Wen C. Fong* (Princeton, NJ: 2011) vol. 2, 779–812, here 780, 795–796; Batchelor R.K., "A Taste for the Interstitial (間): Translating Space from Beijing to London", in Sabean D. – Stefanovska M. (eds.), *Spaces of the Self* (Toronto: 2012) 281–304, here 293; Li W., "Gardens and Illusions from Late Ming to Early Qing", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 72 (2012) 295–336, here 326–327; Kindall E., *Geo-Narratives of a Filial Son: The Paintings and Travel Diaries of Huang Xiangjian (1609–1673)* (Cambridge, MA – London: 2016) 7–9. The term 'woyou' was used by some artists in the titles of their

landscape painter and theorist, Zong Bing (Tsong Ping; 375–443). According to the *Sung shu* (*Song History*), which noted that he painted the mountains he had visited on the walls of his chamber, he said, “I am old and ailing: I fear that I can no longer wander among famous mountains. Now I can only purify my heart by contemplating the Tao, and do my roaming from my bed”.³¹ Zong himself described his apprehension of these paintings: ‘Thus, I live at leisure, regulating my vital breath, brandishing the wine-cup and sounding the lute. Facing the paintings in solitude, I sit pondering the ends of the earth’.³² Zong’s ensemble of mountain paintings was explicitly imitated over a millennium later by Hu Yinglin (1551–1602), who built what he called an ‘Armchair Travel Studio’ (*woyou shi*) and had the Five Sacred Peaks (or Marchmounts) painted on its walls.³³

The considerable travel restrictions of the early Ming had been loosened by the late Ming, and as travel for various purposes—including sight-seeing among the *literati*—increased, so too did the literature of travel and comments associating travel with landscape imagery (not only in paintings and prints, but also in viewing stones, which were understood as miniature mountains).³⁴ Some recognised the advantages of armchair travelling over real travelling in its convenience,³⁵ and paintings and prints were often associated with *woyou*, whether explicitly or implicitly. For example, a colophon to the handscroll

landscape paintings; see Lee H., “The Fish Leaves of the Anway Album: Bada Shanren’s Journeys to a Landscape of the Past”, *Ars Orientalis* 20 (1990) 69–85, here 76, n. 8.

- 31 Soper A.C., *Textual Evidence for the Secular Arts of China in the Period from Liu Sung through Sui* (A.D. 420–618) *Excluding Treatises on Painting*, *Artibus Asiae*, supplementum 24 (Ascona: 1967) 16; quoted by Bush S., “Tsong Ping’s Essay on Painting Landscape and the ‘Landscape Buddhism’ of Mont Lu”, in Bush S. – Murck C. (eds.), *Theories of the Arts in China* (Princeton, NJ: 1983) 141. See also Kim H., “The Dream Journey in Chinese Landscape Art: Zong Bing to Cheng Zhengkui”, *Asian Art* 3, 4 (1990) 11–29; Lipscomb K.M., *Learning from Mount Hua: A Chinese Physician’s Illustrated Travel Record and Painting Theory* (Cambridge: 1993) 117.
- 32 Fu, *Framing Famous Mountains* 26; cf. the translation in Bush, “Tsong Ping’s Essay” 145.
- 33 Fu, *Framing Famous Mountains* 155.
- 34 For travelling in the Ming, see Brook T., *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley, CA: 1998); Fu, *Framing Famous Mountains* 77–80. For the comment in *Stone Compendium of the Plain Garden* (*Suyuan shipu*) (1613) on enjoying mountains while reclining, via viewing stones, in which the author invokes Zong Bing, see Fu, *Framing Famous Mountains* 154.
- 35 Zong Bing already noted that he could therewith avoid ‘a multitude of natural dangers’ (quoted by Lipscomb, *Learning from Mount Hua* 118); Chen Jiru was reluctant to ‘travel shoulder to shoulder with itinerant scholars and merchants’. Fu, *Framing Famous Mountains* 78.

painting of the Five Marchmounts by Song Xu (1525–1607), composed in 1612 by the *literatus* Chen Jiru (1558–1639), reports that he ‘took an armchair travel through this [work], feeling his bone marrow greatly enriched’.³⁶ The concept also appears in works for broader dissemination, namely, two important compendia of the late Ming: the editor of the encyclopedic *Sancai tuhui* (*Pictorial Compendium of the Three Powers*) of 1607 explained that the pictures in the geography section were gathered for armchair travel, and the compiler of *Hainei qiguan* (*Strange Views with the Seas*) of 1610 said that with it one could ‘travel on the desk’.³⁷

Woyou is generally understood as a secular practice, but, as Fu points out, it could have religious applications. Zong Bing’s viewing (or apprehension or use) of his landscape paintings, in which the paintings served as fully effective substitutes for natural landscapes as meditative aids, was probably informed by his engagement with Buddhism and Daoism,³⁸ and there are occasional indications in the Ming of the use of landscape paintings or prints to recreate or imagine pilgrimages to Buddhist sites.³⁹

Although Ricci’s maps were reticent in their Christian references, Feng’s preface on the fourth edition makes it clear that the armchair travelling had a spiritual purpose:

Many are those who will see this Map in China. Some will get from it the pleasure of travelling while reclining at their ease (in their rooms) [wòyóu; 卧游]; [...]. If there should be no one who, while calling to mind the benefits which He who is called the Most Holy bestows upon him whom the heavens shelter and the earth sustains, will not venerate and love him (the more), it would be magnificent! [...] (With this map) one has the impression, though remaining in one’s own room, that he is going round the whole world. [...] Mr. Ricci has said: ‘when the mind comes

36 Fu, *Framing Famous Mountains* 150; for more of the colophon, see 163. Fu suggests that paintings of the Five Marchmounts were increasingly ‘produced purely as vehicles of armchair travel’ (155).

37 Ibidem 171. On *Hainei qiguan*, see Lin, “A Study of the *Xinjuan hainei qiguan*”.

38 Bush, “Tsung Ping’s Essay”; Kim, “Dream Journey”; Fu, *Framing Famous Mountains* 26.

39 Fu, *Framing Famous Mountains* 28. Similarly, *The True Forms of the Five Sacred Peaks* and other medieval Daoist diagrams of mountains continued to function through the Ming not only as apotropaic amulets—to protect the traveller from the dangers inherent in entering the mountains—but also as meditative devices for creating mental landscapes, whether of real or imaginary places. See Huang S.S., *Picturing the True Form: Daoist Visual Culture in Traditional China*, Harvard East Asian Monographs 342 (Cambridge, MA – London: 2012) 87–186, esp. 138, 142.

in contact with material objects, the memory retains them, the intellect distinguishes them, and the will determines them, and every thing is reduced to serving the Supreme Ruler as Common Father and to uniting (the men) of all countries as if they were so many brothers'. Is this perhaps the intention (of Ricci) in tracing this geographical Map?⁴⁰

The preface adduces a traditional formulation of the psychology of the soul, divisible into three faculties or powers: memory, intellect or understanding, and will (*memoria, intellectus, and voluntas*). For Jesuits, the reference to the three faculties of the soul would have evoked Ignatius of Loyola's meditative method in the *Spiritual Exercises*, explicitly employed in the first exercise of the first week.⁴¹ The topics or truths in each meditation were to be examined by the memory and the imagination in order to recall the facts of the topics and place them meaningfully through a kind of picturing or representation (the 'composition of place'); by the intellect in order to understand their meaning; and by the will in order to arouse the emotions, solicit grace, and act on that understanding. In the so-called *Suscipe* prayer in the *Exercises*, Ignatius puts the exercitant's faculties—and by extension Ricci puts this map—into divine service:

Receive, Lord, all my liberty. Take all my memory, my understanding, and my will. All that I have and possess you have given to me: to you I return it all, and I surrender it utterly to be directed by your will. Give me your love and your grace, and I will be richly satisfied, nor will I ask of anything more.⁴²

Contemplation of the map thus becomes a spiritual exercise.

40 Trans. D'Elia, "Recent Discoveries" 129–135.

41 Loyola I., *Exercitia Spiritualia*, ed. J. Calveras – D. de Dalmases, Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu 100 (Rome: 1969) 184–192 (paras. 45–54). See Classen L., "The 'Exercise with the Three Powers of the Soul' in the Exercises as a Whole", in Wulf F. (ed.), *Ignatius of Loyola, His Personality and Spiritual Heritage, 1556–1956: Studies on the 400th Anniversary of His Death* (Saint Louis, MO: 1977) 237–271; Dekoninck R., *Ad imaginem: Statuts, fonctions et usages de l'image dans la littérature spirituelle jésuite du XVII^e siècle* (Geneva: 2005) 103–113. For the *Exercises* and the *compositio loci* in a missionary context, specifically Japan and the Niccolò School *World Maps*, see Mochizuki, "A Global Eye".

42 Loyola, *Exercitia Spiritualia* 308 (para. 234): 'Suscipe, Domine, universam meam libertatem. Accipe memoriam, intellectum atque voluntatem omnem. Quicquid habeo vel possideo, mihi largitus es: id tibi totum restituo, ac tuae prorsus voluntati trado gubernandum. Amorem tui solum cum gratia tua mihi dones, et dives sum satis, nec aliud quicquam ultra posco'.

Spiritual Armchair Travelling in Europe

Echoing Zong Bing's comments of more than a millennium previous, Cardinal Federico Borromeo remarked that the landscape paintings in his study in the Archiepiscopal Palace in Milan, by Jan Brueghel the Elder and others, gave him as much pleasure as viewing nature itself and that they allowed him to 'go wandering, and making long journeys standing still in our room'.⁴³ He thus articulated an idea of virtual travel that informed European works around 1600,⁴⁴ and that merged with the Chinese concept of *woyou* in Ricci's world map.

For example, Hieronymus Wierix's engraving of *The Adoration of the Magi* after Maarten de Vos [Fig. 18.3], one of 153 such engravings in the *Evangelicae historiae imagines*, the important pictorial companion to Jerónimo Nadal's Jesuit meditational text, the *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia* of 1595, has been fully explicated by Walter Melion as a mnemonic for a protocol of prayer in which the votary mentally accompanies the magi on their journey and spiritually joins in their epiphanic encounter with the Christ Child.⁴⁵ The votary is led by keyed prompts, as well as by the composition of the image

43 *Pro suis studiis*, Ambros. ms. G310inf, no. 8, 1628, fols. 252r–3r: 'Peró io ho veduto volantieri la mia Camera ornata de (fol. 252v) quadri. [...] E q.to mi piacere e sempre paruto più bello, inquanto che i prospecti liberi, e grandi, et l'aria, che no venghi occupata, ne impedita la sua vista mi e sempre piaciuto. Hora invece di q.te cose, et quando non si hanno, le depinture rinchiudano in angusto luoch, spatia terra et Coeli; et andiamo pergrinando, e facendo longhi viaggi stando fermi nella nra Camera'. Translation modified from Jones P.M., "Federico Borromeo as a Patron of Landscapes and Still Lives: Christian Optimism in Italy ca. 1600", *The Art Bulletin* 70 (1988) 261–272, here 268, and Jones P.M., *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana: Art Patronage and Reform in Seventeenth-Century Milan* (Cambridge – New York, NY: 1993) 64. I am grateful to Pamela Jones for providing me with the original Italian text.

44 For earlier European examples, see Connolly D.K., "Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris", *The Art Bulletin* 81 (1999) 598–622; Rudy K.M., *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent: Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: 2011).

45 Melion W.S., "Memory, Place, and Mission in Hieronymus Natalis' *Evangelicae historiae imagines*", in Reinink W. – Stumpel J. (eds.), *Memory and Oblivion: Proceedings of the XXIXth International Congress of the History of Art Held in Amsterdam, 1–7 September 1996* (Dordrecht: 1999) 603–608. An abbreviated woodcut copy of the *Evangelicae historiae imagines* was published in late Ming China by the Jesuit Giulio Aleni (Fuzhou, 1637); see Shin J.M., "The Reception of Evangelicae Historiae Imagines in Late Ming China: Visualizing Holy Topography in Jesuit Spirituality and Pure Land Buddhism", *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 40 (2009) 303–333. For a less explicit spiritual journey in a landscape painting, see Falkenburg R.L., *Joachim Patinir: Landscape as an Image of the Pilgrimage of Life*, trans. M. Hoyle, *Oculi: Studies in the Arts of the Low Countries* 2 (Amsterdam – Philadelphia, PA: 1988) 16–51, 64–65, 97–103.



FIGURE 18.3 *Hieronymus Wierix (engraver) after Maarten de Vos, Adoration of the Magi, in Jerónimo Nadal, Evangelicæ historiæ imagines (Antwerp, no publ.: 1593). Engraving, 23.2 × 14.8 cm. Private collection.*

IMAGE © PRIVATE.

itself, to reenact the journey of the magi from Jerusalem to Bethlehem and the grotto where they find Mary and the Christ Child. The votary is directed to consider associated things along the way, such as the star, the ox, and the ass—what Reindert Falkenburg has called mnemograms.⁴⁶ These details activate the votary's faculty of memory and help establish a 'composition of place',⁴⁷ and a 'cartography of the meditative image'.⁴⁸ But Melion also connects the *Adoration of the Magi* to the fourth of the Jesuits' 'genera of house' (*habitationum genera*)—a *peregrinatio* that encompasses journey, pilgrimage, and mission,⁴⁹ thus linking historical itineraries via memory, understanding, and will to current Jesuit missionary mobility.

Spiritual itineraries might be explicitly allegorical as well, as in a large engraving by Hieronymus Wierix after Maarten de Vos, which depicts a Christian knight armed and ready for the allegorical foes ranged against him: Death, Devil, Flesh, Sin, and World [Fig. 18.4]. Two paths at left are offered to the knight, a Hercules at the Crossroads, as it were: one lies alongside the seductively luxurious figure of World (*Mundus*), which is strewn with the temptations of games and theatre; the other climbs toward the heavenly Jerusalem. The quotation from *Matthew* 7 amid the tempting objects in the Wierix engraving tells us that the path is straight and the gate narrow to the celestial city, but the path to perdition is spacious and its gate wide. Another reading of the itinerary in the print is, however, made possible by the depiction rather than by the iconography, strictly speaking: the two paths run together visually, such that they seem to offer a single path to the viewer (rather than to the knight): a path that passes tight by the temptations of the world before climbing toward the heavenly Jerusalem. The votary thus displaces the knight as protagonist of

46 Falkenburg, *Joachim Patinir* 39.

47 On the Ignatian 'composition of place' (*compositio loci*) in the *Evangelicae historiae imagines* and *Adnotationes et meditationes*, see Fabre P.-A., *Ignace de Loyola: Le lieu de l'image. Le problème de la composition de lieu dans les pratiques spirituelles et artistique jésuites de la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle* ([Paris]: 1992) 263–295; Standaert N., "The Composition of Place: Creating Space for an Encounter", *The Way* 46 (2007) 7–20. The textual components of the *Adnotationes et Meditationes*—that is, the gospel passages that narrate the stories (arranged according to the order of the liturgical year); the annotations that clarify the Scripture; and the meditations in dialogue form that expound the Scripture for spiritual development—may be at least loosely associated with the tripartite division of the soul: memory, will, and understanding, respectively.

48 Dekoninck, *Ad imaginem* 257.

49 Melion, "Memory, Place, and Mission" 607.



FIGURE 18.4 Hieronymus Wierix (engraver) after Maarten de Vos, Christian Knight (Spirituale christiani militis certame). Engraving, 30 × 39 cm. London, British Museum (inv. no. 1870,1008.2868).

IMAGE © TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

the picture—the knight now serves as exemplar—and the print exemplifies the *peregrinatio* as religious conversion.⁵⁰

The Wierix print was used to gloss a world map of ca. 1596–1597 by Jodocus Hondius [Fig. 18.5].⁵¹ Both the paths and the heavenly goal are elided in the

50 The allegorical figures of Christian knight and pilgrim were readily conflated; see Wang A., *Der "Miles Christianus" im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert und seine mittelalterliche Tradition: Ein Beitrag zum Verhältnis von sprachlicher und graphischer Bildlichkeit*, Mikrokosmos: Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Bedeutungsforschung 1 (Frankfurt am Main: 1975) 163–175, with specific reference to 'den engen weg' in a broadsheet after the de Vos/Wierix engraving (p. 172).

51 On Hondius's so-called *Christian Knight Map*, see Barber P., "The Christian Knight, the Most Christian King and the Rulers of Darkness", *The Map Collector* 52 (1990) 8–13;



FIGURE 18.5 *Jodocus Hondius, Typus Totius Orbis Terrarum, In Quo et Christiani militis certamen super terram (in pietatis studiosi gratiam) graphice designatur (ca. 1596–1597). Engraving, 37 × 48 cm. London, British Library (inv. no. 004961469).*

IMAGE © BRITISH LIBRARY, LONDON.

Hondius map, which, perhaps paradoxically, isolates the various figures from any landscape, positioning them loosely in the area at the lower edge of the map, the outlined but unlabelled *Terra Australis Ignota*. The heavenly Jerusalem is no longer visible. There is an enticing paradox in the presence of World or *Mundus* on the map. She is a personification of the world, which in turn is a distilling figure of a particular view of the world, that is, as a place of ephemeral vanities. Thus, the world is represented twice here—figuratively and cartographically, as personification and map—and there is tension between the two: the viewer is invited to contemplate and explore the world, but the viewer is also warned of its dangers. Likewise, Jesuits vowed to extend their missionary work throughout the world, but were armed with, among

Schilder G., *Monumenta Cartographica Neerlandica. VIII. Jodocus Hondius (1563–1612) and Petrus Kaerius (1571–c. 1646)* (Alphen aan den Rijn: 2007) 241–251; Mochizuki, “A Global Eye”.

other tools, one of Ignatius's favourite devotional texts, the *Imitatio Christi*, also known as the *Contemptu Mundi* (*Contempt of the World*).⁵² Herein lies a tension between contemplation and contempt.

Guillaume Postel claimed in 1579 that the two most important books in the world were the Bible and Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum*.⁵³ Both were crucial to the Jesuit China mission. The so-called *Polyglot Bible* or *Royal Bible* arrived in Beijing to great fanfare after a harrowing journey. Ricci—who had wanted one ever since he had seen the luxury copy, 'mui bem encadernada e dourada', sent to Akbar in India in 1580⁵⁴—claimed that it 'stupefied all of China with its beauty'.⁵⁵ Its three volumes of appendices, called the *Apparatus sacer*, include maps, one of which shows the land of Israel with its eleven tribal divisions and the route of the Exodus. Benito Arias Montano, a friend of Ortelius who supervised the production of the Bible, makes the point in his accompanying text that the map was, as Zur Shalev has noted, 'intended to serve

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- 52 O'Malley, "To Travel to Any Part of the World" 10–11, points out the paradox that the *Imitation* used the word "to travel" (*peregrinari*) in a pejorative sense, as incompatible with a deep interior life', whereas 'Nadal rejoices in the word, and finds in it an expression of what is most germane to the Jesuit vocation'. On the Jesuits and the *Imitatio Christi*, see Habsburg M. von, *Catholic and Protestant Translations of the Imitatio Christi: From Late Medieval Classic to Early Modern Bestseller* (Farnham, Surrey: 2011) 179–242. For the *Imitatio Christi* and the Japan Mission, see Mochizuki, "A Global Eye".
- 53 Hessels J.H. (ed.), *Epistulae Ortelianae Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: 2009) 190 (no. 81) (letter of unspecified date in 1579 from Postel to Ortelius): 'quum sit vere post sacros libros summum opus mundi'; see Mangani, "Abraham Ortelius" 77.
- 54 Ricci Matteo, *Opere storiche*, ed. P. Tacchi Venturi, 2 vols. (Macerata: 1911–1913) vol. 2, 6 (letter of 18 January 1580 to Emanuele de Goes); cited by Spence, *The Memory Palace* 86.
- 55 Ricci, *Lettere* 405 (to João Alvares, 12 May 1605); trans. Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City* 258. On the Royal Bible, see Rekers B., *Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598)*, 2 vols. (London – Leiden: 1972) vol. 1, 45–69; Hänsel S., *Der spanische Humanist Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598) und die Kunst*, Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft 11.25 (Münster: 1991) 24–53; Melion W.S., "Bible Illustration in the Sixteenth-Century Low Countries", in Clifton J. – Melion W.S. (eds.), *Scripture for the Eyes: Bible Illustration in Netherlandish Prints of the Sixteenth Century*, exh. cat., Museum of Biblical Art, New York (London: 2009) 26–37. On its maps, see Shalev Z., "Sacred Geography, Antiquarianism and Visual Erudition: Benito Arias Montano and the Maps in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible", *Imago Mundi* 55 (2003) 56–80; Shalev Z., *Sacred Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion, and Scholarship, 1550–1700*, History of Science and Medicine Library 21; Scientific and Learned Cultures and Their Institutions 2 (Leiden: 2012).

as a replacement for pilgrimage for those who could not travel and enjoy the memory of actual places'.⁵⁶

Likewise functioning for devotional as well as informational purposes were maps in Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum*. Postel noted that Ortelius produced his atlas for the use of all humankind and the glory of God.⁵⁷ Postel's confidence in its importance for the 'Republic of Christ' is based more on the use of secular maps for understanding (and pursuing) the global reach of the missionary church, rather than for proselytising content.⁵⁸ Until the addition of the historical maps in later editions as part of the *Parergon sive veteris geographiae aliquot tabulae* (*Additional Ornament, or Several Images of Ancient Geography*), there was little in Ortelius's atlas, as in Ricci's world maps, that was explicitly Christian, and even within the *Parergon*, only a few maps relate to Scripture. Yet these scriptural maps could act as devotional aids and confirm the importance of pilgrimage and mission, both literally and visually. Two of the maps are explicit itineraries, showing the *peregrinationes* of Abraham and Paul [Fig. 18.6].⁵⁹ In an epigraph to the *Parergon*, Ortelius claimed that he had 'fashioned a work fit to be entered by the pious',⁶⁰ and the reader-viewer is thus invited to make a devotional pilgrimage of sorts, following the paths of biblical figures through a series of *loci* (that is, both 'topics' and 'places'), in what Melion refers to as 'virtual voyages' and 'specular voyages'.⁶¹ Most of the other maps in the *Theatrum orbis terrarum* may have prompted the reader-viewer to 'armchair-travel' through their represented spaces, but the maps of peregrinations offer, as Melion points out, precise routes, as in the illustrations to Nadal's *Adnotationes et meditationes*, thus shifting from geography to itinerary,⁶² and

56 Shalev, "Sacred Geography" 69.

57 Hessels, *Epistulae Ortelianae* 189 (no. 81): 'pro totius generis humani usu et Dei gloria scripsit'. On the presence of the *Theatrum orbis terrarum* in China, where Ricci said it provoked great wonder, see Gallagher, *China in the Sixteenth Century* 364; Chen, "Encounters in Peoples, Religions, and Sciences" vol. 1, 458–459.

58 Hessels, *Epistulae Ortelianae* 42 (no. 19) (letter of 9 April 1567 from Postel to Ortelius); see Mangani, "Abraham Ortelius" 77.

59 These maps have been analysed by Melion W.S., "Ad ductum itineris et dispositionem mansionum ostendendam: Meditation, Vocation, and Sacred History in Abraham Ortelius's *Parergon*", *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 57 (1999) 49–72.

60 'A sacris itaque auspicandum hunc nostrum laborem duximus'; trans. Melion, "Ad ductum itineris" 50.

61 Melion, "Ad ductum itineris" 53 and 70, n. 30.

62 The phrase is from Davies S., "The Wondrous East in the Renaissance Geographical Imagination: Marco Polo, Fra Mauro and Giovanni Battista Ramusio", *History and Anthropology* 23 (2012) 225.



FIGURE 18.6 Abraham Ortelius, *Peregrinationis divi Pauli typus corographicus*, in *Abraham Ortelius, Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, ex officina Plantiniana: 1592). Engraving, 35.2 × 50.2 cm. Houston, TX, Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation. IMAGE © SARAH CAMPBELL BLAFFER FOUNDATION.

supplanting the metaphor of the theatre of the world with that of the pilgrimage of life.⁶³ Paul's peregrinations may have resonated especially with the early Jesuits: as O'Malley has shown, he provided the example for Nadal's understanding of the ideal apostle and pilgrim.⁶⁴

In Ortelius's text accompanying his map of Paul's peregrinations, he notes the significant places where Paul stopped, adducing the relevant biblical passages. Among them is Paul's address to the Ephesians (*Acts* 20:18–35), in which Paul, knowing the trials that await him, asserts, 'But I fear none of these things, neither do I count my life more precious than myself, so that I may

63 Melion, "Ad ductum itineris" 49, 55; see also 56 on *evagatio* (the viewer pilgrim's tendency to wander aimlessly among the multiplicity of routes in Bruegel's and Patinir's landscapes) vs. *ductus* (the structured route provided by Ortelius).

64 O'Malley, "To Travel to Any Part of the World" 11–13. See also Olin J.C., "The Idea of Pilgrimage in the Experience of Ignatius Loyola", *Church History* 48 (1979) 387–397.

consummate my course and the ministry of the word which I received from the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God' (v. 24). We might imagine Matteo Ricci reading this verse in the Royal Bible while reclining and contemplating Ortelius's map of Paul's peregrinations and his own world map that shows the great distance from Portugal to China, experiencing the *woyou* of a Chinese *literatus*. Perhaps he recalls his own difficult journey—an actual journey in his past now become a virtual journey in his present—and compares it to his imagined version of Paul's difficult journey from Damascus to Rome: two real journeys a millennium and a half apart transformed into two parallel spiritual journeys by moving images and the memory, understanding, and will.⁶⁵

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65 On 'moving images', 'travelling images', and 'animated images' in early-modern travel, see San Juan R.M., *Vertiginous Mirrors: The Animation of the Visual Image and Early Modern Travel* (Manchester – New York, NY: 2011).

- Melion W.S., "Memory, Place, and Mission in Hieronymus Natalis' *Evangelicae historiae imagines*", in Reinink W. – Stumpel J. (eds.), *Memory and Oblivion: Proceedings of the XXIXth International Congress of the History of Art Held in Amsterdam, 1–7 September 1996* (Dordrecht: 1999) 603–608.
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Arrivals at Distant Lands: Artful Letters and Entangled Mobilities in the Indian Ocean Littoral*

Dipti Khera

Jain merchants of the port town of Diu in western India sent a painted letter-scroll to Vijaydharma Suri, an eminent Jain monk of the Tapa Gaccha sect, in 1667 [Fig. 19.1].¹ The scroll, a *vijnaptipatra*, meaning an invitation letter, featured the fort at Diu, an island off the western coast of Saurashtra, which is part of modern day Gujarat. The invited monk was then residing in the town of Jasol in western India, part of the modern state of Rajasthan. A surviving fragment of the complete paper scroll, measuring 477 centimetres long and 25 centimetres wide, reveals that the merchants invited him to come to Diu during the next monsoon season. The scroll painter depicts a monk dressed in white attire holding a manuscript in one hand; his other hand gestures in a manner of offering teachings to an assembly of laymen, who wear colourful turbans and costumes. We also see a Jain nun dressed in white holding an assembly for elite ladies.² Horizontal orange-coloured bands demarcate this composition of the four-fold community of monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen conceptualised within Jainism. A standing woman making offerings to the nun pictorially divides the assembled Jain community into its representative

* I am grateful to Amit Ambalal for giving me access to study this scroll, including sending requested photographs. I thank Prem Singh Rajpurohit for transcribing the text of the letter. The workshop preceding this volume led me to address the entangled nature of the travels of people and things across long and short distances. I especially thank John Cort, Finbarr Barry Flood, Christine Göttler, Meredith Martin, Mia M. Mochizuki, and Nancy Um for their helpful comments and suggestions. For the convenience of the broader audience, I have eliminated diacritical marks.

- 1 Ambalal A., "A Vijnaptipatra Dated 1666 from Diu", in Krishna N. – Krishna M. (eds.), *The Ananda-Vana of Indian Art: Dr. Anand Krishna Felicitation Volume* (Varanasi: 2004) 312–318. The date per the Indian calendar (*Vikram Samvat*) on the verso of the scroll is 'samvat 1723 pausa sudi 3', which translates to 1667 CE (I have deducted fifty-six years as the month falls after the new year per the lunar calendar).
- 2 The use of a finer translucent cloth for the upper body of the monk and the use of a cloth painted in more opaque white for the lower figure suggests that the lower figure is a woman, but there is damage to the scroll. Such scrolls commonly show both monks and nuns preaching.



FIGURE 19.1

Anon. (artist), *Diu Vijnaptipatra* showing a temple with an image of Jain deity Parshvanath, the assembly of a Jain monk and a nun preaching laymen and laywomen, Portuguese merchants, and Diu harbour (1667). Opaque watercolour and ink on paper, 477 × 25 cm. Ahmedabad, private collection of Amit Ambalal.

IMAGE © AMIT AMBALAL.

four-part demographic. The painter's use of a luxurious blue and gold cushion for the monk's seat and his placement on the vertical axis above the figure of the nun indicates his elevated status. The swaying textile canopies likely denoted the decorative cloth hangings in a temple hall or the ephemeral tented architecture that created the liminal religious space of authority for the peripatetic Jain monk's gathering outside the inner temple sanctum.³

Almost all painted letter-scrolls show such future-oriented assemblies; they most likely refer to the assembly the invited Jain monk would hold upon his arrival in the city. The painter promises the recipient that the wealthy and elite merchants who invite him will attend his assembly. In the 1667 scroll, an imposing temple with an image of the Jain deity Parshvanath bounds the assembly above and a group of traders standing by blue waters populated with boats and one large Portuguese carrack, probably displaying the flag of the East India Company, bounds it below [Fig. 19.2]. We see a Portuguese general in formal attire and a native man who shields his presence with an umbrella, gesturing to the way painters depicted royal men with parasols in South Asia. The Portuguese seized Diu in 1535, and controlled a good part of the maritime trade into Gujarat from this small, strategically located port at the mouth of the Gulf of Cambay until Surat became the leading cosmopolitan port in the western Indian Ocean [Fig. 19.3].⁴ The unnamed painter of the scroll integrates the Jain space of religiosity with the oceanic identity of Diu, while employing the horizontal dividers to mark out the boundaries of each domain.

Whether historical viewers perceived the composition as displacing the powerful pictorial position of the Jain assembly usually seen as the concluding vignette of *vijnaptipatra*-scrolls sent from inland towns is unclear. Yet the oceanic threshold appears to be the visual threshold of the textual letter that follows. From it, we sense the painter's forceful presentation of the entangled boundaries and temporalities of the Jain monastic and lay community and of the trading world of the Indian Ocean. It juxtaposes two types of travelers: Jain monks and nuns who walked across long tracts of land on foot and Portuguese merchants who sailed the ocean. Though the Portuguese had already arrived, the Jain monk belonged to an aspirational future. What kinds of epistolary messages were painters possibly framing by presenting in close

3 On cloth hangings deployed behind divine icons by Shvetambara Murtipujak Jains, see Balbir N., "Une forme d'art religieux jaïn d'aujourd'hui: Les tentures cérémonielles (chor)", *Bulletin d'Études Indiennes* 33 (2015) 185–243. A shorter English version of this essay is forthcoming in the felicitation volume for Dr Ratan Parimoo.

4 Subrahmanyam S., "A Note on the Rise of Surat in the Sixteenth Century", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 43, 1 (2000) 31–32.



FIGURE 19.2 Anon. (artist), Diu Vijnaptipatra showing Portuguese merchants, a Portuguese carrack with small boats in the Diu harbour, and the beginning of a textual letter (1667). Opaque watercolour and ink on paper, 477 × 25 cm. Ahmedabad, private collection of Amit Ambalal. IMAGE © AMIT AMBALAL



FIGURE 19.3 Map representing Portugal's overseas empire 1498–1598. Reproduced from *Black J.*, *The Cambridge Illustrated Atlas of Warfare: Renaissance to Revolution, 1492–1792* (Cambridge: 1996).

MAP PREPARED BY MAP GRAPHICS LTD. IMAGE © CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS 1996.

proximity journeys so distinct in terms of purpose, time of arrival, distance covered, and mode of travels?

This essay discusses what objects like *vijnaptipatra*-scrolls, which encapsulated the idea, practice, and material culture of travels, can tell us about the aesthetic contemplation of spatial and temporal dimensions of distinct kinds of journeys in the early modern world. While marginal to the canon of art history and the material histories of travel, circulation, and religion, *vijnaptipatra*-scrolls were not just invitations. They communicated a sense of their place of origin and their citizens' piety. By analysing select vignettes from a range of scrolls, this essay draws them into a broader discussion. Beyond 'evidence' or 'diagnostics' of a point of departure and a point of arrival of the scroll—and of the travels of the monks receiving them—the scrolls convey more than a secluded world of Jain religiosity.⁵ While scholars have remarked on the historical

5 On methods of approaching 'religious-art' objects that take into account their visuality, textuality, and ritual use, see Cort J.E., "Art, Religion, and Material Culture: Some Reflections on

significance of the vignettes of ships and overseas traders in such letter-scrolls sent from port towns, they have elided sustained discussion of this critical pictorial choice.⁶ These images of arrival of monks and merchants at distant ports suggest how port town merchants presented their locales to broader audiences of their religious communities. They also display the pictorial use of spatio-temporal compression to shape the ontological purpose of epistolary objects.

In the past decade, scholars of Indian Ocean societies have underscored that in order to historicise lives, spaces, and exchanges in the waters and frontiers of the Indian Ocean we have to ask questions about contestation and negotiation of boundaries and territoriality based on research from local texts, objects, and architecture generated in and around ports. Drawing upon Fernand Braudel's characterisation of the Mediterranean as a cultural and cognitive space, Rila Mukherjee and Marcus Vink have questioned the assumed generic coherence of maritime regions.⁷ They emphasise evaluating the specificity of the interactions between the oceanic and the local context within littoral spaces. Merchants, pilgrims, scholars, and messengers who travelled from ports of South Asia formed central nodes in the western Indian Ocean world and the global economy that expanded from the 1400s onwards.⁸ The circulation of mercantile populations shaped the cross-cultural aesthetics of the architecture of ports; it also shaped the urban structure and orientation of port cities like Mocha, such that foreign merchants articulated a sense of belonging in littoral spaces through what Nancy Um traces as the merging of 'distant spatial paradigms with local architectural models'.⁹ *Vijnaptipatra*-scrolls were

Method", *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 64, 3 (1996) 613–632. On what kinds of questions art made for travel can trigger and constitute, see Roberts J.L., "Copley's Cargo: Boy with a Squirrel and the Dilemma of Transit", *American Art* 21, 2 (2007) 20–41.

- 6 Historians have also used depictions of sailing ships within late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscript paintings as illustrations in discussing oceanic journeys featured in early modern Indo-Persian travelogues. These painted folios are distinct from the oceanic vignettes seen in painted letter-scrolls and will be addressed elsewhere. See Alam M. – Subrahmanyam S., *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries 1400–1800* (Cambridge: 2007) esp. 22, 63, 213.
- 7 Mukherjee, R., "The Indian Ocean in the 'New Thalassology': Review Essay Based on Sugata Bose, 'A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire'", *Archipel* 76, 1 (2008) 291–329; Vink M.P.M., "Indian Ocean Studies and the 'New Thalassology'", *Journal of Global History* 2, 1 (2007) 41–62.
- 8 Subrahmanyam S., "Of Imarat and Tijarat: Asian Merchants and State Power in the Western Indian Ocean, 1400 to 1750", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37, 4 (1995) 750–780.
- 9 Um N., *The Merchant Houses of Mocha: Trade and Architecture in an Indian Ocean Port* (Seattle, WA: 2009) 12.

likewise local and liminal objects that became central to the self-conceptualisation of the religious community of Jains as merchants who belonged to particular urban towns, regional bazaars, and trans-regional pilgrimage circuits. These scrolls do not represent an early modern nomadic object characterised by chance itineraries. Rather painters and poets made such scrolls at the behest of a sectarian community that imagined a broader public associated with the Jain monastic order as well as the intended recipient, a prominent Jain monk, as their audience. Scrolls sent from oceanic towns presented the travels that Jain monks would undertake from inland geographies to the port-towns on the request of influential local merchants. They also represented foreign mercantile players at the threshold of the littoral space in relation to regional merchants.

Objects have been emphatically hailed as the real ‘globetrotters’ of the early modern world.¹⁰ Art historians have integrated the wear and tear of travelling objects, the iconoclastic and additive practices performed upon objects, and the translations and mistranslations by itinerant makers and audiences to ask questions of value, use, and the impact of mobility. In both Asia and Europe, the period between ca. 1500 and 1800 was characterised by long-distance travel and new geographical discoveries; expanding mercantile networks and imperial territories; and the mobility of people and things and associated cross-cultural encounters. The period was global at an unprecedented scale.¹¹ Yet, shorter-distance travel, the flip side of global, circulatory practices in the early modern world, also shaped local spaces and practices, and scholarship has neglected the relevant religious objects that shaped religious and non-religious networks alike. Distance does not necessarily determine a journey’s significance. We rarely discuss the historical entanglements of distinct scales and modes of mobility, and usually privilege a global itinerary as far more significant.¹² A study of the urban layout and form of the merchant houses of

10 For essays on biographies of objects that describe their crossing of geographical and artistic boundaries and a bibliography of the rapidly expanding scholarship in this area, see essays and introduction in Martin M. – Bleichmar D. (eds.), *Objects in Motion in the Early Modern World*, Special Issue of *Art History* 38, 4 (2015).

11 Subrahmanyam S., “Connected Histories: Notes Towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia”, *Modern Asian Studies* 31, 3 (1997) 735–762; Avcioğlu N. – Flood F.B., “Introduction”, in Flood F.B. – Avcioğlu N. (eds.), *Globalizing Cultures: Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Century*, *Ars Orientalis* 39 (Washington, DC: 2011) 7–38.

12 Chowdhury Z., “An Imperial Mughal Tent and Mobile Sovereignty in Eighteenth-Century Jodhpur”, *Art History* 38, 4 (1 September, 2015) 668–681. Including this essay on shorter

Mocha shows how local and distant networks collided in this port city: late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Ottoman travellers upon arriving from faraway inland sites sought out prominent religious sites and vibrant retail markets and Dutchmen travelling from overseas sites experienced Mocha through the world of maritime and international wholesale trade.¹³ Similarly painted letters travelled regional networks of Jain establishments and bazaars and these objects engaged the people and things of global mercantilism and long-distance mobility. Lay men and women in particular undertook pilgrimages along with monks and nuns as part of long, multi-month journeys to temples that were hundreds of miles away as well as short, one-day visits to nearby places.¹⁴

Pictorial juxtapositions of inland and oceanic mobility seen in painted letter-scrolls invite us to write, in George Kubler's words, a 'history of things' that 'reunite[s] objects and ideas under the rubric of visual forms' to reveal a 'shape of time' in the early modern Indian Ocean littoral.¹⁵ For the original recipients, such scrolls relayed a time of their upcoming journeys and the ambition to create a sectarian community around their presence in a new place. For their senders, such letters constituted their religious affiliations and mercantile strongholds. *Vijnaptipatra*-scrolls forcefully embody the capacity to address us individually across time. The material unfurling of painted letter-scrolls triggers aesthetic and historiographical responses, creates occasions for objects to make 'visual time', and encourages its audiences to imagine anew the time and space of travels and the euphoria of completed journeys and arrivals at distant lands.¹⁶ First let us then understand painted letter-scrolls as a genre of objects that aimed to initiate travels. As circulating objects that depicted the intention of travelling and an aspirational temporality, these were also objects that typically itinerant people, from messengers to merchants and monks, handled.

travels of a tent in a volume that explores objects and mobility across regions at a more global scale marked an important historiographic shift.

13 Um, *The Merchant Houses of Mocha Trade*, esp. "The Urban Form and Orientation of Mocha".

14 Cort J.E., "Twelve Chapters from the Guidebook to Various Pilgrimage Places, the Vividhatirthakalpa of Jinaprabhasuri", in Granoff P.E. (ed.), *The Clever Adulteress and Other Stories: A Treasury of Jain Literature* (Oakville, ON – New York, NY: 1990) 289.

15 Kubler G., *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven, CT: 1962) 8.

16 Moxey K., *Visual Time: The Image in History* (Durham, NC: 2013).

Vijnaptipatra: A Travelling Object that Invited Travel

The *vijnaptipatra* was made in order to travel. Such letter-scrolls were addressed to monks who led extremely mobile lives. The custom of sending them among the Shvetambara Jains owes its origin to the idea of asking for traditional forgiveness for sins and performing pious deeds in the future—in this case, pilgrimages to the immobile sacred sites and mobile holy places eminent monks created by their presence.¹⁷ By sending such scrolls, prominent merchants of the local Jain community hoped to entice pontiffs to spend the upcoming monsoon season (*chaumasa*) in their town, for the pontiff's acceptance of the travel invitation would bring prestige to both the place and its citizens. As quintessential travelling objects, letters and epistles are as material as they are textual, and in the case of a painted *vijnaptipatra*, the letter was also quintessentially visual.¹⁸ Following the iconographic rendition of symbols associated with auspiciousness and prosperity within the religious canon, for example as in the scrolls sent from the Marwari town of Sirohi, painters paid careful attention to composing vignettes representing the town's courtly spaces alongside the local bazaars and assemblies held by Jain monks that included lay members of the community [Fig. 19.4].

A *vijnaptipatra* pictorially represents the kinds of painting and scribal practices that flourished outside of early modern court workshops. While invitation letters dating from the fourteenth through the seventeenth century survive, the *vijnaptipatra*—which always consisted of a long, rolled painted scroll ending with a letter—became particularly popular in the eighteenth and

17 Shvetambara monks, as mendicants on a lifelong pilgrimage, were expected to be mobile for eight months of the year. See Cort, "Twelve Chapters from the Guidebook to Various Pilgrimage Places" 288–289. *Vijnaptipatra*-scrolls were largely sent by Shvetambara Jains, who owe religious alliances to 'white-clad' ascetics, unlike the other Jain sect Digambara, whose members follow 'sky-clad', or naked, ascetics. On epistolary aspects of letters, see Śastri H., *Ancient Vijnaptipatras* (Baroda: 1942). For an overview of the genre, see Jain S. "Inviting the Lords: *Vigyaptipatras* as a Source of Medieval Indian History", in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (Delhi: 2012) 264–275.

18 For a comparative conceptualisation of Persianate letters in early modern Eurasia as a critical site of circulation, including the mediation of future-oriented desires, see Sood G.D.S., "'Correspondence Is Equal to Half a Meeting': The Composition and Comprehension of Letters in Eighteenth-Century Islamic Eurasia", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 50, 2/3 (2007) 172–214; Sood G.D.S., "Circulation and Exchange in Islamicate Eurasia: A Regional Approach to the Early Modern World", *Past & Present* 212, 1 (2011) 113–162.



FIGURE 19.4 Anon. (artist), *Letter of invitation to a monk showing merchants, buyers, and messenger collecting a scroll in the bazaar* (Vijnaptipatra) (1761). Opaque watercolour and ink on paper, 246.2 × 24.6 cm. New York City, NY, New York Public Library (MS 26). IMAGE © NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, NEW YORK CITY, NY (RETRIEVED FROM [HTTP://DIGITALCOLLECTIONS.NYPL.ORG/ITEMS/89B92AB3-B473-7242-E040-E00A18067FC7](http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/89b92ab3-b473-7242-e040-e00a18067fc7)).

nineteenth centuries.¹⁹ These scrolls cited images from an established canon without necessarily particularising pictorial references to represent sites of a specific place. However, painters generally employed regional painting styles. The Agra *vijnaptipatra* (1610) serves as an early example of a *vijnaptipatra* that employed the pictorial idiom of a *jharoka* portrait—a window or a pavilion in an assembly hall where the court's constituents saw the Mughal emperor—emergent in Mughal imperial painting [Fig. 19.5].²⁰ Even a cursory examination of a series of *vijnaptipatra* sent in 1742, 1774, 1795, and 1830 from Udaipur demonstrates how artists adapted pictorial vignettes from horizontal court paintings to fit the vertical format of the scroll, carefully citing prevalent artistic styles and contemporary portraits of Udaipur rulers.²¹ Representation of palatial architecture was a central pictorial concern in Udaipur court painting, so it is not surprising that local artists experimented with modes of depicting their city within the *vijnaptipatra*.²² Thus, Jain invitation letters are important

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- 19 For lists of *vijnaptipatra*-scrolls largely spread across several private libraries associated with Jain religious institutions in India, see Śastri, *Ancient Vijñaptipatras*; Balbir N., *Catalogue of the Jain Manuscripts of the British Library Including the Holdings of the British Museum and the Victoria & Albert Museum* (London: 2006); Andhare S.K., "Jain Monumental Painting", in Pal P. (ed.), *The Peaceful Liberators: Jain Art from India* (New York, NY – Los Angeles, CA: 1994) 76–87; Shah U.P., *More Documents of Jaina Paintings and Gujarati Paintings of Sixteenth and Later Centuries* (Ahmedabad: 1976); Chandra M. – Shah U.P., *New Documents of Jaina Painting* (Bombay: 1975); Shah U.P. (ed.), *Treasures of Jaina Bhaṇḍāras*, L.D. Series 69 (Ahmedabad: 1978); Andhare S.K. – Bhojak L., *Jain Vastropas: Jain Paintings on Cloth and Paper* (Ahmedabad: 2015) 134–153. Also, the textual letters of various *vijnaptipatra*-scrolls have been recently republished in a series of special issues of the Gujarati Jain magazine *Anusandhān*: no. 60 (2013); no. 61 (2013); no. 64 (2014); no. 65 (2014).
 - 20 Chandra P., "Ustād Sālīvāhana and the Development of Popular Mughal Style", *Lalitkalā* 8 (1960) 27–46. The Agra *vijnaptipatra* (1610) depicts the Mughal emperor Jahangir's decree (*farmana*)—issued at the request of important Jain monks—which sought to forbid the killing of animals during a period of twelve holy days on the Jain calendar (*paryushana*).
 - 21 Khera D., "Marginal, Mobile, Multilayered: Painted Invitation Letters as Bazaar Objects in Early Modern India", *Journal* 18 1 (2016) <http://www.journal18.org/527> (accessed: 20.11.2016).
 - 22 Udaipur's court painters shifted to larger-scale portrayals of courtly settings in the early eighteenth century. For a discussion on such affective place-centric visions, see Khera D., *Picturing India's "Land of Kings" Between the Mughal and British Empires: Topographical Imaginings of Udaipur and Its Environs*, Ph.D. dissertation (Columbia University: 2013).



FIGURE 19.5 *Salivahana, Agra Vijnaptipatra with the detail of Emperor Jahangir's issuing of a proclamation at the request of Jain monks (1610). Opaque watercolour and ink on paper, 284.7 × 32.2 cm. Ahmedabad, Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Museum (inv. no. LDII.542).*

IMAGE © LALBHAII DALPATBHAII MUSEUM, AHMEDABAD.

minor artefacts that played a central intermediary role in circulating painted subjects, forms, and tropes beyond courtly and imperial circles.²³

One way to understand such travelling letter-scrolls is to consider the figures of the merchants, the monks, and the messengers who collected the scrolls from the merchants and delivered them to the monks. *Vijnaptipatra* like the Sirohi scroll (1761) depict the messenger receiving a dated scroll, which suggests an artistic consciousness of a painted invitation letter's connectedness to travels and to early modern bazaars [Fig. 19.4]. In the Agra scroll (1610) prominent monks themselves, accompanied by the merchants, serve as the messengers and carry the scroll object in their hands and on their heads. Messengers enabled the 'circulatory regime' of documents and knowledge in precolonial India.²⁴ Given the personalised nature of the transactions, these couriers were likely aware of the significance and content of the objects and letters they were carrying.²⁵

In all surviving examples of *vijnaptipatra* we see Jain monks holding assemblies attended by a group of lay men and women; painters most often placed this vignette in the conclusion of the pictorial part of the letter, as in the Agra *vijnaptipatra* (1610) [Fig. 19.6]. The textual letter in most scrolls began at the boundary of the monk's assembly, which the painter often composed as the last vignette. The semantic charge of the scribe's words seems enhanced by their formal alignment with the space of the monk's assembly where the invitation letter was expected to do its work. While in the Agra scroll, the depicted assembly presented the space and time where the letter was received; in most other painted letters the monk's future assembly signaled how the invitation would be effective. A diverse and large community of monks, nuns, and lay people travelled together on Jain pilgrimages;²⁶ it is quite possible that this

23 On the usefulness of concurrent 'minor traditions' for studying how broader audiences acquired their literary tastes in early modern India, see Orsini F., "Introduction", in Orsini F. (ed.), *Before the Divide: Hindi and Urdu Literary Culture* (New Delhi: 2010) 1–20, at 11.

24 Bayly C., *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870* (Cambridge: 2000).

25 Sood G.D.S., "The Informational Fabric of Eighteenth-Century India and the Middle East: Couriers, Intermediaries and Postal Communication", *Modern Asian Studies* 43, 5 (2009) 1085–1116.

26 Granoff P.E. – Shinohara K. (eds.), *Pilgrims, Patrons, and Place: Localizing Sanctity in Asian Religions* (Vancouver: 2003).



FIGURE 19.6 *Salivahana*, Agra Vijnaptipatra with the detail of the receipt of the scroll by Jain Monk Vijaysena Suri (1610). Opaque watercolour and ink on paper; 284.7 × 32.2 cm. Ahmedabad, Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Museum (inv. no. LD11.542).

IMAGE © LALBHAI DALPATBHAI MUSEUM, AHMEDABAD.

community or several of its prominent members, apart from the invited monk, were able to see this idealised pictorial image of the depicted city.²⁷

Now let us turn to the merchants who invited the monks and handed the scroll to the messengers. *Vijnaptipatra*-scrolls constituted key historical evidence that demonstrates several merchants of the local Jain community played key roles as negotiators and financiers within the circles of the Mughals, regional kings of northern and western India, and the various East India trading companies.²⁸ The painter Salivahana emphasised the historicity of the Agra *vijnaptipatra* (1610) by portraying and labelling the presence of diverse important figures from Jain merchants to Jain monks, Mughal imperial officers and European ambassadors in the court and city of Agra [Fig. 19.5]. The collective mercantile patronage and annual circulation of several invitations and the prominent depiction of merchants in the letter itself prompts us to consider how the site of the bazaar shaped and was in turn shaped by these objects.²⁹ The scroll artist of the 72-foot long Udaipur *vijnaptipatra* (1830) departed from the typical metaphorical reference to a bazaar by reinforcing the specificity of each trade and individual [Fig. 19.7]. He created repeating vignettes of types of merchants and craftsmen from textile traders and moneylenders to the makers of arms, jewellery, and utensils. A procession of Udaipur's reigning king Jawan Singh and British political agent Alexander Cobbe, who was gaining greater control of the regional court's political authority, proceeded towards the anticipated assembly of the invited Jain monk Jinharsha Suri. This letter-scroll was sent in the month of October, soon after the Udaipur court was in crisis,

27 It is difficult to ascertain whether the practice of showing the scroll wherein the 'art' object functioned as a 'cultural' prop was followed in the case of Jain painted invitation letters, as it did in other communities. See Jain J., *Picture Showmen: Insights into the Narrative Tradition in Indian Art* (Mumbai: 1998); Ghosh P., "Unrolling a Narrative Scroll: Artistic Practice and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Bengal", *The Journal of Asian Studies* 62, 3 (2003) 835–871.

28 On the critical role of Jain monks as intellectual interlocutors and religious advisors for Mughal emperors, see Truschke A., *Culture of Encounters: Sanskrit at the Mughal Court* (New York, NY: 2016); Cort J.E., "Making It Vernacular in Agra: The Practice of Translation by Seventeenth-Century Jains", in Orsini F. – Schofield K.B. (eds.), *Tellings and Texts: Music, Literature and Performance in North India* (Cambridge: 2015) 61–106; Jain S. "Piety, Laity and Royalty: Jains under the Mughals in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century", *Indian Historical Review* 40, 1 (2013) 67–90. The remarkable autobiography of Jain poet, philosopher, and merchant Banarasidas, completed in 1641, reveals the role of Jain merchants as important traders of precious jewels, textiles, grains, indigo, and other goods. See Banārasīdāsa – Chowdhury R., *Ardhakathanak (A Half Story)* (New Delhi: 2009).

29 Khera, "Marginal, Mobile, Multilayered".



FIGURE 19.7 *Partial View and Detail of Anon. (artist), Udaipur Vijnaptipatra showing shops with varied crafts and trades in the bazaar and a procession of the Udaipur king Jawan Singh and British Agent Alexander Cobbe proceeding towards the invited Jain monk's assembly (1830). Opaque watercolour, ink, and gold on paper, 2194.6 × 27.9 cm. Bikaner, Agarchand Jain Granthalaya.*
IMAGE © DIPTI KHERA; PHOTO: JONAS SPINOY.

with the British abolishing its status as an independent province within the emergent colonial regime of the company. Devout mercantile patrons likely saw the arriving monk as fulfilling the diplomatic aim of creating a sphere of authority separate from the British East India Company, which was gaining ground in the city.

Thus Jain mercantile collectives who wished to embed themselves in trans-regional religious networks and who closely tracked the changing political-mercantile landscape of their city commissioned *vijnaptipatra*-scrolls.³⁰ The emergence of new sovereignties, the rise of East India companies, and the expansion of pan-Indian and pan-Eurasian mercantile networks contributed to the increased mobility of people and objects in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. From the array of scrolls known today, it seems plausible that these changes also led to an explosion in the commissioning of elaborate painted letters. These epistolary objects serve as an effective material reminder that Jain merchants and mendicants were a mobile group, always part of powerful trans-regional networks even when they were localised in towns and cities across South Asia and beyond. Both collaborated for mutually reinforcing spiritual and material gains.³¹

Circulations at Indian Ocean Ports

By establishing Indian merchant colonies, Gujaratis from Surat and Diu dominated trade in the ports of the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Sea and the African coast of the Red Sea, especially in Aden and Mocha in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.³² Likewise, their trading networks operated from the ports of Cambay, Diu, Surat, and Chaul in Gujarat. The Mughals and the Portuguese, even before the arrival of the Dutch and British, were powerful

30 Increasing rounds of pilgrimages, especially to new nineteenth-century temples in Shatrunjaya, an important religious site for the Jains, coincided with a similar rise in fortunes of the Jain mercantile community in Bombay and Ahmedabad. See Ku H., "Representations of Ownership: The Nineteenth-Century Painted Maps of Shatrunjaya, Gujarat", *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 37, 1 (2014) 3–21.

31 Mehta M. "Hindu World-View and Gujarati Businessmen" and "Social Base of Jain Entrepreneurs in the 17th Century: Shantidas Zaveri of Ahmedabad", in Mehta M., *Indian Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Historical Perspective—With Special Reference to Shroffs of Gujarat: 17th to 19th Centuries* (Delhi: 1991).

32 Markovits C., *The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750–1947: Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama* (Cambridge – New York, NY: 2000) 12.

players in the export of textiles and spices in these port towns.³³ Gujarat's ports also enabled Indian Muslims to make devotional, political, and intellectual exchanges with the wider Muslim world.³⁴ Officials of the Mughal Empire and the East India Company found themselves constantly negotiating with local groups, including powerful merchants who often controlled the political economy of the inland regions and ports, rather than regional kings.³⁵ The profile of port officials operating in towns of the western Indian Ocean were complex; they combined intermediary roles that crossed mercantile, political, intellectual, religious, and collecting arenas.³⁶

The expansion of maritime avenues in the Gujarat region of the western Indian Ocean shaped the corpus of *vijnaptipatra*-scrolls sent from port towns in the Cambay area, along with the above-discussed scroll sent from Diu, and India's leading port city Surat. Nalini Balbir notes that the textual letter and painted letter of the *vijnaptipatra* sent in 1795 from Surat praised different aspects of the city [Fig. 19.8].³⁷ The letter emphasised Surat's location in the Gujarat region, citing other noteworthy towns and flowing rivers in the region. The author of the letter also noted the names of Jinās, the spiritual victors in Jainism, to whom the temples of the region were dedicated and included a list of non-Jain religious sites. The painter by contrast highlights Surat's economic importance. Following the sprawling vignette of the flourishing bazaars, he concluded the painted letter with depictions of the procession of the British East India Company agent John Griffith, the city's fort with both the British

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- 33 Subrahmanyam, "A Note on the Rise of Surat in the Sixteenth Century". For a brief summary on Diu and its place as a port city compared to Surat and Cambay, see Chaudhuri K.N., "Surat Revisited: A Tribute to Ashin Das Gupta", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 43, 1 (2000) 18–22.
- 34 Subramanian L., "Capital and Crowd in a Declining Asian Port City: The Anglo-Bania Order and the Surat Riots of 1795", *Modern Asian Studies* 19, 2 (1985) 222. A mid-eighteenth century Gujarati map represents the western Indian Ocean coastline and how Gujarati mapmakers combined European, Islamicate, and local cartographic knowledge. See Sheikh S. "A Gujarati Map and Pilot Book of the Indian Ocean, c. 1750", *Imago Mundi: The International Journal for the History of Cartography* 61, 1 (2009) 67–83.
- 35 Nadri G.A., *Eighteenth-Century Gujarat: The Dynamics of Its Political Economy, 1750–1800*, TANAP Monographs on the History of the Asian-European Interaction 11 (Leiden – Boston, MA: 2009) esp. "Introduction".
- 36 Flores J., "The Sea and the World of the Mutasaddi: A Profile of Port Officials from Mughal Gujarat (c. 1600–1650)", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 21, 1 (2011) 55–71.
- 37 Balbir N., "Invitation Letter to a Jain Monk (Vijñaptipatra)", in Bennett J. (ed.), *Realms of Wonder: Jain, Hindu and Islamic Art of India, Including Nepal and Pakistan* (Adelaide: 2013) 34–40. A fragmentary painted letter-scroll, likely depicting the English factory established in Surat in 1613, was sent from the city in the early seventeenth century. See Śastri, *Ancient Vijñaptipatras* 42–43.



FIGURE 19.8

Anon. (artist), Invitation letter to a Jain monk (Vijnaptipatra) with the detail of a Surat fort and a British East Indies Company ship (1795). Ink and opaque watercolour on paper, 955 × 26 cm. Ahmedabad, Art Gallery of South Australia Foundation, Gift of Michael Abbott AO QC through the Art Gallery of South Australia Foundation 2013, donated through the Australian Government's Cultural Gifts Program (inv. no. 20133A54).

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flag and the regional king's, and a docked British trading vessel. Balbir views these pictorial choices as acknowledgements of Surat's famous 'Anglo-Bania' alliance, bonds established in the second half of the eighteenth century which benefited British, Jain, and Hindu traders alike.³⁸

³⁸ For an in-depth discussion of the 1795 riots, see Subramanian, "Capital and Crowd in a Declining Asian Port City".

An Indian Oceanic perspective has widely recognised how mercantile travel and pilgrimage to Islamic lands were intertwined within early modern Islamicate Eurasia. But, researchers have not accounted for travels initiated by other religious groups of port towns. The Anglo-Bania alliance had given way to conflict, and Surat experienced riots in 1795, spurred in part by the British disruption of trading vessels vital to Muslim communities for the annual Hajj pilgrimage. The riots may have been a reason for the sending of the *vijnaptipatra* in 1795, as the Jain community might have sought to assert their religious presence in Surat. The invited monk and lay community that travelled with him would cast a renewed Jain presence in the city, bringing new pilgrims and devotees to the urban space. This shift in demographics and the public display of piety would also assert the Jain mercantile presence to all the city's residents—including the British. Thus *vijnaptipatra*-scrolls were indeed letters that constituted personal homage and invitations to a single monk, but they were equally public letters that carried proclamations of a time yet to come.

Painters of invitation scrolls sent from Indian Ocean port towns took a special interest in picturing the emergent European power brokers in the city, often in close pictorial proximity to their trading vessels in the Indian Ocean harbours. They clearly assumed that powerful merchants were of interest in addition to local merchants of early modern bazaars with temples, traders, monastic communities, regional kings, and lay men and women. *Vijnaptipatra*-scrolls encapsulated a tradition that from its very inception inspired its makers to adapt artfully a variety of genres and deliberate the phenomenological experience of travels. The earliest fourteenth-century textual invitation-scrolls were written as literary works that interpreted classical Sanskrit poetry that imagined clouds as messengers travelling between lovers.³⁹ Poets described these clouds' pleasure in gazing at new urban routes, towns, and forested landscapes. Not only Jain merchants, but also messengers who carried scrolls or Jain monks and laity who travelled upon receiving invitations, like the messenger clouds who featured in the early invitations, experienced the pleasure and pain of travelling through a variety of urban and natural landscapes that transcended the boundaries of political states. Painters, poets, and scribes continued to innovate painted letters. How they adapted letter-scrolls to local demands, especially in response to a spatial experience and imaginary as powerful as the western Indian Ocean littoral space, thus demands further attention.⁴⁰

39 Śastri, *Ancient Vijnaptipatras* 6–7.

40 On the lack of a critical discussion on the distinctions between representations of courts and ports, see Beverley E., "Of Court and Port: Regimes of Diversity in Early Modern South Asian Cities", Ifriqiyya Faculty Colloquium Columbia University, 3 October 2013.

Traders at the Port—Traders at the Temple: Diu, ca. 1666

Painted letters opened with the theme of auspiciousness. Painters used standardised symbolic icons (*ashtamangala*) to represent the water-pitcher, cow, fire, gold, sun, lion, bull, elephant, and flag, all of which signified good luck.⁴¹ Narrative icons associated with the fourteen dreams of Queen Trishala, the mother of the twenty-fourth victorious Jina Mahavira, who saw these dreams when the soul of the future enlightened one entered her womb, were also standardised [Fig. 19.9].⁴² Iconic representations of water included the planimetric view of a stepped square-shaped water body or lake with blooming lotus flowers, images of decorated vases and pots, and a pair of fish drawn against a mesh of circular quadrants that denoted the texture of the ocean. The painters of scrolls sent from Diu and Surat depicted all three water icons and additionally included an icon of a boat sailing in blue waters—a four-masted, sailing Portuguese carrack in the Diu scroll and a sailing ship with two British seafarers in the Surat scroll [Figs. 19.9 and 19.10]. The icon of ships and sailors suggests the source of the scrolls as a port town. We identify this icon on the basis of the larger vignettes of the trading vessels and the ocean near the end of the scrolls.

Painters individualised the scrolls as well. For example, the Diu *vijnaptipatra* pictured the Portuguese presence on the western coast in distinct ways [Fig. 19.2]. Firstly, instead of privileging the mimetic rendition of the fort constructed by the Portuguese in 1535, the scroll painter painted a horizontal, buff-coloured slender band decorated with cannons to denote the wall of the Portuguese-controlled fort.⁴³ Secondly, two men with hats and tall rifles guard

To understand how Gujarat as a region was shaped by its cosmopolitan coastline and pastoral hinterland especially in the medieval period, see Sheikh S., *Forging a Region: Sultans, Traders, and Pilgrims in Gujarat 1200–1500* (New Delhi: 2010).

41 Śastri, *Ancient Vijnaptipatras* 15–16.

42 Even today during the installation of divine images at temples by Shvetambara Jains in the period of nine holy days, the congregation reenacts with great festivity the seeing of the dreams by the mother of every Jina when he enters the womb. See Cort J., *Jains in the World: Religious Values and Ideology in India* (New York, NY: 2001) 8.

43 I have not yet found further information on historical Jain temples in Diu. On the construction of the fort at Diu, especially in relation to the changing political-mercantile landscape in Surat, see Subrahmanyam, “A Note on the Rise of Surat in the Sixteenth Century” 25. On the architectural history of Diu fort, see Shokoohy M. – Shokoohy N.H., “The Portuguese Fort of Diu”, *South Asian Studies* 19 (2003) 169–203 and Grancho N., “Diu (India) Historical Background and Urbanism”, in Mattoso J. (ed.), *Portuguese Heritage around the World: Architecture and Urbanism* (Lisbon: 2010) 112–125.



FIGURE 19.9

Anon. (artist), Diu Vijnaptipatra showing auspicious icons, including a sailing Portuguese carrack painted at the beginning of the letter-scroll (1666). Opaque watercolour and ink on paper, 477 × 25 cm. Ahmedabad, private collection of Amit Ambalal.

IMAGE © AMIT AMBALAL.



FIGURE 19.10 Anon. (artist), *Invitation letter to a Jain monk (Vijnaptipatra)* with the detail of a sailing ship with British East Indies Company sailors painted along with the standard auspicious icons (1795). Ink and opaque watercolour on paper, 955 × 26 cm. Ahmedabad, Art Gallery of South Australia Foundation, Gift of Michael Abbott AO QC through the Art Gallery of South Australia Foundation 2013. Donated through the Australian Government's Cultural Gifts Program (inv. no. 20133A54). IMAGE © ART GALLERY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA, ADELAIDE.

a Portuguese general who stands upon the fort wall. While the town belonged to the Portuguese, it was also integrally connected to the region of Gujarat and its local kings and chiefs.⁴⁴ The French traveller Jean de Thevenot, who arrived in Diu on 10 January 1666, suggests that the Portuguese did not control the entire town but commanded control over the castles by the ocean. The following pictorial register matches the monumentality of the general's body and his sideways gaze with the implied expanse of the ocean; the painter filled up the narrow strip of blue water with one large Portuguese trading vessel and four smaller, simpler boats. Thirdly, while the Portuguese flag flies high, the triangular sails of the carrack are folded in, in sharp contrast to the opened cloth of the sails stretched along the mast, which the painter emphasised in the depiction of the ship as an auspicious icon at the beginning of the scroll. The sailing ship has now docked in the Diu port. Its dominance in the oceanic waters seems uncontested.

Thresholds and the associated entanglement of distinct mobilities and territorialities distinguish the painter's visualisation of the Jain temple and the four-part Jain monk's assembly and of the Portuguese-controlled fortified space and oceanic frontiers in Diu. Partly, the pictorial format of the genre serves this reinforcement of the religious, fortified, and oceanic spaces. The painter emphasised horizontal registers by using orange-coloured outlines as boundaries, showcasing the distinct domains of the Jains and of the Portuguese traders in the vertical format of a letter-scroll. And, partly, the painter's alignment of the threshold of the ocean and the harbour with the visual threshold that divided the painted letter and the textual letter distinguishes the horizontal registers. Prita Meier argues that the material mediation of the threshold of a harbour by means of coastal architecture in the port cities of the Swahili coast expressed both the relations between a port city and other cultures and how people in these port cities interacted with such hybrid material landscapes.⁴⁵ Hannah Baader and Gerhard Wolf's analysis of a late twelfth-century miniature depicting the citizens of Palermo mourning the death of William II conceptualises the artists' rendering as the presentation of a 'sea to shore perspective'.⁴⁶ This

44 Thévenot Jean de, *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant in Three Parts, Viz. into I. Turkey, II. Persia, III. the East-Indies* (London, H. Clark, for H. Faithorne, J. Adamson, C. Skegnes, and T. Newborough: 1687) Part III, 32–33.

45 Meier P., *Swahili Port Cities: The Architecture of Elsewhere* (Bloomington, IN: 2016) esp. "Introduction".

46 Baader H. – Wolf G., "A Sea-to-Shore Perspective: Littoral and Liminal Spaces of the Medieval and Early Modern Mediterranean", *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 56, 1 (2014) 2–15.

picture of the Mediterranean port city underscored three points. First, a multiethnic and multireligious society inhabited the littoral space. Second, the harbour was liminal, not always open to oceanic circulation. Third, a port city could be approached from the shore and from the sea. The Diu *vijnaptipatra* commissioned by local merchants presents a similar perspective on the Indian Ocean port town as a liminal space. The scroll painter contrasted the transformation the Portuguese traders brought from the sea with what the Jain monk would bring from inland upon arrival in Diu the following year.

The vignette of water and ships in the Diu *vijnaptipatra*, like in all other painted letter-scrolls sent from port towns, locates the harbour at the conclusion of the painted part of the scroll. This pictorial choice marks the visual end of the urban space of Diu and the boundary of peninsular land on the oceanic frontier, the point of arrival and departure from the port. The *vijnaptipatra* thus encapsulates the anticipated arrival of the invited Jain monk in the port town of Diu and of regional traders to the monk's assembly as much as it imagines the merchants who had already arrived at the harbour. The painted letter functioned more than an invitation. It also invited the Jain monk to imagine the community of lay men and women, merchants and pilgrims, that he will command in the coming year, in the company of the other powerful groups and foreign traders who were equally present among the Jain citizens of the port-town awaiting his arrival. It is only right then to see the swaying flag of the Portuguese atop the carrack and the size of the ship matched by the swaying orange flags atop the temple roof and green-coloured icon of the Jina.

In addition, the scroll-painter employed pictorial conventions of frontal and profile views skilfully, which accentuate the pictorial effect of juxtaposition of space of the Jain temple and assembly and the Diu fort and coastline. As in other scrolls, the Jain monk and nun and their lay audiences are depicted as facing each other in profile. This convention privileges the act of preaching and the community's willingness to listen. In contrast to the Jain merchants, monks and native parasol bearers, the painter depicted the body of the Portuguese men in a full frontal view, tilting their faces and orienting their eyes to offer a downward, sideways glance of the three-quarter face. Eighteenth-century artists working in the Rajasthani courts of Kota, Udaipur, and Bikaner, who painted several portraits of European men and women, exemplify a sustained interest in a *firangi* (foreigner) theme modelled after depictions of Dutch men and women shown in a three-quarter face.⁴⁷ Artists often employed 'style juxtapositions' of the frontal face and profile face, and the associated realistic

47 Topsfield A., "Ketelaar's Embassy and the Farangi Theme in the Art of Udaipur", *Oriental Art* 30, 4 (1984) 350–367.

and iconic rendering of the portrait, to make a point about idealised beauty and the historical reception of European grotesque as a genre.⁴⁸ However, the juxtaposition of frontal and profile postures in the Diu *vijnaptipatra* is suggestive more of a mark of difference, foreign and regional. The frontal posture connects the Portuguese traders with the harbour, although we cannot altogether ascertain whether it was their identity as foreign traders or as trading men who travelled over the sea, or both, connected integrally to littoral spaces, that was at stake for the painters and patrons.

To complement my analysis of the pictorial, let us turn briefly to the textual letter [Fig. 19.11]. The unnamed poet framed precisely the regions the monk was invited to travel—from Jasol in Marwar to Diu in Saurashtra. The letter opens with devotional hymns in Sanskrit that praise the various Jinas, similar to introductory verses in other *vijnaptipatra*-scrolls. A set of verses, mostly in the form of short rhyming couplets in the *doha* meter, in the regional vernacular, follow. Marwari combines with Gujarati, suggesting the mixed language of the Jain merchants of Saurashtra. Seven verses praise the region of Marwar country (*maru desh*), for its sacred Jain temples, pilgrimage sites (*tirtha*), and piety of its peoples and ruling kings. This section concludes by noting that Marwar is the most wondrous region in the peninsular Indian subcontinent (*jambudvip*). The poet telescopes his gaze from Marwar onto the town of Jasol where the invited monk was currently residing. He praises the merchants and variety of trades, the towering temples, and the devoted people. He concludes this urban description by saying that Jasol was like the abode of the gods (*svargalok*).

Poetry praising the invited monk shifts the focus of the letter from urban panegyrics to the virtues of the guru Vijaydharma Suri. The poet's verses for the invited guru composed in between the topographical verses that serve as bookends seeks to transport Vijaydharma Suri from the region of Marwar to the region of Saurashtra. The number of couplets devoted to Marwar and Jasol are only marginally fewer than the ones praising the country of Saurashtra (*sorat desh*) and the port of Diu (*div bandar*). These couplets also praise urban places, temples, and citizens. Perhaps what stands apart in the two urban descriptions is the poet's focus, from the very first verse on Saurashtra, on the wealth of the region. Of the country of Saurashtra, among other features, the letter's author tells us about the pleasure and wealth this region brings to its beautiful citizens; its wonderful forests and gardens, flora and fauna; and its pilgrimage sites that bring salvation to many pilgrims. He certainly tells us that many ships with valuable gems and goods (*ratan*) arrive in this region along

48 Aitken M.E., *The Intelligence of Tradition in Rajput Court Painting* (New Haven, CT: 2010) 78–79.



FIGURE 19.11 Anon. (scribe), Diu Vijnaptipatra showing the end of the textual letter (1666). Opaque watercolour and ink on paper, 477 × 25 cm. Ahmedabad, private collection of Amit Ambalal.

IMAGE © AMIT AMBALAL.

with foreigners and intelligent traders.⁴⁹ The concluding fifteenth couplet on Saurashtra says many small and big towns in this country exist and that *div bandar*, the port town of Diu, is prosperous (*susamridha*) both in its wealth (*daulat*) and its good deeds or charity (*sudaan*). The poet opens the poetry about Diu by saying that it has the best harbour for the ships to dock. He follows with praise for the port town's tall temples and religious laity. The letter writer deemed it important to emphasise the wealth of the citizens of Diu and their righteousness in the last verse of this section to induce the monk to come.

The painted letter and textual letter thus supplemented the invitation rather than serving to make any direct connections to entice the recipient to travel. The painter sought to bring the trans-regional geography of the Indian Oceanic travellers and itinerant Jain monks into play by juxtaposing a view of the temple and assembly with the oceanic vignette of ships and Portuguese traders. The poet expressed a keenness to evoke a trans-regional geography of the piety of Jain communities that connected ports to regions further north-west. Especially to a traveller walking from Marwar, a hot and arid desert landscape that is described by its name as the 'land of death', the prospect of arriving at oceanic frontiers would have been appealing.⁵⁰

The format of the scroll acutely affects the pictorial play between repetition and signification of the motif of the carrack, and between text and image. In all likelihood artists began by painting the iconographic symbols central to Jainism. The placement of the postal addresses scribbled on the verso of select scrolls provides critical evidence that recipients would have viewed the letter in reverse sequence as they unfurled it.⁵¹ The material nature of scrolls often demands their viewer go forwards and backwards, to pause and examine details, which encourages us to check and re-check them, and only then to view the scroll in its entirety. Thus, approached from either end, the inclusion of a sailing ship in the iconic part of the letter and the descriptive part of the letter reinforces not only the oceanic identity of *vijnaptipatra*-scrolls sent from port

49 *Ratan* may refer to the riches of gems, pearls, and precious stones specific to the economy of the region, but also to other valuable goods that arrived on these shores. The seventeenth-century merchants of Gujarat and the port towns of Cambay, Surat, and Diu were known for their knowledge and trade of jewels. For an overview based on European and Mughal accounts, see Mehta, *Indian Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Historical Perspective* 25, 91–114.

50 On how wider communities including Jains represented early modern Marwar and its ecology, see Sahai N.P., *Politics of Patronage and Protest: The State, Society, and Artisans in Early Modern Rajasthan* (New Delhi: 2006).

51 For example, the Udaipur *vijnaptipatra* (1830) shows the address of the recipient. Only the date is noted on the verso of the Diu *vijnaptipatra* (1667).

towns, but also the use of oceanic vignettes to reinforce both the auspiciousness and the economic prosperity a port brought to a place.

Entangled Objects, Spaces, and Scales of Early Modern Mobility

For scholars of the global early modern period, a *vijnaptipatra* does not offer a desirable social biography. It provides no sense of the associated accruing of meaning that we attach to an object passing through multiple hands across cross-continental geographical boundaries.⁵² Nor do these scrolls present a pictorial field rich in recognisable cross-cultural hybridity of the sort other European-Indian artistic encounters in Mughal India represent.⁵³ The presence of European traders at the port does not necessarily make these objects hybrid, as we cannot know how historical makers and patrons interpreted the inclusion of such vignettes.⁵⁴ Seventeenth-century Jain merchants and painters likely saw Portuguese traders as integral players in the markets of a port city. Arguably the textual letter of the Diu *vijnaptipatra*, like other painted letters, contains several generic tropes. Likewise, it concludes with an emphasis on the sincerity of the invitation and the auspiciousness the invited monk Vijaydharma Suri would bring with his arrival. Yet the poet's complex interweaving of an urban imaginary that emphasized regional difference and of the idea that annual travels of Jain monks created a network of auspicious places is clear. The letter writer notes the individual names of eighty local merchants before inviting the monk on behalf of the entire Jain community of the city. Letter-scrolls thus carried multiple messages about changing religious, trading, and political conditions. They made connections with other circulating letter-scrolls and peoples, and they could inspire a curiosity about the place they depicted and create an associated imaginary of completed journeys and transformed urban places.

Objects like painted letter-scrolls reveal a particular kind of material history. The visual traces of oceanic mobility within painted letters also find echoes in the countless engraved views of port towns included within contemporaneous travel-oriented genres like explorers' accounts, atlases, and

52 Kopytoff I., "The Cultural Biography of Things", in Appadurai A. (ed.), *The Social Life of Things* (Cambridge: 1986) 64–91.

53 Rice Y., "The Brush and the Burin: Mogul Encounters with European Engravings", in Anderson J. (ed.), *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence: The Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress of the History of Art* (Carlton, Vic.: 2009) 305–310.

54 Dean C. – Leibsohn D., "Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America", *Colonial Latin American Review* 12, 1 (2003) 5–35.

maps.⁵⁵ Indeed, historians deploy engraved vignettes of sailing ships on a harbour from Dutch, British, and Portuguese sources to exemplify the visual culture associated with Indian Ocean littoral spaces, hardly turning their attention to quasi-religious genres like *vijnaptipatra*-scrolls. Pictorial parallels between these contemporaneous genres, however, show that efficacious desires to chart successful journeys shaped the aesthetics and ontology of objects that contemplated travels.

Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century maps of newly discovered places invited real and armchair travellers to undertake journeys. In one map from 1708, dedicated to the 'directors of the honorable United East-India Company', the geographer Herman Moll noted that his map of the East Indies primarily sought to explain along with 'many remarks not extant in any other map [...] what belongs to England, Spain, France, Holland, Denmark, Portugal' [Fig. 19.12].⁵⁶ Moll focused on the wealth of the East Indies, especially its ports. He singles Diu out as the port that leads to Portugal. Moll describes Surat as the port of 'greatest trade and note in India, the staple for all the commodities of Europe, India and China, [having] English, French and Dutch Factories'. Ceylon is noted for its production of 'precious stones and best cinnamon'. Of Masulipatan we learn that 'East and Dutch factories in this city [...] stain calicoes the best of any in the Indies'. Regarding the richness of Golconda, Moll calls it 'very rich in diamonds and other precious stones'. Vignettes describing the port towns and cities spread across the new geographical frontiers also entice the map's audience. We see plans of the cities of Bantham and Batavia, prospect views of Goa and Surat, and a plan of Fort St George in the city of Madras. The view of Goa and Surat includes sailing carracks, which were popularly depicted in individual engravings representing harbours in this time period. However, the juxtaposition of a cartographic view and the prospect view of sailing boats at the port and the plans of urban settlements in port towns signal a pictorial move by the mapmaker. Moll sought to arouse among the map's audiences a desire for travels and for completing long, arduous journeys.

The pictorial homology that the use of vignettes of sailing ships on the port and the juxtaposition of representational conventions exemplifies makes an important point about aesthetics of travel. Makers of both *vijnaptipatra*-scrolls and cartographic maps expected their pictorial strategies to incite a desire for travel. Both achieved time-space compression by the means of juxtaposing, in

55 Subramanian L., *Ports, Towns, Cities: A Historical Tour of the Indian Littoral* (Mumbai: 2008) esp. "Introduction".

56 The following descriptions of ports are noted on the map. However, they may be difficult to read in the reproduced Fig. 19.12.



FIGURE 19.12 Herman Moll (engraver), A map of the East-Indies and the adjacent countries; with the settlements, factories and territories, explaining what belongs to England, Spain, France, Holland, Denmark, Portugal et c. with many remarks not extant in any other map (ca. 1708). Engraving, 58 × 96 cm. New Haven, CT, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (inv. no. 12222019).

IMAGE © BEINECKE RARE BOOK AND MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY.

the case of the 1708 map, a cartographic view with a prospect or planar view of port towns, and in the Diu *vijnaptipatra*, the horizontal registers of a Jain monks' future assembly oriented to its audience by means of a profile view and a frontally oriented Portuguese general and carrack on the ocean. The prospect of successfully completing journeys in the real and imagined realms shaped them both. These visual parallels reveal the potential of mixing objects that may or may not have been commensurable or shared intersecting spaces. Rather they shared an ontological function in transmitting ideas about upcoming travels. Objects like the Diu *vijnaptipatra* thus open a vista onto the imagining of the time and experience of travels, inland and oceanic. They also suggest a path towards writing interpretive histories of objects that mediated journeys in distinct and lesser-known genres alongside objects and texts that had global itineraries for framing pressing contemporary questions on connected and comparative histories of art.

The Diu *vijnaptipatra* alerts us to historiographical frontiers. Scrolls that described littoral spaces offer a picture of competing journeys that signalled distinct temporalities and corporeal transformations: the one sailors underwent in travelling across oceans to unknown regions, and the one monks and pilgrims experienced in walking on land in extreme heat before the monsoon clouds burst into rains. Both journeys were exhausting. They surely aroused emotions of euphoria, accomplishment, curiosity, and may be even confusion upon completion. The scroll painter chose to eliminate the typical vignette of the bazaar with local merchants selling their wares in the Diu painted letter. Thus the proximity of the vignette of long-distance and short-distance travels accentuates our perception of the spatial distinctions between the Jain temple and monks' assembly and the Portuguese traders and carrack on the Indian Ocean. However, when we take into account the modality of travel, along with the associated disjunctions in the arduousness of the task of travels, the distinct compression of time and space framed in both the vignettes comes into sharp focus. The painter brings to our attention a question that Indian Ocean researchers have been urging us to tackle: the lives within littoral spaces were always bound to practices in towns along the shore as well as the inland spaces of the regions to which these frontier lands were connected. It is compelling to keep in mind that the acceptance of annual invitations by Jain monks, an event that transformed the urban, devotional, and economic landscapes of small towns and cities in the monsoon months, took place when the trading ships were docked in the harbour. The seasonal cycles of trade and pilgrimage and of travels from inland and overseas sites draw attention to the entangled ebbs and flows of a variety of mobile people into port cities.

A littoral perspective enables us to think through the lens of oceanic travels and circulations within a wider geography. Local objects like *vijnaptipatra*-scrolls drive home the point that these oceanic journeys to a port were by necessity bound with travels, communities, and practices that connected the port to inland regions. In turn, these religious objects highlight not only the trading life and wealth of port-towns that an oceanic perspective, offered in European maps and travel accounts, tends to privilege. They also highlight another religious-mercantile apparatus that shaped the local landscape and notions of prosperity which citizens' acts of piety substantively constituted. As a quintessential travelling object created at the behest of religious Jain communities who constituted powerful trading groups, *vijnaptipatra*-scrolls shaped and were shaped by travels—on foot and by ships, long and short, trans-regional and trans-oceanic, and religious and mercantile.

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